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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW.

M DCCC LIV.

JANUARY.—JUNE.

1854.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν ἢ τὴν Ἐπικου-
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καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν τὸ
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VEN. 1757, p. 338, L. II.

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ART. I.—*Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life.* By Professor Wilson.
Blackwood: Edinburgh and London.

PROFESSOR WILSON, it is generally understood, is now retired for ever from public life ; it is feared also from the full exercise and command of his brilliant faculties. He is lying on the verge of the western horizon, a great but troubled sun, shining amid rainy clouds, and ere the luminary pass away, and while yet he hangs 'low but mighty still,' we are tempted to utter at once our admiration of his splendour, and our sorrow over his anticipated departure.

In our recent paper on Alexander Smith, we said that there was something exceedingly sweet and solemn in the emotions with which we watch the uprise of a new and true poet. And we now add, that there is something exceedingly sad and solemn in the emotions with which we regard the downgoing of a great bard. We have analogies with which to compare the first of these events, such as the one we have selected, that of the appearance of a new star in the heavens, but we have no analogy for the last. For we have never yet seen *a star or sun setting for ever*. We have seen the orb trembling at the gates of the west, and dipping reluctantly into the ocean ; but we knew that he was to appear again, and take his appointed place in the firmament, and this forbade all sadness, except such as is always interwoven with the feeling of the sublime. But were the nations authentically apprized that on a certain evening the sun was to

go down to rise no more, what straining of eyes, and heaving of hearts, and shedding of tears, would there be; what climbing of loftiest mountains to get the last look of his beams; what a shriek, loud and deep, would arise when the latest ray had disappeared; how many would, in despair and misery, share in the death of their luminary; what a 'horror of great darkness' would sink over the earth when he had departed; and how would that horror be increased and aggravated by the appearance of the stars,

'Distinct but distant, clear, but ah, how cold,'

which in vain came forth to gild the gloom and supply the lack of the dead King of glory! With some such emotions as are suggested by this impossible supposition do men witness the departure of a great genius. His immortality they may firmly believe in, but what is it to them? He has gone, they know, to other spheres, but has ceased to be a source of light, and warmth, and cheerful genial influence to theirs for ever and ever. Just as his life alone has deserved the name of Life, native, exuberant, overflowing life, so his death alone is worthy of the name, the blank, total, terrible name of Death. The place of the majority of men can easily be supplied, nay, is never left empty, but his cannot be filled up *in sæcula sæculorum*. Hence men are disposed, with the ancient poets, to accuse the heavens of envy in removing the great spirit from among them, or to say with a modern:

'They surely have no need of you
In the place where you are going;
Earth hath its angels, all too few,
While heaven is overflowing.'

But the grief becomes still more absolute and hopeless when the departing great one is the last representative of a giant race, the last monarch in a mighty dynasty of mind. Then there seem to die over again in him all his intellectual kindred. Then, too, the thought arises, who is to succeed, and, in the shadow of his death-bed, youthful genius appears for a time dwindled into insignificance, and we would willingly pour out all the poetry of the young age as a libation to Nemesis to save him from his doom. Some feelings like these, at least, are crossing our minds as we think of Wilson's present melancholy position and prospects, and as we remember that if not the very last, he is one of the last of those mighty men of valour, the Coleridges, Wordsworths, Byrons, Campbells, Shelleys, Cannings, Peels, Jeffreys, Moores, &c. &c. &c., who cast such a lustre upon the literature and oratory of the beginning of this century, and who have dropped away, star by star, till now there survive of their number only Brougham, Leigh Hunt, De

Quincey, Rogers, Lockhart, Croly, and CHRISTOPHER NORTH, and some of these, too, are dying as we thus write. Truly says the poet—

‘It is a woe too deep for tears, when all
Is reft at once; when some surpassing spirit,
Whose light adorned the world around it, leaves
Those who remain behind, not sobs or groans,
The passionate tumult of a clinging hope,
But pale despair and cold tranquillity,
Nature’s vast frame, the web of human things,
Birth and the grave, that are not as they were.’

We desire to speak of Wilson with as much impartiality and freedom as though he were dead, and shall consider his personal appearance and history; his genius in its native powers and aptitudes; his achievements as a critic, humorist, writer of fiction, professor, and poet; his relation to the age; his influence on his country; and the principal defects in his genius, history, and character.

We must first of all look at that magnificent presence of his, which ever haunts us and all who have seen it, as we think of him. In the case of many the body seems to belong to the mind, in Wilson the mind seemed to belong to the body. You were almost tempted to believe in materialism as you saw him walking through the street, or entering his class-room, so intensely did the body seem alive, so much did it appear to ray out meaning, motion, and power, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot. You thought, at other times, of the first Adam, the stately man of red clay rising from the hand of the Almighty potter. Larger and taller men we have seen, figures more artistically framed we have seen; faces more chastely chiselled, and ‘sicklied o’er with the pale cast of thought,’ are not uncommon, but the power and peculiarity of Wilson lay in the combination of all those qualities which go to constitute a perfect man. There was his stature, about six feet two inches. There were his erect port and stately tread. There was his broad and brawny chest. There was a brow lofty, round, and broad. There were eyes, literally flames of fire when roused, and which, like Chatterton’s, rolled at times as though they would have burned their sockets. There were a nose, chin, and mouth, expressing by turns firmest determination, exquisite feeling, laughing humour, and fiery rage. And flowing round his temples, but not beneath his broad shoulders, were locks of the true Celtic yellow, reminding you of the mane worn by the ancient bison in the Deu-Caledonian forests. ‘You are a man,’ said Napoleon, when he first saw Goethe. Similar exclamations were often uttered by strangers as they unexpectedly encountered Wilson in the streets. Johnson

said that you could not converse five minutes with Burke under a shed without saying, 'This is an extraordinary being.' But in Wilson's case there was no need for his uttering a single word; his face, his eye, his port, his chest, all united in silently shining out the tidings—'This is an extraordinary man.'

We will not deny that there was about him—about his look, his hair, his dress and gesture—much that seemed *outré* and savage, and which made some hypercritics talk of him as a 'splendid beast, a cross between the eagle, the lion, and the man.' You saw, at least, one who had been much among the woods, and much among the wild beasts, who, like Peter Bell, had often

'Set his face against the sky
On mountains and on lonely moors,'

who had slept for nights among the heather, who had bathed in midnight lakes, and shouted from the top of midnight hills, and robbed eagles' eyries, and made snow-men, and wooed solitude as a bride; and yet, withal, there was something in his bearing which showed the scholar, the gentleman, the man of the world, and even the wag, and if you presumed on his oddity, and sought to treat him as a simpleton, or a semi-maniac, he could resent the presumption by throwing at you a word which withered you to the bone, or darting at you a glance which shrivelled you up into remorse and insignificance.

We have seen him and heard him in many of his aspects and moods, and shall try to recal some of them to our view, for the sake of our readers. We have seen him entering Blackwood's shop, with the tread of a giant, a tread that shook the very boards, the very books, the very shelves, the very shop-boys, although accustomed to his presence. We have seen him in the street, or in the parliament-house, or in the Exhibition, surrounded three deep by acquaintances, male and female, whom he was keeping in a roar of laughter, or, occasionally hushing into a little eddy of silence, which seemed startling amid the torrent of noisy life which was rushing around. We have watched him followed at noonday, through long streets, by enthusiasts and strangers, who hung upon his steps, and did 'far off his skirts adore.' We have seen him *monstrari digito* a thousand times, ay, and by digits that shook with awe as they pointed! We have heard him, in the Assembly-rooms, speaking on the genius of Scott, a little after the death of the wizard, and in the tremble of his deep voice could read his sorrow for the personal loss, as well as his enthusiasm for the universal genius. We have heard him in his class-room, in those wild and wailing cadences, which no description can adequately re-echo, in those long, deep-drawn, slowly expiring sounds which now resembled the moan-

ings of a forsaken cataract, and now seemed to come hoarse and hollow from the chambers of the thunder, advocating the immortality of the soul, describing Cæsar weeping at the grave of Alexander, repeating with an energy which might have raised the dead, Scott's lines on the landing of the British in Portugal, and discovering the secret springs of laughter, beauty, sublimity, and terror, to audiences whom he melted, electrified, subdued, solemnized, exploded into mirth or awed into silence at his pleasure. And never can we forget the last time we heard, or ever hope to hear, those eloquent lips. It was in Stirling, where, addressing a large popular assembly, he threw his soul amid them, like a strong swimmer in a full-lipped sea, touched by turns their every passion, and at last, by the simple words, rendered more powerful by the proximity of the spot, 'One bloody summer day at Bannockburn,' raised them all to their feet in one storm of uncontrollable enthusiasm. A celebrated professor was present. He had never seen Wilson before. He was fascinated by his appearance, and struck especially by his eye. 'That eye, that eye,' he continued to mutter. It was certainly an extraordinary eye. Now it glittered like a sharp sunlit sword, now it assumed a dewy expression of the slickest humour, now it swam in tears, now it became dim and deep under some vast vision of grandeur which had come across it, now it seemed searching every heart among his hearers, and now it appeared to retire and communicate directly with his own. And woe to those against whom it threw out the quick flashing lightning of his wrath! It was then Cœur De Lion, in the 'Talisman,' with his hand and foot advanced to defend the insulted banner of England.

Indeed, we marvel that no critic hitherto has noticed the striking similitude between Wilson and Scott's portraiture of Richard the Lion-hearted. We are almost inclined to believe that Sir Walter had him in his eye. Many of their qualities are the same. The same leonine courage and nobility of nature,—the same fierce and ungovernable passions,—the same high and generous temper,—the same love of adventure and frolic,—the same taste for bouts of pleasure and for humble society,—the same love of song and music,—the same imprudence and improvidence,—the same power of concentrating the passions of hot hearts and amorous inclinations upon their wives, and the same personal appearance in complexion, strength, and stature, to the very letter, distinguish the fictitious and the real character; for of course we do not confound the Richard of 'Ivanhoe' and the 'Talisman' with the Richard of history. Neither Richard nor Christopher was always a hero. The former enjoyed the humours of Friar Tuck as heartily as he did the minstrelsy of Blondel; and our lion-hearted Laker could be as much at home

among gypsies and smugglers as ever he was with Wordsworth and Coleridge. The Shaksperian width of his sympathies propelled him into all the queer nooks and corners of human life, as well as into all its altitudes and ideal depths. His motto was '*Nihil humani alienum puto.*' His life has been a most romantic one, and yet almost entirely free from that immorality which generally tinges careless and romantic lives. Enormous falsehoods have been told and believed about his habits. We will not say that he was a total abstainer all his life, although for a large portion of his latter career he acted rigidly upon the principle, and could do so at all times, when he chose. But the *Noctes Ambrosianæ* were not altogether fictitious. He enjoyed good cheer with all the gusto of a strong and healthy man. We saw him once glorying over a turkey which he called 'the Queen of Turkeys.' He never, we believe, drank by himself, but in company he was often somewhat convivial. His great delight, however, was not in the wine, but in the excitement of the society. In search of this he encountered the strangest adventures, and had intercourse with all sorts of odd characters. He is said to have resided once for three months in the back-shop of a Highland blacksmith, spending his days in strolling through the hills, and his evenings in writing poetry, and on one occasion to have wagered with the smith, who was a character, that he would run up a lofty mountain before the door without pausing for breath, and won the wager. A thousand similar stories are afloat about his following his late amiable lady, under the disguise of a waiter, to various inns at the lakes, till an *eclaircissement* took place, through her father noticing that in every inn during their progress the waiter was the same, and demanding an explanation, when Wilson revealed himself, and was permitted to pay his addresses in form; about him and his wife, the summer after marriage, journeying through the whole Highlands on foot; his projecting a tour to the interior of Africa, and being with difficulty withheld from the undertaking;—about his spending a number of months in a gypsy encampment; his praying aloud, in his enthusiasm, as he passed, on an autumn morning, while the mist was melting into glory, from St. Mary's Loch to Moffat; his practice of *howling out* his poetry as he was inscribing it upon the page, to the admiration and despair of the Ettrick Shepherd, who, when near him on these occasions, and writing poetry too, always threw down his pen when he heard Christopher beginning thus to sing and 'sound on his dim and perilous way'; his custom of shutting himself up and allowing his beard to grow while employed on his articles or poems; the fervid fury and miraculous speed with which he composed, nothing beside him in general but his inkhorn and a

teapot, or a series of soda-water bottles; his writing in a week, now the greater part of a number of 'Blackwood,' and now his entire essay on Burns; his *pursuing a bull* with a pitchfork, on horseback, through the midnight; about his visiting stills, boating, leaping, shooting cats, birds, and wild deer, driving hearses, &c. &c. &c. Some of these stories we suspect to be false, others we know to be true, and a large proportion we may rank as doubtful. But who shall put an end to all dubiety, and stop the circulation of all unfounded rumours, by writing an authentic and minute account of this strange man's history? And who shall paint that stream of conversation which broke from his lips? His talk was not an art or acquirement, still less a trick or a knack, still less an effort and a dogmatism; it was the irresistible outflow of a full and fiery soul, now wild, now witty, now pathetic, now fierce, now anecdotal, and now descriptive, but always free, easy, unaffected, rich, and powerful. We are inclined to rank Wilson, as next to Burns, the greatest converser Scotland, perhaps Britain, has ever produced. Carlyle's talk is indeed a powerful essence, but it is rather the continuous soliloquy of a melancholy man of genius, who talks to relieve an overburdened heart, and to bleed a plethoric pride, than it is that varied, genial, and dramatic thing we call conversation.

We are no Boswells: and if we were, we have had few opportunities of hearing Professor Wilson talk, often as we have seen and heard him lecture. We never called on him but once in company with a distinguished friend. At first, the servant was rather shy, and spoke dubiously of the visibility of the Professor; but, upon sending up our names, we heard him growling out on the top of the stairs a hearty command to admit us. In a little he appeared, and such an apparition! Conceive the tall, strong, 'salvage' looking man we described above, with his beard wearing a week's growth, his hair half a twelvemonth's, no waistcoat, no coat, a loose cloak flung on for the nonce, a shirt dirty, and which, apparently, had been dirty for days, and to crown all, a huge cudgel in his hand! He saluted us with all his usual dignified frankness; for, in his undress of manner as well as of costume, he was always the gentleman, and the conscious genius; and, after asking us both to sit, and sitting down himself, he commenced instantly to converse upon the subject that seemed nearest to him at the moment. He had been up recently at Loch Awe, for he loved, he said, to see the 'spring come out in the Highlands.' He had, besides, been visiting many of his old acquaintances there, 'shepherds and parish ministers,' and of one of these with whose name, as our father's friend, we had been long familiar—the late Dr. Joseph Macintyre, of Glenorchy, he spoke in terms of the fondest and most respectful affection. This

gentleman—the minister of a parish lying in one of the most secluded and romantic glens in the Highlands—was the Oberlin of that district. He had, besides his labours as a minister, found time to establish an academy for boarders, and thither the future author of the ‘Lights and Shadows,’ then a loose-hanging, tall, thin, bright-eyed stripling, was sent by his father. The venerable Doctor was very kind to him, predicted his eminence, and, probably moved by the *vivâ voce* descriptions the gifted youth gave of his occasional rambles among the mountains, and by his narration of the stories he picked up there, advised him to become a writer of tales and a recorder of traditions, and need we say how he has bettered the instruction? There was a full-length picture of him when a boy on one side of the room, representing him as standing beside a favourite horse. This, he said, had been taken at the special desire of his mother. The figure was that we have just described, and the terms in which he spoke of his mother were honourable alike to her and to him. We understand that she was a pious woman, and contributed much to give him those profound impressions of religion which were never altogether strangers to his mind. He spoke a great deal about De Quincey, and with profound admiration. His feelings towards Coleridge seemed less cordial than we had imagined. It was altogether an agreeable interview, and we left deeply impressed with his affability and kindness, as well as with his great mental powers.

We met him but once more, as aforesaid, at Stirling, on the occasion of a great literary *conversazione* held in that town. His appearance there had been announced, but was scarcely expected, as it was during the session of College. Thither, however, he came, like a splendid meteor, and was received with boundless enthusiasm. We remember while walking with him from dinner to the room of meeting—it was in 1849, the cholera year—that some one remarked how singular it was that ‘cholera and Christopher North had entered the town the same day.’ ‘And I, the author of the “City of the Plague,” too,’ was his prompt rejoinder. Never had there been such a night in Stirling, nor is there ever likely to be another such. He felt his fame; his spirits rose to the highest pitch; and, although we had heard more elaborate prelections from his lips, we never heard any thing better calculated to move and melt, to thrill and carry away on a stream of ‘torrent rapture’ a popular assembly.

We pass to speak of the constituents of his genius. These are distinguished by their prodigal abundance and variety. He is what the Germans call an Allsided Man. He has, contrary to common opinion, much metaphysical subtlety. That is, as Sir William Hamilton once said to his class about him, ‘not the least wondrous of his wondrous powers.’ It has not, indeed,

been subjected to such careful culture as some of his other faculties. But no one can read some of his criticisms, or could have listened to many of his lectures without the profound conviction that the philosophic power was naturally strong within him. Of his imagination we need not speak. It is large, rich, exuberant; fond alike of the Beautiful and the Sublime, of the Pathetic and the Terrible. His wit is less remarkable than his humour, which is one of the most lavish and piquant of all his faculties. Add to this, prodigious memory, keen, sharp intellect, wide sympathies, strong passion, and a boundless command of a most musical and energetic diction, and you have the outline of his gifts and endowments. He is deficient only in that plodding, painstaking sagacity, which enables many common-place men to excel in the physical sciences.

These powers have never, we are certain, found an adequate development. It is only the bust of Wilson we have before us. It is only an extraordinary man we see; had he grown to his full size he had not been a man but a monster. As has been said elsewhere, 'Had he but condensed his powers, subdued somewhat the notion of his mighty genius, urged it into one great channel, and added the 'Consecration' to the 'Poet's Dream,' there was no eminence in any direction which he might not have reached. In poetry, in philosophy, in oratory, in preaching, in the drama, in fiction, in the army, in parliament, as a traveller in every department save that of the severer sciences, all who know him know that he could have taken the foremost place.' Yet let us not, because he has not done mightier things, call his actual achievements small: they are not only very considerable in themselves, but of the most diversified character.

Wilson is a critic, a humorist, was a professor, is a writer of fiction, and a poet. Let us rapidly review his character in all these varied departments. With him criticism is not an art or attainment, it is an insight and an enthusiasm. He loves everything that is beautiful in literature, and abhors all that is false and affected, and pities all that is weak or dull; and his criticism is just the frank, fearless, and eloquent expression of that love, that abhorrence, and that pity. Hence his is a catholic criticism; hence his canons are not artificial; hence the reasons he can and does give for his verdicts are drawn, not from arbitrary rules, but directly from the great principles of human nature. With what joyous gusto does he approach a favourite author. His praise falls on books like autumn sunshine, gilding and glorifying whatever it touches. And when, on the other hand, he is disgusted or offended, with what vehement sincerity, with what a noble rage, with what withering sarcasm, or with what tumultuous invective, does he express his wrath. His criticisms are some-

times rambling, sometimes rhapsodical, occasionally overdone in blame or in praise; often you are compelled to differ from his opinions; and in polish, precision, and profundity, they are inferior to many others; but in heartiness, eloquence, native insight, and sincerity, they are unapproached.

We have alluded to his humour. It is a very extraordinary gift. It is not quiet and subtle, like Lamb's; it is broad, rich, bordering on farce, and strongly impregnated with imagination. It is this last characteristic that gives it its peculiar power, as Patrick Robertson can testify. This gentleman possesses nearly as much fun as Wilson; but in their conversational contests, Wilson, whenever he lifted up the daring wing of imagination, left him floundering far behind. Of course, the best specimens of this power are to be found in the 'Noctes Ambrosianæ,' those immortal dialogues where one is at a loss whether more to admire the splendour of the descriptions, the vivacity of the retorts and discussions, the energy of the criticisms, or the riotous and uproarious mirth. They have been republished in America, and we should like to see his son-in-law, Professor Ferrier, redacting and reprinting them here.

Wilson, as a Professor, did not, perhaps, give his students so much information as some others do; nor was he a good drill-sergeant; but he did something of greater importance; he excited and inspired their minds. He taught them to love their studies and their teacher. He breathed a breath of fire through his class-room, and ever and anon he led before their wondering view the great pomps of an eloquence never surpassed in depth, and pathos: to hear other professors they went as a task, to hear Wilson as a pleasure; and if some complained that they carried little away, the general feeling was, that the sense of sublimity he often gave them, the thrills and frequent tears, were far more valuable than cart-loads of metaphysics. No teacher ever more exclusively addressed the *soul* and heart of his hearers. His lectures are never, we fear, to be collected. They were often written on scraps of paper, and some of these precious Sibylline leaves are, we suspect, as irrecoverably fled as the leaves of the past autumn. As a lecturer, his manner was not refined; but his eye sounding every heart in his auditory, his arms uplifted or descending with vehement energy, and the slow-rolling thunders of his voice, redeemed all deficiencies.

Good old Dr. Macintyre, we have seen, thought Wilson's forte was fiction. We can hardly concur with the doctor in this opinion; for, although many of his tales are very fine, they are so principally from the poetry of the descriptions which are sprinkled through them. He does not tell a story particularly well, and this because he is not calm enough. He *sings*, not *says*, his

stories. He is too Ossianic in all his narratives. Hence had he attempted a long three or four volumed novel, it would have been illegible. Even Margaret Lindsay, his longest tale, rather tires before the close, through its eloquent sameness and monotony of pathos. Only very short letters should be all written in tears and blood. He wants entirely the ease of Scott. And his alternations of gay and grave are not so well managed in his tales as they are in his 'Noctes.' Yet nothing can be finer than some of his individual scenes and pictures. Who has forgotten his Scottish Sunset, which seems dipped in fiery gold; or that Rainbow which bridges over one of his most pathetic stories; or the drowning of Henry Needham; or the Elder's Deathbed; or that incomparable Thunderstorm, which seems still to bow its giant wing of gloom over Ben Nevis and the glen below? In no modern, no not in Ruskin himself, do we find prose passages so gorgeous, so filled with the intensest spirit of poetry, and rising so naturally into its language and rhythm, as in Wilson's 'Lights and Shadows.'

His poetry proper has been generally thought inferior to his prose, and beneath the level of his powers. Yet, if we admire it less, we love it more. It is not great, or intense, or highly impassioned, but it is true, tender, and pastoral. It has been called the poetry of peace: it is from 'towns and toils remote.' In it the author seems to be exiled from the bustle and rage of the world, and to inhabit a country of his own, not an entirely 'Happy Valley,' for tears there fall, and clouds gather, and hearts break, and death enters; but the tears are quiet, the clouds are without wind, the hearts break in silence, and the awful shadow comes in softly, and on tiptoe departs. Sometimes, indeed, the solitude and the silence are disturbed by the apparition of a 'Wild Deer,' and the poet is surprised into momentary rapture, and a stormy lyric is flung abroad on the winds. But in general the region is calm, and the very sounds are all in unison and league with silence. Wilson's poetry is far from being a full reflection of his multifarious and powerful nature; it represents only a little, quiet nook in his heart, a small, sweet vein in his genius, as though an eagle were to carry within his broad breast a little bag of honey, like that of the bee. It does not discover him as he is, but as he would wish to have been. His poetry is the Sabbath of his soul.

The relation in which he stands to the age has been, like Byron's, somewhat uncertain and vacillating. He has been on the whole a 'Lost Leader.' He has neither properly belonged to the old or the new, to the conservative nor the movement parties, shall we say? neither to the sceptical nor the Christian sides. He had many tendencies to radicalism in his constitution, and was, at Oxford, it is said, such a flaming radical, that he insisted

on blacking his own shoes! But circumstances, along with the influence of Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Scott, prevailed to identify him with the Tories, although, like most of that school of politics, he has become vastly more liberal of late years. His early training was religious, but he seems to have fallen in youth among the quicksands of doubt. How far he emerged from these in after days, and what were his ultimate views on these topics, we cannot tell, and shall not repeat conflicting and unattested rumours. The general tone of his writings has been Christian. We have heard him in his lectures illustrate particular doctrines of our faith with eloquence, intelligence, and even unction, and we know that he refused to preside at a dinner talked of to Emerson in Edinburgh, because he had no sympathy with his opinions. But it must at the same time be acknowledged that he has not bent all the forces of his mighty mind with sufficient concentration on the paramount object of inculcating moral principle, and enforcing spiritual truth.

Here in fine, is our grand quarrel with Wilson. He has not been sufficiently in earnest. He has not done with his might what his hand found to do. He has hid his *ten* talents in a napkin. He has trifled with his inestimable powers, and not felt a sufficiently strong sense of stewardship upon his conscience. He has been a lazy Titan, gathering nuts in the woods, or pelting pebbles on the shores, and not a working, unwearied child of duty. Hence he has been by turns a joyous, and by turns a melancholy, but never, we fear, a happy man. This deep moral defect has denied true unity, and perhaps permanent power, to his writings. But a more generous, a more wideminded, a more courteous, and, with few exceptions, a more gifted man, probably never lived. By nature, he is Scotland's brightest son, save Burns; and he, Scott, and Burns must rank everlastingly together as the first three of her men of genius. While he lives he unites the sympathies of his countrymen as though they were those of a single heart, and when he comes to die, he may obtain, but will not require, a splendid mausoleum, for he can (we heard him once quote the lines, as only he could quote them)

‘A mightier monument command,
The mountains of his native land.’

ART. II.—*Exposition of the Grammatical Structure of the English Language: being an Attempt to furnish an Improved Method of Teaching Grammar. For the Use of Schools and Colleges. By John Mulligan, A.M. London: Simpkin and Marshall.*

IN this country philological science has never received its fair amount of attention, and is in an unsatisfactory and discreditable position. To English minds, subjects requiring deep research and patient investigation, yielding, at the same time, no immediate or very perceptible advantage, present few points of attraction, and we accordingly find few persons willing to undertake them. The Germans have set us an excellent and praiseworthy example. Our grammarians are their debtors not only for indicating the true sources of grammar, but for procuring many materials, and preparing the foundation for a permanent superstructure of philological knowledge. It is to their industry that we owe the existence of such books as Dr. Latham's well-known treatise on the "English Language," and the work whose title stands at the head of this article.

The book before us is a reprint, having first appeared in America where the author resides. Judging by the number of elementary grammars and kindred 'manuals' issued in the United States, we may infer a much greater attention to the kind and quality of grammatical instruction than is observable here. Mr. Mulligan writes as one having imbibed strong impressions, and keenly alive to the importance of his subject. In his preface, amidst other explanatory matter, he offers the following reasons for preparing the present treatise:—

'Manifest proofs are exhibited in the complaints of teachers and grammarians, that the friends of education are sensible of the defects of our old systems, and evidently desire a reformation. And in this connexion we feel pleasure in acknowledging, that much has been done by the efforts of our immediate predecessors to introduce, and to prepare the way for a reception of an improved method of grammatical instruction.

'The importance of a thorough reformation of the method of teaching grammar to the general intellectual progress of the age, can scarcely be over-estimated. We may form some notion of this importance, if we reflect that this science not only lays (or, at least, should lay) the foundation of all sound logic and true eloquence, has the closest connexion with correct thinking, as well as with the correct transmission of the product of thought from mind to mind, but serves as a natural and indispensable introduction to our courses of intellectual training, and the first step in a philosophical education. . . . Besides this, a thorough knowledge of grammar is the great preparation for the easy

and correct acquisition of ancient and modern languages, enabling us with greatly diminished labour to comprehend clearly the laws of their structure, and fix these laws indelibly in ~~our~~ memory for ready recollection.'—p. 45.

To these remarks, every one interested in the education of youth—the development of a pure and philosophical literature, structurally considered—or the possession of a rich and increasingly valuable language, will yield a cordial assent, and will willingly accompany a writer who proceeds under such convictions. No very large acquaintance with the literary productions of the day is required to discover a wide-spread ignorance of the theory of grammar and composition. Nor is this remark restricted to any particular class of speakers or writers. On the platform, at the bar, in the pulpit and parliament house, we may find specimens of oratory whose only claim to notice lies in their extraordinary defiance of verbal propriety and arrangement; and it is no uncommon thing to find the *least* grammatical the most inveterate speakers.

In *written* productions, literary sins are less numerous, and, perhaps, scarcely so apparent. The *writer* has always the advantage of the *speaker*. Absence of external excitement, opportunities of revisal and correction, with other minor matters, permit the attainment of greater excellence in *written* than in *spoken* efforts; but with all these helps there is exhibited a lamentable deficiency of grammatical knowledge. In a large number of the publications to which the scribbling mania of our time gives birth, this is to be expected. The extraordinary rapidity of production is oftentimes marvellous, but necessitates inherent worthlessness; and there are many species of works now current, which must be regarded only as *literary fungi*. Prepared in haste to serve the purpose of an hour, they possess a low order of development, and enjoy, therefore, a brief existence. Yet, it is not these classes *alone* which betray the absence or neglect of sound rudimentary education. Far from it. Compositions of higher aim, and destined for loftier and more enduring purposes, share alike the infirmity of which we speak. The malady extends over a larger surface, and affects a greater number, than some may be disposed to allow; but, to those who will apply the necessary test, its prevalence will be abundantly apparent. We might be disposed to think that those whose office it is to teach others, and who have time and means at their command for the elaboration of all they produce, would be beyond this kind of condemnation. But it is not so. The 'schoolmaster' is needed by professing teachers of art, science, and religion, and in the greater number of cases he will find it necessary to begin with his pupils *de novo*. Indeed, there are not a few among the

last-named who require him most urgently. From whatever cause this may arise, it is indubitably true ; and it would be no difficult matter to prove by ample illustrations that the weekly homily and the printed discourse often betray utter carelessness or extreme ignorance of grammatical structure. With such facts, a knowledge of their *cause* and *cure* becomes vitally important.

To some extent individuals are themselves to blame for such educational deficiencies. Neglect of careful and considerate study results in error in the commonest subjects as well as in those demanding less frequent attention. A man may care so little for a knowledge of arithmetic as to forget in time the simplest problems. The necessities of social life prevent a disuse so complete of artificial language ; yet the most incessant scribbler will attain small proficiency without some remembrance of, and reference to, his English grammar.

More blame, however, is to be attached to the imperfect and fragmentary character of grammatical tuition. For a great number of years the only grammars in use have been those of Lindley Murray, William Lennie, and their respective imitators. Attempts to systematize the subject, and to reduce it to a logical and philosophical form, have been very rare, and when done, very unsatisfactory. A compilation of arbitrary rules, without apparent sequence ; a number of ill-digested exercises, with explanations almost paradoxical, long formed the chief ingredients of grammar. No effort to treat the subject *reasonably* was deemed necessary ; but compilations were made with a view to easy division into lessons which scholars could learn to repeat by rote. Lennie certainly made a step in the right direction. He simplified definitions ; avoided the introduction of much extraneous and useless matter ; and presented the rules of syntax with greater clearness and brevity. But very much more required to be done. It is not enough to teach the rules which enable a pupil to 'speak and write' his native 'language with propriety.' Instruction in grammar which does not embrace the theory and practice of composition is of little use. It is not possible to teach the principles of grammar intelligibly without commencing and proceeding on a clear and definite perception of their intimate relation to the structure of language. These facts were long overlooked, or, perhaps to speak more correctly, not understood ; and as the result we have now to regret the innumerable deficiencies of grammatical authorship. Dr. Latham, in the preface to his 'Elementary Grammar,' thus broadly condemns the kind of material offered for scholastic use :—'I have no hesitation in asserting, that, out of every hundred statements made by the current writers on the English language, ninety-nine come under one of the two following predicaments : they

either contain that which is incorrect, and better not known at all, or something that was known before, and would have been known independent of any grammatical lesson whatever.' (p. 6.)

Strong as this language appears it is only too just, and needs no confirmation to those practically interested in tuition. It may be remarked as somewhat singular that we are incomparably better supplied with good elementary works for the study of foreign and dead languages than for acquiring a sound knowledge of our own. The literature of France, Germany, Greece, or Rome, may be mastered by systematic and philosophic means of the highest and best kind. Not so our mother-tongue. A student may (and in numberless instances does) write Latin prose or verse with faultless correctness, nay, even with elegance, who is quite unable to analyze a simple proposition in his own tongue; and it is not too much to affirm, that the kind of grammatical education most commonly afforded in schools is simply a mockery.

It is gratifying to think that such a state of things is in process of improvement;—that we are receiving (slowly, it is true) philosophical contributions of real intrinsic value. Mr. Mulligan's work is a welcome addition to our very scanty store of such desirable books.

The treatise opens with an 'Introduction,' designed to convey preliminary information respecting language generally, as a means of communication,—its subdivision into *natural* and *artificial* or *articulate*; the province of the grammarian; and the origin of the laws of grammar, with some observations upon 'Theories of the origin of Language.' Most writers set out by attempting to define grammar in a single sentence. Our author, however, saves himself much trouble, and avoids all absurdity, by his lucid introductory remarks, from which he says,—'The reader will be prepared to find that *words—the classification of words, the modification or changes of form which words undergo* in order to express a *modified meaning*, and, especially, *the laws or principles which regulate the combination of words* for the purpose of expressing *thought*, form the subject matter of the following pages.' (pp. 5, 6.)

The book is then divided into chapters, in which every paragraph is numbered for convenient reference; and appendices are attached to some of the chapters, where further explanation or remark is needed. At the end of the book, Mr. Mulligan has added two chapters, one on *punctuation*, and one on *versification*; the first of value, inasmuch as it may help in adjusting the yet uncertain system of punctuation (if system it may be called); the second, we should suppose with the intention of making the work more complete, and following the example of other writers

on grammar, but scarcely worth the trouble of preparation. In saying this, we would not be understood as rating Mr. Mulligan's article below those of others; having read it carefully, we willingly bear testimony to its superiority; but in our opinion, *versification*, as it is barely styled, requires greater attention, and more intelligent treatment than has yet been bestowed upon it. The forms assumed by the 'spirit of poetry,' in itself one of the noblest developments of human genius, deserve, and in this prolific age demand, a more complete exposition than we remember to have seen attempted.

The filling up of the entire work, in the eleven chapters which comprise the 'Grammar,' properly so called, is generally excellent both in matter and manner. Faults and objections present themselves occasionally, some of which we may briefly indicate, but on the whole, it is impossible to withhold an expression of sincere admiration. The author brings to his work a thorough acquaintance with the labours of German and English philologists; he is evidently a man of sound judgment and keen perception, and proves himself to be intimately conversant with the wants and difficulties of those engaged in the education of youth.

Chapter I. is devoted to a brief but satisfactory statement of the *nature, classification, and analysis of simple propositions*. It contains also an exposition of the 'origin and meaning' of those words which perform such important functions in language—viz, *nouns* and *verbs*. The mode in which propositions are introduced has the merit of originality, and illustrates the author's manner throughout.

'We employ artificial language—1st. To assert (that is, to say, or speak) our opinions, or declare our thoughts, feelings, emotions, &c. 2nd. To question, or interrogate others in order to obtain information. 3rd. To express commands, entreaties, exhortations, &c. Distinct forms of expression are employed in discourse for these three several purposes; and though, by supplying what is suppressed in the form of the expression (because manifestly implied in the sense), we might readily reduce all questions and commands to the form of assertions, still it is convenient to consider these forms separately.

'Any combination of words which expresses an assertion, a question, a command, &c., or, more generally, any combination of words which expresses *complete sense*, is called a *proposition*. Those combinations by which an assertion, a question, a command (including entreaty, request, &c.), are expressed, may be called respectively *assertive* or *declarative*, *interrogative* or *questioning*, and *imperative* or *commanding propositions*.

'Since interchange of thought is effected through the medium of propositions, and discourse consists almost wholly of propositions of one or other of the kinds above mentioned, it follows that the chief business of the grammarian is the *analysis of propositions*, and the ex-

planation of the manner in which words are combined to form them.' —pp. 9, 10.

Chapter II. treats of *Nouns*. Here, again, without attempting to define a noun in a single line, Mr. Mulligan proceeds cautiously and wisely. As he properly asserts, 'a *complete* definition of nouns ought to embrace all the functions which they perform in discourse. But as a full definition would be unmanageable in practice on account of its length, we substitute for the present one embracing only the great distinguishing function of nouns.' This definition is, that '*nouns are words which express the subjects of propositions*,' and it follows as a natural explanation, from what was advanced in the previous chapter. Nouns are then classified into *concrete* and *abstract*, to which *pronouns* are added as a third division. The *concrete* are stated to include *collective* nouns, and the *abstract*, *verbal nouns*. Some necessary matter follows treating of *proper* and *common nouns*, and their uses; after which the modifications of nouns by *gender* and *number* are clearly defined. Here, however, Mr. Mulligan finds it necessary to make a digression for the purpose of introducing some remarks upon the changes made in words by various modifications, and he takes occasion to treat also of *sounds* and *letters*. We cannot but feel that such an interruption might have been avoided by embodying these considerations in the introduction, or placing them immediately after it. As they at present stand, they only prevent a consecutive view of the main subject.

Chapter III. is a very full and complete dissertation upon *Verbs*. It contains many subdivisions, treating of Verbal Classification, Tenses, Moods, and forms of Conjugation; and we may notice a 'Synoptical Table of English Tense Forms,' which cannot fail to throw great light on this portion of grammar, whatever be the text-book employed in tuition.

The title of Chapter IV. is the *Modification of the Subject and Predicate by Nouns*, comprehending an examination of the *Modifications of the subject noun and verb effected by the employment of complementary or modifying words*. In this portion the declension of nouns and pronouns is introduced, and exhibited in a new light. The pages, indeed, which contain Mr. Mulligan's views upon the 'case modifications' of the subject are, in our opinion, the best portion of the book. Nearly one-half of the treatise is occupied with the 'two great classes of words which form the fundamental parts of every proposition—the *verb* and the *noun*,' and a careful perusal does not convey the idea that either space or labour has been thrown away. For some of his material, the author acknowledges himself indebted to German scholars; and in the chapters now noticed

their assistance must have been of immense value. Chapters V., VI., and VII., are devoted respectively to *Prepositions*, *Adjectives*, and *Adverbs*, classes of words of which little mention is made in other grammars. The lucid explanations given by Mr. Mulligan offer a striking contrast to the meagre definitions usually presented, showing how much may be done in the way of grammatical reformation by one thoroughly in earnest. With these chapters the examination of *simple propositions* concludes. Two statements are afterwards presented in a tabular form, by way of recapitulating the points separately considered. The first is a synoptical table of the forms of modification, classed in reference to the kind of words they are intended to *complete*; and the second is a 'summary description of the purposes served by the several modifications' thus exhibited. This *résumé* at this stage of the book will be found useful to all who merely *read* the book, but especially so to those who may use it for school purposes.

The treatment of *Compound Propositions* in Chapter IX. is exceedingly minute, and by its closely-sustained reasoning goes far to exhaust the subject in the present state of grammatical knowledge. Any attempt to analyse this important chapter would require greater space than can be afforded here; and we must therefore refer to the book itself, as the only fair method of rightly estimating its contents. We must nevertheless notice one good feature in the arrangement of this part of the subject. In enumerating and expounding the varieties of *accessory propositions*, the *punctuation* necessary in the construction is given with each rule and definition. By such a plan, the reason of the use of any particular point at once presents itself in immediate connexion with the meaning and analysis of the passage or proposition; a mode of teaching *how to punctuate* at once appropriate and intelligible.

Chapter X. treats of the *Combination of Independent Propositions*, introducing a new class of words, commonly named *Conjunctions*. Their uses and positions are amply defined and illustrated; and it will follow, from what is thus stated, that they must cease to retain a name in some cases actually falsifying their functions.

The *eleventh* and concluding chapter is devoted to *Interjections, and Exclamatory Words and Phrases*.

Imperfect as our summary of Mr. Mulligan's book necessarily is, it will suffice to justify the remark, that he has rendered excellent service to the cause of grammatical reform. His materials have been drawn from the latest and best sources, knit together with great constructive skill, and interspersed with many original and valuable disquisitions. In the portion devoted

to *Sounds and Letters*, he has made use of Dr. Latham's previous investigations,—a fact which shows the value of that gentleman's labours. In other and more advanced chapters, a large number of German and British writers are referred to, in a way which shows intimate acquaintance with their opinions. The author claims credit for the introduction of a new and improved system of teaching grammar,—a claim that may be fairly allowed. He also expresses the opinion, that his book will be serviceable to all grades of students, as well as to teachers. With a view to adapt it to junior scholars, a course of questions has been placed at the foot of each page, numbered in such a way as to secure a ready reference to the text. Exercises for practice are also given, intended to strengthen the memory and elucidate the various subjects taught. For teachers and advanced students the book is well adapted; but for beginners and young scholars it is necessarily unfit. The large amount of criticism, explanation, reference, and argument required in the correction of what the author deems erroneous in the works of authors, or demanded in support of his own theories, swells the size of the book to inconvenient dimensions. Digressions also frequently occur, which endanger the perspicuity of the text. These may be, and no doubt are, indispensable in such a work; but they are serious objections to it as a hand-book for tuition. Moreover, a close perusal gives the impression of uncertainty existing in the author's own mind as to the correctness of some of his own conclusions; and in not a few instances the new nomenclature proposed for the just development of his system, is either knowingly discarded or forgotten. This is a defect. If the method advocated be a good one, and a change of terms be necessary, either to complete the plan, or to rectify present error in the use of words, the sooner Mr. Mulligan's phraseology obtains currency the better. Very few of the changes suggested can be reasonably refused. Grammarians have been puzzled by attempting to find a definition to suit some title or name, sanctioned by time and custom. A simple change of the term would probably have settled the matter, and facilitated a more correct illustration of the topic in hand. There are striking instances of this in the work before us.

Many of Mr. Mulligan's statements and opinions will, no doubt, attract the attention of philologists, and provoke discussion. With a few of his strictures upon past usage and arrangement we do not agree. To avoid what might otherwise appear hypercriticism, we only allude to his remarks on *Prepositions* at pp. 242, 243; the groups of *Determinative Adjectives* at p. 279; the paragraph upon *Genders*, p. 512, and on *Articles* at p. 514, as containing matter open to objection.

At no period could such a book be more welcome than at the

present. An epoch of educational excitement is a proper one for considering the materials of which substantial instruction is to consist, presenting, as it does, happy opportunity for the presentation of new ideas. We anticipate, therefore, great good in the circulation and examination of this treatise. Every other branch of scholastic study has for years received important and well-directed aid: witness the numerous text-books of various languages; of arithmetic, and the higher departments of mathematics; of physical geography; of ancient and modern history; and of what are termed the accomplishments,—as music, drawing, and the like. The science of grammar has alone remained comparatively unhelped. But we are not to suppose that a subject so pre-eminently indispensable in all other pursuits can wait longer for the treatment it loudly and fairly demands. The present work is an earnest and pledge of the improvement we venture to predict.

ART. III.—*The Angler*. Philadelphia. 1842.

2. *La Canna da Pescare*. Venise. 1840.

3. *Le Pêcheur*. *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Paris. 1853.

4. *The Erne; its Legends and its Fly Fishing*. By the Rev. Henry Newland. 1853.

5. *Angling and other Songs*. By T. S. Stoddart. Edinburgh.

6. *The Complete Angler's Guide to the Rivers and Lakes of England and Wales*. By Robert Blakey, Esq. London. 1853.

CONTEMPORANEOUSLY with Walton's book, 1613, or rather some years before its appearance, the art of angling was treated of in a sentimental strain by some Italian writers. In 1584, we have 'L'Alces Favola Pescatoria,' by Antonio Ongaro, published at Venice, and highly embellished with a profusion of emblematical devices. This work gives a lively description of fishing; the nature of the rivers and their scenery in Italy; the different kinds of bait used for fish of various sorts; and of their instincts and habits. It is in this publication, as far as our knowledge extends, that we first meet with the statement that the trout (trout) pair in the months of July and August, and that the conjugal union seems to be cemented by a powerful sympathy and affection. This writer likewise states the fact—well ascertained by modern observers—that there is a regular kind of domestic government maintained among this class of fish; the largest apparently assuming supreme authority. We have ourselves witnessed in British rivers numerous exemplifications of this finny

legislation. We have seen, say two or three dozen trout, all arranged wedge fashion, the largest at the thin or sharp end of the wedge, and the smaller, in strict proportion to their dimensions, placed in the rear of the column. Should food be cautiously thrown in among the group when in this position, the largest always takes it; and the other members of the company never go a single inch out of the regular ranks. The Italian author mentions the fact, but is somewhat at a loss to divine what is the end or final cause for this singular movement. We confess we can offer no satisfactory solution of the matter.

We must not omit to mention the celebrated work of Hippolito Salviani, 1558, entitled '*Aquatilium Animalium Historia*.' It is a treatise of five hundred pages, with upwards of one hundred copper-plate engravings, and it gives a very full and correct account of the nature and habits of fish in general.

The notion about the loves of fish has often been dwelt upon, and been the subject of many fabulous and absurd speculations. According to Gomesius, 'Fishes pine away for love, and become lean,' (*Pisces ob amorem marcescunt, pallescunt, &c.* De Sale.) And in many parts of the east and north of Europe, even at the present day, there are vague notions floating in the minds of the rural population, about young maidens holding interesting conversations with fish, as they frequent the streams for water.*

Some writers have gone upon the opposite tack, and ascribed revengeful and devotional feelings to the finny tribes. A great number of legends are taken up with these topics in the early and middle ages. Geraldus tells a story, that in Normandy, a few days before the death of Henry the Second, the fish of a certain pool near Sees, five miles from the castle of Exme, fought during the night so furiously with each other, both in the water and out of it, that the neighbouring people were attracted by the noise to the spot; and, so desperate was the conflict, that scarcely a fish was found alive in the morning. 'Thus,' says the author, 'by a wonderful and unheard-of prognostic, foretelling the death of one by that of many.'†

At the Borghese Palace at Rome, there is a representation of St. Anthony Preaching to the Fishes. It is said that the salmon look at the preacher with a singularly expressive and edifying face; and that a cod, with his upturned eyes, seems anxiously looking for a new light. St. Anthony's sermon is to be found in nearly all the bookseller's shops in Rome. The Saint begins thus: 'Dearly beloved Fish;' and at the conclusion of the address it is said that the fish 'bowed to him with profound humi-

* *Hist. Anim.* Leipsic, 1621, folio.

† *Gerul.*, lib. i. p. 6.

lity, and with a grave and religious countenance.' After this, 'they scudded away to make new conversions—becoming, in fact, active and zealous missionaries of the ocean'!

In keeping with this, we must place the Legend of St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland. The holy man having an irresistible desire for some flesh-meat, obtained a piece of pork, and hid it. An apparition had its eyes upon him, and struck him with remorse of conscience. He repented; and, as a proof of his sincerity, an angel turned this piece of pork into fish! There was an excellent satirical song, written about fifty years ago by a well-known angler of Trinity College, Dublin, on this legendary tale; we regret that our limits will not allow its insertion.

Akin to the loves and hatreds, and religious feelings of fish, a portion of the literature of angling is devoted to the *fascination* or *charming* of them. We find recipes for this purpose in nearly all the works on fishing published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There have been the most singular opinions on the subject in all countries. Becke, in his book on 'Angling,' Leipsic, 1606, tells us, that if we take a gold ring, and look with one eye at a trout through it, in a clear pool of water, for the space of two minutes consecutively, the fish will be quite fascinated, and you may go and take it out with your hand. The number of compounds for baits, to intoxicate and charm the finny tribes, are almost innumerable; and many of the instructions for making and using them are, in English works, given in rhyme; we shall select two from among a score in our possession:—

A RECIPE TO CATCH FISH.

To make all the Fishes in a pond to come to thy hond.—Tak palma Christi and frankandsence, and medel hem togedir, and put hit in a some clowte, and holde the poudere on thi finger that a gold ryng is upon, and wasch thy hond in every corner of the pont, fisches wolle come to thi honde.—From a M.S. on vellum, of about the year 1400, in the possession of J. O. Halliwell, Esq.

Wouldst thou catch fish?
Then have this wish;
Take this receipt
To anoint thy bait.

Thou that desirest to fish with line and hook,
Be it in poole, in river, or in brooke.
To bless thy baite, and make the fish to bite,
Loe! here's a means, if thou canst hit it right;
Take gum of life, fine beat, and laid to soak,
And oyle well drawn from that which kills the oake,
Fish when thou wilt, thou shalt have sport thy fill,
When twenty fail, thou shalt be sure to kill.

It's perfect and good,
 If well understood;
 Else not to be told
 For silver or gold.

R. R. 1613. From a MS. in the British Museum.

A few years after, Giovanni Villifranchi published at Venice, in 1614, his 'L'Amaranto Favola Pescatoria.' There is an edition of this work, dated 1612, but it is much smaller, and printed on inferior paper. In 1621, we find another Italian publication, of about two hundred and fifty pages, entitled 'La Canna da Pescare,' in which there is some very interesting descriptions of angling excursions on some of the higher sections of the river Arno, and its smaller tributaries. These waters are very prolific of fish, and they seem at this period to have been much frequented by piscatory amateurs and pic-nic parties. A goodly portion of sentiment and feeling is thrown into this little treatise. The author descants on the loveliness of nature so commonly displayed on the banks of rivers, and on the remarkably soothing influence which the rippling and murmuring sounds of falling and running streams of water has upon the human mind. He says,—

'I have travelled much with the rod, in certain seasons of the year, by the banks of the chief fishing localities of Italy, and I feel at all times as if I had made my escape from the ordinary ills and plagues of life. I have commonly had one or more companions, and we have enjoyed ourselves in as lively and rational a manner as possible; giving to Nature all her due, and dwelling on the various picturesque scenes we every day meet with, in that true spirit of admiration so improvable to the heart and understanding. I feel confident that most of our great artists must have been fishers in early life. Our art is well fitted to arouse the dormant powers of sentiment, and of the general ideas of the sublime and beautiful in external nature. It is said, that Michel Angelo, when a youth, often amused himself with the fishing-rod, and would take long journeys to visit spots famous for their rural scenery and beauties. The same thing I have heard remarked of less distinguished artists, both sculptors and painters, of our own and of other countries.'—*La Canna*, p. 60.

Villifranchi has several angling songs in his work, full of Italian sentiments of love, &c. One of these, commencing with the line, 'La mia donzella ch'è così allegre e bella,' we shall here insert, as a specimen of his style and train of thought:—

'My pretty maids, so blythe and gay,
 With crook and line, whence come you, pray?'
 'We come, sir, from the neighbouring hill
 Close by the fount of this clear rill;

There, in a little tuff of green,
Our father's angling cot is seen ;
Beneath that dear, though narrow shed,
We sisters all were born and bred.'

'Oh, what must be the favour'd place
That yields such charms and native grace,
As sedgy weeds no more can shroud
Than noon-day's sun an envious cloud !
Love's genuine progeny you seem,
From each fair face such pleasures beam.'

'Our business is to tend our flocks,
To throw our lines beyond the rocks ;
When fed, we drive our flocks at eve,
So now, kind sir, we take our leave.'

'Well might it grieve your beauties rare,
To waste themselves on desert air,
When courts and cities would delight
To give them to the public sight ;
But tell me, do you feel content
On toils so homely to be pent ?'

'More true content within us dwells,
While roving through these streamy dells,
Than fills the hearts of ladies great,
While dancing in the rooms of state ;
No wealth we want, or fine array,
Our cares and wanderings make us gay.'

With some variations, from Dr. Alkin's version.

Casting an eye from Italy towards Spain, we recognise several books on Angling, written, however, chiefly by ecclesiastics. There was one published at Valladolid in 1650, containing a list of river fish, and a description of the various kinds of hooks and lines requisite for their capture. D. Teodoro de Almeida wrote a work 'On the Nature of Fish,' Madrid, 1700, which is interesting, as containing a correct and full account of a great number of the finest rivers in Spain, that are adapted for rod-fishing. A little after this period we have 'The Fisher,' by Father Bostos, a moralizing and religious work on the general profession of a fisher. And here it may be remarked, that the Catholic church, which meddles with everything, meddled likewise with angling. It took it under its especial protection, to the exclusion of hunting, and other recreations of a boisterous character. There is a standing *Canon** on the subject, which states that hunters have generally been great sinners, citing the example of Esau ; whereas fishermen, by Scripture testimony, have usually

* Decretals, Lyons, 1670.

been deemed holy. Here is the reason for this opinion:—‘*Sed quare prohibetur venari, et non piscari? quia fortè piscatis fit sine clamore, venatio non; vel quia major est, delectatio in venatione; dum enim quis est in venatione nihil potest de divinis cogitare.*’ The church likewise alludes to the great Ambrose, who, in his thirty-third homily, expresses himself in perfect harmony with these sentiments.*

There are a few French treatises on angling, but it is only those of modern date which treat of the art in a descriptive and sentimental strain. Since the peace of 1814, the French officers of the army have cultivated rod-fishing after the English fashion, particularly in Normandy and Brittany, the Upper Pyrenees, at the towns of Bagnières de Bigarre and Tarbes, on the river Adour, and other localities on the Switzerland side of the kingdom. There have been several small works on rod-fishing published at Lyons, Paris, Rouen, &c., within the last forty years, containing descriptive pieces in verse on the chief rivers of France. We shall venture to transcribe one of these, *minus* the spirit and vivacity of the original, to impart to the reader, if we can, some general idea as to the manner that French angling tourists treat the subject. The following lines appeared at Rouen in 1840, and refer to the river Soane:—

- ‘No fairer land can meet the eye,
Than skirts thy banks, O Soane!
Nor groves so sweet, and gardens green,
Nor lovelier skies e’er shone.
- ‘Thy gorgeous shades ne’er seem to tire
The angler’s graphic eye;
When streams gush out with sparkling foam,
And purple fires the sky.
- ‘Thy waters play—and flowers adorn
Thy banks, so fair and green;
And birds of richest plumage rest
In wooded copse, unseen.
- ‘The trout regales in purest streams,
And shows his golden hue;
And anglers ply their art with zest,
Nor need their labours rue.
- ‘Thy upper streams, when near thy source,
No richer scene can show;
And e’en when traffic soils thy breast,
They still with grandeur flow.

* See on this subject ‘*Principes de Conduite, Ordonnances et Statuts au Diocèse d’Arras,*’ 1825.

‘No angling pleasures can be found,
More racy and more sweet,
Than on thy hallow’d banks to roam,
When prudence guides the feet.’

The best scientific work, on the nature and habits of river and sea fish, printed in France, is that of Rondelet, 1555, published at Lyons. It is a large folio, entitled ‘De Piscibus,’ of upwards of six hundred pages.

Passing from the warm and genial regions of Italy, Spain, and the south of France, to Holland and Belgium, we see the art of angling under another phase. And now we think we hear some ardent piscatorian asking, ‘What in the name of wonder could ever have been written on my noble art in such a place as Holland?’ Yes; this, we admit, is a natural question to ask. Where there is nothing but ditches, and canals, and sluices, and sandbanks, and dikes, and windmills, it does seem somewhat miraculous that anything spiritual could be imparted to an art which must, in such localities, be stripped of those necessary accessories to sentiment and feeling—the undulating landscape, and the rippling and limpid stream. But strange to say, the Dutch have displayed a genius of their own in reference to fishing. They have been clever and amusing caricaturists of it. There are many finely-executed prints, of the early part of the seventeenth century, which represent the fisherman of Holland in the most grotesque and laughable positions. It must be borne in mind that this part of Europe has always been, and is yet, famous for its salmon.* All the splendid estuaries which dis-embogue themselves into the maritime districts of Holland are full of them; for, even in the days of the Romans, we find the Moselle,—the ‘clear and blue Moselle,’—whose waters fall into the Rhine, celebrated for its numerous and delicious salmon. Fishing, therefore, both for this monarch of the streams, and less valuable sports, has been commnoly practised for several centuries among a large class of the people, both for profit and amusement. In 1613 we have, in Dutch, the ‘Handbook of Fishing’ (Amsterdam), in which the art is described, and plates of the several kinds of fish are given. About half a century after this, we have another work, ‘The Fisher’s Guide,’ a small treatise, little more than a mere abridgment of the book just mentioned. The earliest caricatures of the angler we have seen bear the date of 1603. One represents a Dutch amateur, evidently of some public notoriety, sitting like a lubberly clod-pole, with the most bewildering expression of face, pulling at

* There is a common proverb in Holland that Amsterdam is built upon the bones of salmon.

a prodigious large 'salmon at the foot of a weir. Another print figures a fisher weeping for the loss of a part of his rod and tackle. Underneath the print are some verses, which may thus be paraphrased:—

Mynheer Vandunk, though he never was drunk,
Sipp'd brandy and angled gaily;
And he quenched his thirst with two quarts of the first,
Hooking lots of fine salmon daily:
Singing—'Oh, that a fisherman's draught could be
As deep as the rolling Zuyder Zee!'

Water well mixed with spirit good store,
No fisherman thinks of scorning;
But of water alone he drinks no more
Than to help him to bring his fish on shore
Upon the market-stall in the morning.
For a fishing Dutchman's draught should be
As deep as the rolling Zuyder Zee.

Within the last half-century there have several lyrical productions appeared at the Hague, and in other towns in the higher parts of Belgium, in the vicinity of the tributaries of the Meuse, on the pleasures of angling. We have seen songs on the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Sambre, possessed of great merit. Our space will not allow us to say more of them.

Germany has contributed several good things, within the last century, to piscatory literature, both in prose and verse. We shall insert a few lines from Göethe's 'Angler,' of a playful and imaginary cast.

'There was a gentle angler who angled in the sea,
With heart as cool as only heart, untaught of love, could be;
When suddenly the waters rushed, and swelled, and up there sprung
A humid maid of beauty's mould—and thus to him she sung:

"Why dost thou strive so artfully to lure my brood away,
And leave them then to die beneath the sun's all-scorching ray?
Couldst thou but tell how happy are the fish that swim below,
Thou wouldst with me, and taste of joy which earth can never
know.

"Does not bright Sol, Diana too, more lovely far appear
When they have dipped in ocean's wave their golden-silvery hair?
And is there no attraction in this heaven-expanse of blue,
Nor in thine image mirrored in this everlasting dew?"

The water rushed, the water swelled, and touched his naked feet,
And fancy whispered to his heart it was a love-pledge sweet;
She sung another siren lay, more witching than before,
Half-pulled—half-plunging—down he sunk, and ne'er was heard of
more.'

In the northern parts of Europe, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Hungary, &c., angling has long formed a portion of the recreations of the people. There are several small works on the subject, in which there is more or less of imaginary and descriptive writing. For the translation of the following Norwegian ballad, we are indebted to a good Norse scholar, resident in Edinburgh.

‘Have you seen my shepherd lad,
De yee ken he’s weel?
Have you seen him by the rill,
With his rod and creel?
His golden locks—dimpled chin,
Make him dear to me;
Gentle smiles play round his lips
When he throws the flee.

‘Up the knowle there’s rippling streams,
That display his art;
But the cottage down the glen
Steals away his heart.
Here the hours he whiles away,
The rod is laid aside;
He vows—with love and fealty,
He’ll make me his bride.’

Leaving now our continental friends, and casting again a retrospective glance at ‘Old Isaac,’ we recognise his intimate and bosom friend, Dr. Cotton, who was from the commencement, and still is, invariably associated with his fame as a piscatory writer. Cotton was a most enthusiastic angler, and all his poetical effusions, found in his own poems, as well as in those published along with the common editions of Walton’s book, are lively, witty, and sentimental.

Walton and Cotton had many imitators; among the number was Parker, who wrote poetry on the art of angling. His verses were published in 1670. They never stood high in critical estimation.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, we find that the satirical and humorous became more frequently employed in angling effusions than in previous times. There are several quaint and funny ballads on matters and pursuits connected with the rod and line. We shall select one. It is from Llewellan’s ‘Men Miracles’ (1646), and treats of a subject which, in modern days, is a fertile topic of discussion and remark among anglers,—namely, ‘On unfair modes of fishing.’

‘You that fish for dace and roches,
Carpes or tenches, bonus noches,

Thou wast borne between two dishes,
 When the Fryday signe was fishes.
 Anglers' yeares are made and spent
 All in Emb'er weekes and Lent.

 Breake thy rod about thy noddle,
 Throw thy worms and flies by the pottle,
 Keepe thy corke to stop thy bottle,
 Make straight thy hooke, and be not afeard,
 To shave his beard;
 That in case of started stitches,
 Hooke and line may mend thy breeches.

' He that searches pools and dikes,
 Halters jackes, and strangles pikes,
 Let him know, though he think he wise is,
 'Tis not a sporte, but an assizes.
 Fish to hooke, were the case disputed,
 Are not tooke, but executed.

 Breake thy rod, &c.

' You whose pastes fox rivers throat,
 And make Isis pay her groat,
 That from May to parch October,
 Scarce a minnow can slepe sober,
 Be your fish in open thrust,
 And your owne red-paste the crust.

 Breake thy rod, &c.

' Hookes and lines of larger sizes,
 Such as the tyrant that troules devizes,
 Fishes ne'er believe his fable
 What he calls a line is a cable;
 That's a knave of endless rancor,
 Who for a hooke doth cast an anchor.

 Breake thy rod, &c.

' But of all men he is the cheater—
 Who with small fish takes up the greater;
 He makes carpes without all dudgeon,
 Makes a Jonas of a gudgeon;
 Crude man that straves on gravell,
 Fish that great with fish doth travell.

 Breake thy rod about thy noddle,
 Throw thy worms and flies by the pottle,
 Keepe thy corke to stop thy bottle,
 Make straight thy hooke, and be not afeard,
 To shave his beard;
 That in case of started stitches,
 Hooke and line may mend thy breeches.'

Moses Browne followed, in about three quarters of a century, the footsteps of Walton, of whose work he was a passionate

admirer, a commentator, and, in several respects, an imitator. Browne wrote his 'Eclogues' in the summer of 1727, and they were well received, and ran through several editions in the course of a few years. The 'Eclogues' are preceded by an ably written essay in defence of 'Piscatory Eclogue,' in which the writer endeavours to prove, that angling comes fairly within the range of pastoral poetry. He sees no reason why it should be generally restricted to shepherds, husbandmen, planters, or vine-dressers; for, says he—

'It might be imagined that angling, an exercise so gentle, and such a friend to contemplation, should need no argument to recommend it to the regard and favourable sentiments of a wise and thinking man; it seems so free from the hazard and fatigues of other recreations, and those ill habits and disorders many of them breed in mind and body, that one would think it was the innocent diversion of the infant world, and the readiest, most naturally suggested subject for pastoral poetry to be employed in. It has had charms to captivate the most illustrious, as well as the more humble, and to be equally loved by the most contrary minds.'

His 'Eclogues' are *nine* in number—'On Fishing Seasons'—'On Night Fishing'—'On the River Enemies to the Trout and the Salmon'—'The Sea Swains'—'On an Angler being crossed in Love'—'The Angler's Song'—'The Strife'—'The Fowlers,' and lastly—'The Complaint; or, the Friends.'

Gay, the author of the 'Fables,' and the 'Beggar's Opera,' wrote on angling. He describes in verse very minutely and beautifully all the different kinds of bait used for the trout; the mode of making artificial flies; and the best seasons for successfully pursuing the sport. Pope likewise wrote on the subject. Thomson, the author of 'The Seasons,' was, in his younger days, a zealous and successful angler. He was born and educated at the village of Ednim, in Roxburghshire, which is situated on one of the finest little tributaries of the Tweed, called the *Eden*, and which is full of the richest trout. In his splendid lines on angling, in his 'Spring,' he seems to have had the rich scenery of this sparkling river before him in his vivid and immortal description.

There were several other regular and formal dissertations on angling, during the last century, chiefly in verse, besides those we have enumerated. The principal of these are 'The Genteel Recreation; or, the Pleasures of Angling,' by John Whiting, 1700; 'The Innocent Epicure; or, the Art of Angling,' 1701; 'Piscatory Eclogues,' by T. Ford, D.D., originally written in Latin, and dedicated to Archbishop Sheldon. This work was translated by Tipping Silvester, M.A., Oxford, 1733. 'The

Angler ; Eight Dialogues in Verse,' by the Rev. Mr. Diaper, 1758, is an amusing and interesting book.

We cannot refrain from noticing a somewhat curious feature in the angling literature of this century—namely, the great number of *epitaphs*, on deceased anglers, to be found in burial-places both in England and Scotland. These are almost invariably penned in an amusing, but irreverent strain. We do not like to see wit and satire carried to the grave's mouth ; the subject is too serious and important to be the theme of such sport. Among a great number of such publications in our possession, we shall only insert one, relative to a character who, about sixty years ago, was a very notorious personage in the north of England :—

Lines on the Tombstone of William Allan, the notorious Gipsy, and Piper to the Duke of Northumberland.

' A stalwart tinker wight was he,
And weel could mend a pot or pan,
An' deftly Wull could *thrao a flee*,
An' neatly weave the willow wan'.

' And sweetly wild were Allan's strains,
An' many a reel and jig he blew ;
Wi' merry lilts he charm'd the swains,
Wi' barbed spear the otter slew.

' Nae mair he'll scan wi' anxious eye,
The sandy shore of winding Reed ;
Nae mair he'll tempt the finny fry,
The King of *Tinkers*, Allan's dead !

' Nae mair at *mell or merry night*,
The cheering bagpipes Wull shall blaw ;
Nae mair the village throng delight,
Grim death has laid the minstrel law.

' Now trouts exulting cut the wave,
Triumphant see the otter glide ;
Their deadly foe lies in the grave,
Charley and Phæbe by his side.'

Angling literature has been assiduously cultivated in Great Britain since the commencement of the present century. It has taken a wider range, and no small portion of wit, sentiment, and descriptive writing, of an elevated kind, has been thrown into piscatory publications of our own day.

This period is likewise characterized by a great increase of angling songs, many of them possessing much beauty and sweetness, as well as wit and drollery. The scenic representations of

celebrated angling localities have been highly worked up, and have been so artistically interwoven with the mere details of the 'gentle art' itself, as to make it doubly interesting and improving.

In 1825, Professor Wilson, of Edinburgh, to whom angling literature is more indebted than to any other living author, published his 'Angler's Tent.' It is the narrative of one day's journey among the mountains of Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Cumberland. The author, and the party with him, being well provided with all the *matériel* of comfort, visited some of the most wild and secluded scenes in these counties. He says, 'The images and feelings of these few happy days, and, above all, of that delightful evening, the author wished to preserve in poetry. What he has written, while it serves to himself and his friends as a record of past happiness, may, he hopes, without impropriety be offered to the public, since, if at all faithful, it will have some interest to those who delight in the wilder scenes of nature, and who have studied, with respect and love, the character of their simple inhabitants.'

The 'Salmonia' of Sir Humphrey Davy was published in 1828. It is, in some respects, an interesting work. It contains many observations on the habits and natural instincts of the trout and salmon; on the influence of lights and shadows on our judgments of external things; and on a variety of topics which may be supposed to suggest themselves to the mind of a highly-cultivated and philosophical angler. The author informs us that the work was written during several months of severe illness, and that it constituted his amusement during hours which otherwise would have been unoccupied and tedious.

The collection of songs called 'The Fisher's Garland,' published originally at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, are entitled to notice. They amount to twenty-five in number; one having been printed on a fly-sheet every year, from 1821 to 1845. The number of copies struck off each year was only about twenty, and these were chiefly confined to the members of an angling club, who were the concoctors of the songs. They are now reprinted in a neat volume. Mr. Stoddart, of Kelso, has been the most voluminous writer of angling songs of whom we have any knowledge. There are about fifty songs and sonnets together, in the volume mentioned at the head of this article.

There are several other angling works published in England, of recent date, besides those we have just mentioned, which will yield the contemplative and literary angler more or less pleasure and amusement. Among the number may be mentioned Captain Medwin's 'Angler in Wales;' 'Angling in Ireland;' Scrope's 'Days and Nights in Salmon Fishing;' and Stephen Oliver's (W. A. Chatto's) 'North Country Angler.' Angling literature

has likewise been assiduously and successfully cultivated in several British periodicals; more especially in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' and the 'Sporting Magazine.'

One of the principal causes of the modern interest and value of literary effusions on fishing generally, considered as an art or amusement, has arisen from the increase of travelling, both at home and abroad. The sphere of the rod-fisher has been vastly extended, and his pleasures varied and multiplied, by railway and steamboat facilities. And we have no doubt but that we shall, in the course of a very few years, have a great increase of piscatory lore from all parts of the habitable globe. We may be daily looking for the 'Angler's Handbook for Australia;' 'A Guide to the Angling Rivers of Caffraria;' or 'The Fly-Fisher's Vade-Mecum for the Waters of the Nile;' or some such publications. In America, rod-fishing is becoming a fashionable sport, and has been written about in the true Yankee spirit. The muses have been called into requisition; and we have the 'Indian's Song, on the Capture of the Salmon;' 'The Canadian Fisher's Garland;' and 'Verses by an Angler on the Fork River.'

In the wide range of piscatory writing which we have ventured to glance over, we recognise nearly the same leading features in all its aspects and localities, whether springing out of the cold and icy regions of the north, or under the genial sky of Italy. The general tone and tendency of the literature of the rod and the line are characterized by a soothing, contemplative, and moral influence, highly favourable to the formation and support of good habits. There is no vice necessarily connected with the sport; on the contrary, it predisposes the minds of the youthful in particular to those trains of thought which lead them to the cultivation of all that is gentle, amiable, and praiseworthy in life and conversation.

- ART. IV.—*Man and his Migrations*. By R. G. Latham, M.D., F.R.S.,
Corresponding Member of the Ethnological Society, New York,
&c. &c. &c. London. 12mo. 1851.
2. *The Ethnology of Europe*. By R. G. Latham, M.D., &c. London,
12mo. 1852.
3. *The Ethnology of the British Islands*. By R. G. Latham, F.R.S., &c.
London. 12mo. 1852.
4. *The Ethnology of the British Colonies and Dependencies*. By R. G.
Latham, F.R.S., &c. London. 12mo. 1852.

THE interest taken in such exhibitions as Mr. Catlin's Indian museum during the last six or seven years, and lately in the Zulu Caffres, and the poor apocryphal children called Aztecs, is a favourable sign of the public disposition to become acquainted with the varieties of the human race—a branch of knowledge now more than ever important in our rapid migrations over the earth. Our new political relations, too, with the millions of Turkey, and the still more surprising events among the hundreds of millions in China, give fresh value to correct intelligence respecting such varieties. Their history and character have long been too superficially studied, seeing the vastness of the subject, and the dangerous errors that spring from false estimates of its elements, and seeing, too, the extraordinary facilities we possess towards a thorough investigation of all the difficulties of the subject. Perhaps its neglect has arisen from the unsatisfactory method usually adopted by its teachers in developing it. Dr. Latham, whose works on ethnology may be recommended as useful manuals, gives strong reasons for disapproving that method. If his great diligence entitles him to respectful attention, his appointment also to the direction of the ethnological department of the Sydenham Palace gives his views, as shown in his books, still greater importance. The skill to be displayed in the construction and conduct of that department must have considerable influence upon its usefulness as a school of commerce, of colonization, of statesmanship, and of philanthropy.

But it is earnestly to be desired, that the specimens of man and his works, now to be offered to the world, may not be subjected to any modern system of classification yet devised, and certainly not to Dr. Latham's own plan. Before the publication of the four volumes, the titles of which are at the head of this article, Dr. Gordon Latham had, in his 'Natural History of the Varieties of Man,' proposed a new theory of the distribution of our race. Blumenbach, and others, had esta-

blished certain distinctions between what they, on the one hand, called the Caucasian race, or the better formed and fairer branches of the human family, in which Europeans were mixed with Circassians and Arabs; and on the other hand, those called the inferior, darker races, including Malays, Chinese, and Negroes, in divers groups. The inconsistency of this system is easily exposed by Dr. Latham. He therefore himself makes Europeans and their descendants alone, the superior race, under the name of the *Iapetidæ*; and he divides the rest of mankind into *two* great classes, of which one is to comprise Asiatics, aboriginal Americans, and Polynesians; the other the Africans. There is clearly no substantial improvement in this over Blumenbach's system; and if the Crystal Palace is to offer us our fellow-man in *three* groups, composed severally of mere debatable materials, we shall be little helped in our investigations, and derive no definite ideas from what we see there.

The fact is, our knowledge of the several families of man is too imperfect to admit of any such classification *yet*. Phenomena occur daily which disconcert previous opinions; and for the present we ought to be satisfied with knowing where to find such individuals as may safely be taken as types of great families, and what they habitually are doing.

Instead, then, of grouping men and women by themselves in the Sydenham Palace, as is done in books, it will be best to scatter them, among their works, all over the building. With the remains from Nineveh give ancient Asiatics of as many periods and families as you can, conquerors and conquered; with Belzoni's tombs, and other monuments from Egypt, give all its races; with a Greek temple give Athenians; with Etruscan, or Roman buildings, give old Italians; with a Druidical stone, or an Irish round tower, give a British and an Irish family. When India is visited, let the figures of various Indians, and the English now in India, be seen too. At the foot of a model of Pompey's pillar, or of one of the pyramids, let us see figures of the people now actually living in Egypt—Copts and Arabs, and the multitudes mingled with them there. Let some Russians surround any Russian object presented to us. Let even many of the departments be supplied with genuine *living* natives of the countries from which interesting products are brought. Mr. Dunn's Chinese museum was an admirable specimen of this; and the plan is easier than may appear at first sight. If well carried out it will have important results. A school of *languages* will thus be formed, and the value of the manufactured and natural articles collected will be the better ascertained. These people will acquire greater intelligence, and *return to their respective countries capable teachers*. Scarcely a foreign land exists but it occasionally

furnishes England with some of its inhabitants as visitors, from whom some might advantageously be received into this splendid refuge. Not long ago an Esquimaux was found at Deptford, and he did good service in one of our polar expeditions.

Dr. Latham has planned his four volumes in a way that suggests another convenient mode of *peopling* the Crystal Palace so as to familiarize its frequenters with the whole race. His first book traces the *migrations* of man generally; an exceedingly complex and difficult subject, of which no pictorial representation can be attempted; in the next volume he describes the inhabitants of Europe; in the third those of the British Islands; and those of our Colonies and India in the fourth. Adopting the easiest and most useful part of this distribution, something may be contrived of a highly interesting character, if the mixed population of Calcutta, for instance, or of Canton, were presented to the eye. The almost living Chinese collection, exhibited a few years ago in London and in America, is believed to have produced a most humanizing influence on the public mind in both countries. So the full-sized representation of a negro family in freedom, following the ordinary occupations of civilized life, would be a fine contrast to the terrible scenes in 'Uncle Tom,' or to Biard's equally afflicting picture of the Slave-mart.

In the 'Ethnology of the British Islands' Dr. Latham has enlarged on a subject full of controverted points, both as it is traced back to remote antiquity and also in the application of assumed qualities of race to questions of modern policy. In this case we ought to proceed from the known to the unknown. A rich series of portraits of distinguished men and women of our own time, completing the collection of all the worthies of all time, would help out our ethnology, as well as furnish a great gallery of illustrious names. To this should be added the portrait types of our people, English, Welsh, Irish, Scotch, Manx, Colonial, and Indian. There are localities too, such, for instance, as Hastings, believed to have in its fishermen a genuine remnant of an early and peculiar population. Particular families also are thought to be distinguished for generations by peculiar features and peculiar qualities. Both deserve critical notice.

To construct a Blumenbach or a Latham Museum of Man, as described in their valuable books, will be as bad as to adopt the Greek or Chinese division of the race, by which all but themselves, including, in ancient days, even Jews, Romans, and Carthaginians, were *barbarians*, and in modern times ourselves and every other Christian people. It is a wiser plan of Eratosthenes to distribute mankind into classes, as they are, more or less, remarkable for *moral* qualities, of which he maintained that all nations had some share. To represent them in connexion with the

products of their respective industries is to adopt that good principle on the more intelligible basis of their works.

Dr. Latham wisely reviews a branch of ethnology which merits immediate attention for the sake of our hundreds of thousands of emigrant countrymen. This is *ethnological medicine*. Our materials for it are singularly abundant, and actually arranged. In the College of Physicians these materials may be found collected under the highest official authority; and Dr. Latham, as a member of the College, should turn them to account in the Crystal Palace. They are returns sent through the secretaries of state for the colonies and foreign affairs from every region on earth where we have a consular or a colonial authority. The collection of the drugs here recorded from vast experience would be a valuable addition to the world-wide stores of the Crystal Palace.

It will not be an unsuitable addition to its treasures to adopt the idea of the poor child's exhibition of *wild* flowers at Salisbury, where nature alone, under the skilful guidance of the botanist, contributed largely to an annual amusement, as cheap and instructive as it was pleasing.*

Dr. Latham writes too rapidly, not too much. This leads him into inconsistencies, such as his crude notion about the component parts of the present English language. In the volume upon 'The Migrations of Man' he repeats an error on that subject respecting the '*unimportance* of the Celtic remains in our language.' He stumbled on this error in the first edition of his respectable work on 'Language;' but he corrected it in the second edition, when he had had the benefit of the late Mr. Garnet's discoveries, and of Mr. Kemble's admissions. He himself, too, furnishes another correction in the shrewd, and certainly correct remark, that 'a vast amount of Celticism *not found in our tongue* very probably exists in our pedigree.†

It would be easier to confess his error as to the matter of words, than to reconcile the inconsistency that is obvious upon the face of his observations respecting the language that is lost and the race that survives. But as Dr. Latham has the good quality of being a learner, he may be expected not to mar the grand purpose of the Sydenham Palace—the representation of man and nature—by sacrificing truth to immature systems.

* This original idea of an exhibition of *wild* flowers, so well carried out at Salisbury a few weeks ago, was reported in the county paper. It deserves to be made universally known.

† The Features of Man, p. 170.

ART. V.—*History of the Insurrection in China, with Notices of the Christianity, Creed, and Proclamations of the Insurgents.* By MM. Callery and Yvan. Translated from ~~the~~ French. With a Supplementary Chapter, narrating the most Recent Events, by John Oxenford. With a fac-simile of a Chinese Map of the course of the Insurrection, and a Portrait of Tien-Tè, its Chief. London: Smith and Elder. 1853.

2. *The Chinese Revolution.* Illustrated with several curious Engravings. London: Vizetelly. 1853.

TOWARDS the middle of the seventeenth century, the Mantchous, a Tartar tribe of warlike character, overran and conquered China. They were in number comparatively few, but yet sufficient to fill all the great posts of government, to form an army, and to supply with rulers and magistrates all the provinces, districts, and cities of the empire. The native Chinese were consequently shut out from every office of trust or emolument. This state of things lasted for a considerable period; but in proportion as time consolidated the authority of the conquerors, they admitted individuals from among the vanquished people to share in the management of public affairs, so that at length mandarins of all classes were created indiscriminately from both nations.

Such a state of things, though seemingly well established, was by no means calculated for long duration. The native race of princes had not been extirpated, though they were at first completely scattered, compelled to hide themselves in obscure places, and, for more effectual concealment, to change their names in many cases, and to mingle with the lowest ranks of the people. There is, however, in most countries a feeling, in the West denominated loyalty, which habitually inclines the masses to attach themselves blindly to the cause of the old ruling families. They consider this a virtue, and it is at least a respectable prejudice, especially in communities where nothing is to be looked for beyond dynastic changes. Through reverence for their ancient masters, the Chinese compassionated the fate of their descendants, and meditated constantly on the means of restoring them to the throne. To accomplish this the more effectually, they instituted throughout the empire secret societies, organized with consummate prudence and skill, which, by keeping alive and increasing the hatred between the subjugated race and their conquerors, paved the way for a great reformation at some distant day.

It must not be kept out of sight that the converts and disciples of the Jesuits, at one time extremely numerous and powerful, threw themselves heart and soul into the secret societies, through

detestation of the Mantchous, and in the hope of erecting a Christian empire. They associated the organization of Catholicism with the implicit obedience of the Buddhists, and in 1793, when all Europe was agitated by a vast political movement, matured an insurrection which nearly brought about a change of dynasty. After several sanguinary engagements, however, the insurgents were ultimately defeated, and the infuriated Mantchous wreaked upon their prisoners, more especially the Christians, the accumulated vengeance of a whole century. In the '*Nouvelles Lettres Edifiantes*,' the history of that formidable rebellion is related in a highly interesting, though irregular manner; and in order thoroughly to comprehend what is now taking place in China, the public should revert to those volumes of the Jesuits, which are full at once of amusement and instruction.

From the period we have mentioned, when revolution became epidemical in the world, European influence exercised more or less directly a disorganizing effect on the Mantchou power. The native Chinese beheld, at first with surprise, and then with contempt, the utter inferiority of their Tartar rulers to the peaceful and money-loving strangers from the West. Above all, the English distinguished themselves by a cautious, though unequivocal antagonism to the governing caste, which interfered vexatiously with their trade, and frequently threatened them with expulsion. Such an event could not have failed to prove disastrous to large classes of the industrious natives, who felt this, and trembled for their own subsistence. At the same time, glimpses of the Protestant faith were disclosed to the Chinese, who perceived at once its revolutionary character, and eagerly, therefore, embraced its tenets.

Gutzlaff, according to his own account, a Chinese by descent, found great favour with the people of the Celestial Empire, who eagerly joined the secret society he established called the '*Union*,' which had for its object the dissemination of Protestantism, and the organizing of a general conspiracy against the Tartars. While these affairs were in progress, the war broke out with England, and the natives learned by experience what a mere handful of disciplined and courageous men could perform in opposition to disorganized and ignorant multitudes. They beheld the vain and weak man who styled himself the Brother of the Sun and Moon, and affected to exercise sovereign power over all nations, subdued and humiliated by a small British force; compelled to sue humbly for peace; concede to the conquerors a portion of his territories; and agree to pay tribute during a number of years. While the contest was going on, the secret societies had made an offer to the English of the Chinese empire, and it is little to the credit of their policy that

they refused it. We by no means hold with the doctrine that wars are to be undertaken and conquests made for the purpose of propagating our religious faith; but when, on other grounds, an immense portion of the earth might have been annexed to Christendom, it, is we think, matter of regret that the opportunity should have been thrown away.

But so it was, and the sceptre of the Celestial Empire was left in the incompetent hands which had so long appeared to wield it. The native Chinese population seem at one time to have hoped, that if we would not become their masters ourselves, we might at least consent to set up some prince of the Ming dynasty. When the war terminated without producing any change in their political condition, they at once resolved on making some attempt by their own unaided force. The mighty league of secret societies was re-organized, and quickened with a fresh and more ardent spirit. Hope animated revenge. The Mantchous had always been known to be cruel; they were now found to be inactive and cowardly. This, then, was the moment for national redemption, and from the Great Wall to the ocean, from the Yellow Sea to the borders of Tonquin, the native Chinese mind was agitated by the most powerful passions—patriotism, the love of glory, and a thirst for vengeance.

In obedience to some great law, with which we were hitherto unacquainted, the various populations of the civilized world appeared to be inspired by the same ideas at a particular period, though little or no actual communication may have taken place between them. In the year 1848, a blow was dealt to the European despotisms, from which, in spite of appearances, they are staggering yet; and two years later the insurrectionary movement commenced in China, which, from that day to this, has gone on without intermission, and either now or at some future day will inevitably prove fatal to the Mantchou power.

It makes very much against our knowledge of Chinese affairs, that the written language of the people is artificial, and its system of nomenclature uncouth. We find it difficult to extend our sympathies to an individual named Ching-Chang, or Hung-Foo. Instead of deriving political instruction from the events of their lives, we experience a disturbance of our risible faculties. For this reason we shall be as sparing as possible in the use of Chinese names, which would besides aid us very little in the knowledge of occurrences.

The authors of the work at the head of the present article are men of prudence and ability, who have in an eminent degree divested themselves of national prejudices, and acquired the power to do justice towards all. Mistaken they may be on some points, because the subject of which they treat is so recent as to be

on that account obscure. Time has not yet been afforded to lift the veil from circumstances, to discover and analyse motives, to study the character of the principal actors, or to ascertain the relative strength of contending parties. All that seems at present practicable is to sketch, as they have done, boldly in outline, the occurrences of the last three years, which, if they lead the Chinese nation to the expected goal, will hereafter be classed among the most extraordinary recorded in the annals of mankind.

All great exhibitions of popular virtue have been closely connected with religion or superstition. Every nation has its prophets and sages, its lawgivers and martyrs, who have bequeathed to their successors predictions, political axioms, traditions, legends, which, taken altogether, form in some sense the spiritual atmosphere of the community. The insurrection in the Quang Ly, which initiated the present movement in China, was heralded in by precursory symptoms. Marvels, observe the historian, preceded realities, and invested them with a sort of *prestige*, by imparting to the rebellion the character of an event predicted by the prophets, and expected by true believers. A report was current among the people, that the forty-eighth year of the present cycle, which began 1851, was the epoch fixed by prophecy for the restoration of the dynasty of Ming. It was added that a great patriot, who lived under the last emperor of that race, had preserved his standard, and had foretold that whoever unfurled it in the midst of his army would ascend the throne. Under this miraculous flag the insurgents, on the first taking up of arms, were said to march. And the fact was not at all questioned by public opinion; a general uneasiness soon took possession of the national mind. There was a report of treacherous or corrupt mandarins, the number and importance of secret affiliations were exaggerated, and in several places meetings were held, where the legitimacy of the Tartar rulers and the necessity of substituting a national dynasty were openly discussed.

When events happen out of the ordinary course, men yield them just as much credence as is compatible with their own character. Critics of Chinese affairs here in Europe, eager to reduce everything to commonplace, are apt to regard the present movement as a contest of mere vulgar interest. But the love of national independence is something loftier than this, and there seems no good reason to doubt that there exist patriots in China, who would deem it no misfortune to shed their blood for the deliverance of their country. If they connect this enterprise with the restoration of an ancient line of princes, they only act in strict conformity with Oriental ideas. The very existence of popular institutions is unknown to them. Their only choice lies between dynasties, and they may reasonably enough prefer to live under the

sway of one of the descendants of the Ming—a family of native princes—to bowing the neck to a Mantchou Tartar, who despises their indigenous manners, who has merely adopted their religion, who brings to Peking a wife with large feet from Tartary, and who still mangles and mutilates their language like a foreigner. The prince, on the other hand, whom the insurgents have set up, is spoken of as a young man of uncommon merit, studious, retired, modest, with a profound conviction of the righteousness of his cause, dauntless resolution, and a politic and winning bearing, scarcely compatible with the inexperience of youth. To account in some measure for this, he is said to be accompanied by a counsellor, whether his friend, father, or teacher, who remains perpetually invisible. Some have supposed this personage to be a clever myth, like the genius of Socrates. But in that case we should only be encountered by greater difficulty in the attempt to account for that profound wisdom, by which the actions of Tien-Tè have on nearly all occasions been characterized.

The very selection of the province of Quang Ly for the first seat of the insurrection may be enumerated among the proofs of his judicious policy. Taken altogether, it is perhaps one of the least accessible, as it is one of the most interesting of the divisions of China. Its general aspect is singularly picturesque, and offers points of view which have often been delineated by Chinese painters. Their landscapes, however, always appear strange to European eyes, with their inaccessible mountains, which look as if created by the human imagination—the rocks having a resemblance to gigantic animals—the rivers falling into abysses crossed by impassable bridges—all these seem to us like something belonging to the realm of fancies. But, as in other mountainous regions, the land for the most part is barren, or forced into fertility by the incessant toil of its inhabitants, who acquire in their contests with nature a bold and hardy disposition of mind. Men dwelling among such scenes, have in all parts of the world been advanced to independence, so that the forces of the most powerful empires have often suffered disaster and defeat from a handful of desperate mountaineers resolved to perish or be free. Among the rumours of the day, one was circulated attributing the discovery of silver mines in this wild region to the leaders of the insurrection, who were thus, it is said, enabled to support their troops until victory had rendered them masters of the rich cities and plains of China. Tien-Tè's first followers consisted chiefly of the Miao-tze, a fierce and warlike tribe, living in small isolated societies among the sterile ridges which extend to the central provinces of the empire. They choose secluded spots to dwell in, never congregating to the number of more than two thousand. Like the Malays, they raise their houses on

piles, keeping their domestic animals under the same roof. Though agriculturists, they are much addicted to war, reckless of danger, and accustomed to fatigue. They are among those tribes which the Tartars have never been able to reduce to submission. They still adhere to the ancient costume of their nation, have never shaved their heads, and have invariably repelled the authority of the mandarins, and the customs of the Chinese. 'Their independence,' said a mandarin, 'is now an established fact, and in our maps their country is left white, to show that they do not submit to the emperor.'

During the reign of a former emperor an attempt was made to subdue them, and bulletins were issued announcing mighty victories obtained by the imperial troops; but it was soon found necessary to abandon all ideas of breaking the spirit of these mountaineers. In 1832 their martial character exhibited itself in an unusual manner. They exalted one of their nation with the title of emperor, clothed him in the imperial yellow robe, and under his standard made an irruption into the lower countries, which they utterly devastated. 'Their invasions,' said a Mantchou to an English traveller, 'caused us great uneasiness. Our troops were beaten by these savage hordes.' The Miao-tze, too warlike to be conquered by arms, yielded to the arts of negotiation. Skilful diplomatists were dispatched to them from the court, and by offering them certain advantages persuaded them to disband their troops and return peaceably home. When some of the mandarins were asked whether these tribes never descended into the plains on errands of friendliness, they said that such a thing scarcely ever occurred. They carry on little trade, but cultivate mountain rice, fell timber, and sell it to merchants, who come up to their villages every year. Otherwise their intercourse with their neighbours is confined to the interchange of part of their produce for articles of which they stand in absolute need. By the Chinese they are called 'Men-dogs,' 'Men-wolves,' and are said to have tails. When a child is born they cauterise the soles of its feet to harden them; but though, in this as in other respects, they are barbarians, traces of refinement and literature have been discovered among them.

In the south-west portions of these strange provinces the insurgents passed the first month of 1850, though they gradually congregated upon the frontier. Several cities fell into their hands, after more or less opposition from the mandarins; and, by adopting the tactics of feigned retreats and ambuscades, they defeated the imperial forces whenever they met.

Up to this time there was no idea of a pretender to the Chinese throne. One general after another was appointed, who avowed a design to overthrow the Mantchou throne; but no mention was

made of establishing a new dynasty in its place. Even when they left their own provinces, passed the boundary of Kuan-Tuang, cut a hostile army to pieces, and heard that the far-famed Commissioner Lin was ordered against them, they fixed on no policy to pursue, when their first object was accomplished. The vigorous old mandarin set out immediately for the province he was commanded to reduce, and peremptorily summoned the insurgents to surrender. They replied in a bold and able proclamation, declaring the Mantchous to be aliens and usurpers, and maintaining their own right to dispossess them. This was their first political act, and soon after the death of Lin occurred, which strengthened them in proportion as it weakened their enemies.

At the commencement of the next year, the government, by false reports of its own victories, had set the currents of trade and industry in full flow; but, meanwhile, the insurrection was gaining strength, and, one by one, the Anglo-Chinese press began to perceive the true character of the movement. They had treated it as an insurrection of robbers; but now understood it to be a war of races for power. The Tartars had imposed on the conquered people the fashion of shaving the head, so as to leave only a long tail from the *sinciput*; and, therefore, when the rebels began to let their hair grow, and to wear their clothes according to the custom of their ancestors, it was clear that these acts—amounting in China to high treason—signified an irreconcilable rupture. The court was greatly alarmed, as well as the commercial community, and so the official journal published a forged document, pretending to be a confession from the rebels, and a petition for mercy. It was also announced that the miraculous standard of the insurgents had been captured. Nevertheless, acts of unusual vigor were thought necessary, and a new commissioner, of ferocious character, was appointed to quench the flames of revolt. This was Li, with his lieutenant, whose name was terrible throughout the empire, and he speedily added to his sanguinary renown by wholesale execution, under the sanction of ‘preventive justice.’ His victims were put to death without trial. They were probably members of the secret societies which ramified throughout the empire, with the known object of dethroning the Mantchous. In allusion to them we have the following striking account:—

‘In 1845 we passed several days in the society of a tradesman of the Chan-Toung, who clandestinely introduced arms into the territories of the empire. He conducted us to a house which he occupied in the western part of the suburb, the dirtiest and worst inhabited quarter of the outer town. The proprietors were adepts of the association. We were received by a young woman with large feet, and with her head dressed in the usual Chinese fashion, with silver bodkins and flowers in her hair, and attired in a tunic and trousers of deep blue. We went

into a species of garret, though it must be observed the garrets in this country are on the first floor. The merchant had taken us home to ask our opinion respecting the arms he had bought from the Americans. These were enormous sabres, with steel scabbards. They were of common workmanship, but were, nevertheless, very cheap, having been sold in China at the price of ten francs, which was less than prime cost. When we entered the room, our Chinese friend drew one of these broad blades from its sheath, and with loud exclamations began to throw himself into attitudes, after the manner of those Chinese heroes which are painted on fans. After giving him our opinion on the value and quality of his merchandise, we asked him if he had purchased these arms for the invincible "tigers." At these words the Chinese smiled in a significant manner, and by an expressive gesture showed us the use to which the weapons were to be applied, with respect to the imperial troops. Who can say? Perhaps at this very moment these gigantic sabres are in the hands of the rebels; perhaps their keen blades have laid open more than one blue chang, and have demolished more than one conical cap.'—pp. 68, 69.

Terrible as the name of Li's lieutenant was, frequent as were the rumours of imperial triumphs, and bloody as were the executions, nothing daunted the insurgent armies. They raised up a competitor to the throne, clothed him in majestic yellow, resounded his name through the empire, and circulated myriads of his portraits, contrary to the Tartar law, which prohibits subjects from copying the features of their sovereign. The insurrection was now nothing less than a civil war, and the activity of the court was doubled. Rumours had come that a Christian spirit was alive in the rebel camp; that pagodas fell, and idols were broken, as they advanced, and that Tien-Tè, though under a pagan title, was a Protestant. The mighty Mandarin Lin was therefore charged to aid in suppressing the revolt, and set out on his expedition, after being exasperated by various wounds to his pride in Canton. Three thousand men composed his guard, besides servants, executioners, musicians, flag-bearers, and a party of young women. On the way they came to a deep and rapid stream, which was to be crossed only by a swinging bridge of bamboo. Part of the escort was already safe on the opposite bank; the coolies were proceeding with great caution, and Lin was giving orders, when, as they reached the middle, the frail structure jerked to one side, and precipitated all who were on it into the river. Riotous confusion followed. The military chest was at the bottom, the coolies were swimming and struggling, and the mandarin, in a fury, was violently beating the edge of his palanquin with a fan. Willingly would he have bastinadoed them all; but the main thing was to recover the money; so he commanded them, on pain of terrible chastisement, to fish up the precious chest.

'The coolies threw off their clothes, and courageously plunged into the water. They were skilful divers, and after having duly explored the bottom of the river, they succeeded, after many efforts, in bringing ashore the precious chest, which, though wet and covered with mud, had received no damage. Lin lost no time in having it placed on the shoulders of two other coolies, and gave orders to renew the journey. Some days afterwards, when he had reached Chao-King, one of his first cares was to have the chest opened in his presence; when, in the place of his ingots of gold, he found nothing but flints and pieces of stone, wrapped carefully up in silky paper. The coolies were audacious thieves, who had dextrously contrived the substitution. The viceroy, in a transport of rage, set all the police on the alert; but in vain. The thieves had doubtless taken possession of the country of the rebels, where both their person and their booty were in safety.'

It was supposed by many that the forces of the Pretender, if they could not be beaten, might be corrupted; but there was evidently a deeper motive than gain at the bottom of the rebellion. The insurgents were implacable towards their vanquished enemies, and slaughtered them with merciless fury. Nevertheless, bulletins came to Peking announcing the confusion of the emperor's foes, and the prowess of his warriors. An entire file had been swept off by a single ball; 800 men were killed by one volley; three cities were captured in a day; and all these falsehoods were attested by names, dates, and places, officially declared. Li, the commissioner, died, but there were abundance of political chiefs ready to serve and perish for the Mantchou throne.

Meantime, however, while the 'Brother of the Moon' was walking in the imperial gardens at Peking, a man attempted to stab him, and was only prevented by persons coming suddenly to their master's succour. It was unknown whether the assassin was an agent of the rebels, or employed by the relatives of the emperor, who wished an older and more experienced man, at such a crisis, to guard the Mantchou throne. Eighteen mandarins, with their families, were put to death, in consequence of this incident. In the provinces, reports were circulated that the attempt had been actually successful and that Tien-Tè was without a rival. Coins were struck in his name, and were now mixed with the currency which came into the hands of the European merchants. Towards the close of 1851, by means of these divisions, and through the *prestige* of constant success, the insurgents had gained such power, that the imperialists felt that their authority was shaken to the base. On the other hand, the policy of terror was adopted, and the government, unable to punish the rebels, punished inhumanly those who failed to defeat them. But the 'Son of Heaven' was composing poetical pieces, while Tien-Tè was publishing manifestoes, inspiring his troops, and by politic strategy,

laying open a highway to the capital. More than 700 persons had been during the year 1851 executed as traitors. Infinite numbers perished in the field, but there was no diminution in the mutual fury of the belligerents, and China continued to be deluged with increasing bloodshed.

When Tien-Tè published his next proclamation, the Christian element became more visible, and the influence of Gutzlaff was very apparent. The Tartars, therefore, saw their religion assailed as well as their dynasty, and were thus spurred by a double impulse to renew their exertions for defence. Thirteen thousand chosen warriors were marched into the insurgent provinces, and dressed in red cassocks trimmed with white, bearing on the head and back pieces of white calico inscribed with large black characters; the appearance of this army was sufficiently grotesque. The horsemen, wrapped in long blue robes, look more like Turkish women than soldiers; and the standard-bearers, holding aloft their painted dragons, add to the dramatic if not to the military effect. To meet this imposing array, the rebels assembled in moderate force, and an encounter took place on an irregular plain, bordered with sloping hills, and broken by a few shallow valleys, near to Kiang-Kiang river, in Kuang-Si. The banners were planted; the drummers formed a dark circle round them; the regiments deployed under cover, and a signal was given to attack the enemy in flank.

The imperial troops rushed forward with horrible shouts, while the gongs were struck, so as to produce a storm of metallic sound. The insurgents feebly defended their position, moving from point to point, with their assailants in pursuit, until they planted themselves behind huge bamboo thickets, into which the imperialists were decoyed. Then the tactics of the enemy were displayed. From the hills on every side they swarmed down, with upwards of sixty guns; the Mantchous tried in vain to retreat, and great numbers were put to the sword. Many joined the rebels, and not more than half of the imperialists returned to their camp.

At the next battle the Tartar general sought to retrieve this disaster by a notable stratagem worthy of Homeric times. Four thousand buffaloes were fastened together, and torches were fixed to their horns. A troop of four thousand men was appointed to conduct them; but the enemy received intelligence of the plan, and opened a passage for the infuriated herd, as it came trampling and plunging along, casting a splendid light around, by the aid of which the rebels discovered all the movements of their enemy, and were enabled to effect a prodigious carnage. This bright idea of Sui's caused a loss of more than two thousand lives. It may be mentioned, *à propos* of this circumstance, that the science of war in China is contained in a treatise, which

ivate persons, all civil mandarins, below the third, and all
 ry mandarins below the fourth rank, are forbidden to read.
 kseller is allowed to keep one copy of this work in his shop,
 hen he sells it the name and address of the purchaser are
 red, as if he were buying poison. Before the English com-
 d their war in China they took care to procure several
 . . . A mandarin once heard of this circumstance, when he
 liately exclaimed,—‘I am not surprised now that the red-
 barbarians defeated us!’

Pretender’s army now commanded all that quarter of the
 a. He himself, with a large force, was strongly intrenched
 ountain, near the Koneis Lin. The imperial envoy sent
 embassy, proposing terms of peace, but Tien-Tè, surrounded
 al pomp, declared that he would not submit to the Tartar
 r, who was his subject, but whom he advised to leave the
 y, that each race might possess its own, and tranquillity be
 estored. Shortly after he descended upon the plains, and
 ions meeting the imperialists, inflicted on them a signal
 . An insignificant chief being caught, the viceroy pretended
 s Tien-Tè, and publicly executed him; but the trick was
 discovered, and every one knew that the real aspirant was
 mong his mountains again. An insurrection in Formosa at
 me added to the troubles and perils of the reigning dynasty.
 vast provinces, Nan, Hon-Pæ, and the Konang-Si, were in
 sion of the insurgents, and Hon-Koang was daily threatened.
 r slight checks only animated them to more strenuous
 , and for every reverse a tremendous revenge was inflicted.
 xactions made to punish resistance brought money in pro-
 to Tien-Tè’s treasury.

project of forming the Chinese dominions into a federal
 e was now developed; but the rebels were wise not to
 y themselves with discussing the details of a future policy,
 the emergencies of the present required all their vigour and

They laid siege to the capital of the Hon-Nan, a picture
 ich is highly descriptive of the general aspect of China,
 s civilization :—

is city, which is called Tchang-Cha, is situated on the river
 one of the tributaries of the Yang-Tsze Kiang. The Siang is a
 ver, with limpid waters, continually furrowed by innumerable
 . Tchang-Cha, whose battlements are reflected on the glassy
 e of the stream, is backed by mountains covered with trees half-
 p, and terminating in peaks as black as basalt. This city was
 ered important as far back as five hundred years before Christ.

this time a celebrated man named Chèn-yuèn was drowned
 blue waters of Siang. He was probably some fresh-water sailor,
 excessor of the *canotiers* on the Seine. His countrymen, afflicted

at his death, proclaimed him the genius of the stream, and established regattas in his honour. From these remote times to the present day, the nautical *fête* has been celebrated on this spot every year, on the fifth day of the fifth moon, with undiminished splendour. The privileged vessels which take part in the sport are without parallel in the world. They are small, long, narrow boats, representing all the fantastic animals devised by the imaginations of the children of the empire. Some have the lengthened form of serpents, and are winged like antediluvian reptiles. Others have the shape of chimæras, with long teeth, and a tail armed with darts; while others, again, resemble the dragons of the pagodas, with their scaly backs shining like bars of metal. These fantastic boats are richly gilt, and are painted inside green, red, or blue. They literally fly across the waters, each impelled by the force of twenty rowers. The *fêtes* generally last for three days.' —pp. 170, 171.

Though the siege was raised, the town suffered greatly from the batteries of the rebels, whose operations now extended through the provinces of Konèi-Tcheon and Chang-Toung, where the land is of moderate fertility, and the sober inhabitants are much addicted to peace. In the latter, Confucius was born, and therefore the rebels desired ardently to plant their flags in this soil prolific of tradition. Their arms were spreading with terrible rapidity. The people and the officials were crowding into their camps; the emperor was robbed and deserted by bands of his public officers, and the roads and rivers of China were in all directions thrown open to the marching or floating hosts, which daily took cities, and subdued populations, and swept into their commissariat the plunder of districts and villages. On-Tchang-Fou, the capital of the Hon-Pæ, was now taken, and this disastrous news filled all the friends of the Tartar dynasty with sorrow and dismay. Every effort was made to put the remaining capitals of the empire into a state of good defence; some mandarins, glutted with wealth, gave a portion to the service of the throne, and a few acts of devotion and magnanimity brightened the monotonous story of terror and oppression; but the mass of the people awaited sullenly, perhaps anxiously, the downfall of their Mantchou rulers.

The imperialists on one side, and the insurgents on the other, anxiously awaited a movement on the part of the British authorities. The former changed their habitual insolence into a tone of respect; the latter frankly declared they were friendly to the white people. At first it was imagined that the government would prevail on the English to lend their countenance, if not their aid, to the Tartar armies against the rebels; but it soon became evident that their policy would be neutral, while their sympathy decidedly favoured the insurrectionary party. But the Chinese were not foolish enough to rely on foreign assistance. Under the banners of Tien-Tè, they marched, commanded by Tæ-

Pe-Wang, with four other 'kings,' whose united armies acted in concert, and gradually closed upon Nankin, preaching around them a doctrine in which Christianity was strangely blended with a compound faith of their own. At length, with a large army, and a formidable fleet, passing down the Yang-Tsze-Kiang amidst a universal panic, they appeared before the ancient capital of China, which the insurgents desire to restore to that eminence.

Nankin, containing more than five hundred thousand inhabitants, encloses within its walls a space three times as large as that of Paris; but large cultivated spots are found in its streets, and grass grows along the quays.

'Nankin is situated on an immense plain, intersected by canals as numerous as those which traverse the human body. In the midst of fertile fields, innumerable rivulets and streams of navigable water are perpetually crossing each other. The banks are planted with willows and bamboos, with straight stalks and dark foliage. It is on the plains of the province of Nankin that the yellowish cotton is grown, which, when woven, is exported in such enormous quantities. Here also is reaped the greater part of the rice which is consumed throughout the empire. Nothing in Europe can give an idea of the fruitfulness of this province—neither the plains of Beauce, nor the plains of Lombardy, nor even that richest of lands, Flanders. In the Kiang Nan the fields are covered with crops twice a-year, and produce fruit and vegetables without cessation. On the borders of the arable land the most delicious vegetables in the world are produced.'—p. 221

Twenty-eight millions of people—according to the volume before us—inhabit the province; that is, ten times as many as in Belgium, ten times as many as in Holland, and rather more than in the whole of France. The city itself is built in the water, and, like Rotterdam, is surrounded by fertile marshes, and waters abounding with fish. Under clumps of trees are scattered the dwellings of mandarins, where Chinese beauties make verses and write them, as they float over their lakes in elegant painted junks. Such a lady the Tartar Emperor had, just at this period, resolved to place by his side on the throne, and yellow placards announced the auspicious resolve in all parts of his dominions. But, while he busied himself in marriage festivities, his enemies were beleaguering Nankin. It was rumoured that a conspiracy was prepared to open its gates to them; and bulletins reached the government announcing victories gained by his 'tigers,' but which we find naively dismissed by a remark, 'An ordinary Chinese lies often, very often, a mandarin lies always.' A few more pages of the narrative bring us to the day when Nankin was attacked, taken, and made the residence of the triumphant pretender.

The emperor sat almost paralysed on his throne, when he

heard of this terrible disaster. Furious, though impotent, he revenged himself, like a Stuart, by maltreating the bodies of the dead. The remains of some insurgent chiefs, which fell into the hands of the Tartars, were cut to pieces; the hearts were dragged out, and exposed to the soldiers' gaze. His stupid barbarity was better exhibited by his pardon, graciously bestowed on some officers who had been defeated, in consideration of their having 'died of a mortal sickness.' However, he appealed to Heaven with public prayers, and declared he would pass a whole night at the altar of his gods. Lin and some other unsuccessful generals were put to death; and others were shut up in cages. On the other hand, the rebels went calmly on, publishing manifestoes, in which the hateful rapacity of the mandarins was depicted, and making appeals to the patriotism of the country. Clemency and justice were enjoined to the insurgent troops, and peace, after victory, was promised to the whole empire. In other proclamations they declared themselves not to be brutal destroyers, but organised, merciful patriots, desirous of complete reforms in the administration, anxious to trade, unwilling to draw the Europeans into their struggle, and, above all things, bent upon casting down the idols 'of the stupid priests of Buddha.'

In order to compromise the insurgents with the foreign residents in China, the Mantchous circulated forged documents, insulting to the English, the Americans, and the French. The passage of an American steamer up the river, as if to menace Nankin, gave a colour to some of these things, and a collision was very nearly taking place. The enterprise of the heroic Mr. Meadows, however, who went to the insurgents, with the object of ascertaining their disposition towards the Christian nations, and explaining to them in his turn, baffled all the Mantchou intrigues, and the wise neutral policy of the British government was not disturbed.

The triumph of Tien-Tè is now so far secure that a series of unprecedented reverses would be required to change his fortunes. He commands the most intrepid and restless of the people, whose spirit and personal courage are very great. He has the sympathy of nearly the whole population, for the Tartars are hated in cities and provinces alike; and everywhere opportunities are taken to manifest this feeling. The *principles* of the civil war are described in the following passage:—

'At the present moment the Chinese Pretender is the representative of progress; he appears as a reformer, lamenting abuses, inspiring hope in those who suffer, and confidence in the rich and learned. His auxiliaries, the five feudatory kings, who are all enlightened persons, being at the same time disciples of Confucius, and Protestants or

Deists, fight against barbarism with the sword, and attack the superstitions of Buddhism, proclaiming a purer morality, and the doctrine of the Unity of God. Hien-foung, on the other hand, does not at all understand the change that has taken place in the mind of his people, and he fights against his adversaries, the innovators, with the weapons of judicial punishment. His ministers, who are ignorant and false, and his generals, who are cowardly and rapacious, deceive him without compunction. They propose no useful measures; but, to revive the spirit of their young master, they impudently tell him of the pretended miracles that have been worked in favour of his cause.

‘Another misfortune of Hien-foung is this,—that he gives evidence of those bad feelings—of that old leaven of barbarism—which is natural to the Chinese, and which is still fermenting in the bosoms of his agents. We, who have personally known those fat, smiling mandarins, lovers of pleasure and good cheer, were at first inclined to believe, that in accordance with the fundamental maxim of their philosophy, they were born kind and humane. We certainly saw them deal a few cuts with the bamboo as they went along; but we did not think they could have used without compunction the axe of the executioner. But the public places, transformed into shambles, where a hundred heads are lopped off daily—men locked up in cages like wild beasts, and wretched victims, whose hearts are torn out alive—have greatly changed our opinion, and have inspired us with a profound horror for a government that can order such atrocities. Certainly, the cause of Hien-foung may still prove triumphant, but our natural feelings seem to desire a contrary result; and we seem to comply with a sentiment of humanity when we predict the downfall of the Tartar dynasty.

‘My opinion is,’ said a Chinese doctor, ‘that it is the spirit of Christianity which will overthrow Hien-foung.’—pp. 278, 279.

The insurrection, since the publication of Callery and Yvan’s book, has been spreading gradually, without any sudden or startling movements. Amoy fell into the hands of the insurgents some months ago, and every attempt of the imperialists to repossess themselves of it has been defeated. We now hear that Shanghai also has been taken, and intelligence may shortly be expected of the fall of Peking. Wherever the armies of Tien-Tè appear, the secret societies exhibit the work they have achieved, and the population throng thickly to the insurrectionary flag. Indeed, as soon as the rebel gongs are heard, and the gaudy standards are seen in advance of their troops, acclamations welcome them, except from the Mantchous, who, in many instances, have been cut off with barbarous and unsparing slaughter. The magistrates of that race, and all persons in authority, are usually decapitated at once; but in spite of these atrocities, the insurgents far excel their enemies in humanity, for women, and the weak and poor, are usually protected; while neither age, nor

sex, nor innocence, guards the person who has awakened fear, or jealousy, or revenge in the minds of the foreign masters of China—whose power is now passing out of *their* hands.

The friends of Christian Missions have been watching these strange movements in China with special interest. Already the Protestant teachers travel freely in the interior, and are welcomed by multitudes of the people. The Scriptures are already translated, revised, printed, and to a large extent circulated and read in the Chinese language. A succession of missionaries have, for nearly half a century, been labouring in the outposts of Java, Penang, Singapore, and Malacca, as well as in Canton. Since the triumph of the British arms in China has secured freedom for foreigners in the commercial cities of Canton, Amoy, and Shanghai, additional labourers have gone out from this country. The college and printing establishment of the London Missionary Society have been removed from Malacca to the recently acquired British colony of Hong Kong, in which there is an episcopate of the English church. Churches of native converts enjoy the superintendence of native pastors, and several native teachers, under the direction of English missionaries. Leang Afa, the first Protestant convert, continues to preach the Gospel to his fellow-countrymen. The Chinese New Testament is now produced at Hong Kong and at Shanghai for the sum of *four-pence*, and the British and Foreign Bible Society is vigorously preparing to give to the Chinese people a million copies of this divine book. In a circular recently issued by the directors of the London Missionary Society, they say—

‘Although it must be doubted whether the chiefs and teachers of the Chinese insurgents can be regarded as even *almost* Christians, yet, apart from whatever is erroneous in their doctrines and defective in their characters, they are, as the instruments of God, *effecting* a wonderful change in the minds and habits of the people. Idolatry is falling, the unity and attributes of the true God are distinctly acknowledged, and some of the essential truths of Christianity are clearly stated. The promise of their *social improvement* is not less distinct. Isolation and exclusiveness are no longer made the national boast; but goodwill and fraternity are proclaimed with the distant nations of the earth; and our countrymen, instead of being reproached, as *aforetime*, as barbarians, have been welcomed as brethren and friends.’

We rejoice to learn that the Society, which for six and thirty years laboured in China entirely by itself, is emboldened to project a reinforcement of *ten* additional missionaries in that country, and an increased outlay of three or four thousand pounds per annum. *The wily adversaries of Protestant missions are already there.* The Earl of Shaftesbury presided over an influential meeting on behalf of this project on the last day of November,

1853, at which the directors were instructed to present an urgent application to affluent friends of the Society for their generous contributions, and also to pastors and officers of the several churches affiliated with the Society for simultaneous collections on the fourth Sabbath of this present month. We observe with much satisfaction the names of the Earl of Shaftesbury, Sir Edward N. Buxton, Bart., Sir Culling E. Eardley, Bart., S. Morton Peto, Esq., M.P., in a large list of liberal contributors towards the enlargement of the Society's operations in China.

In addition to the work of MM. Callery and Yvan, we recommend to our readers Mr. Vizetelly's shilling volume, of which we have given the title. It contains a valuable body of information, derived from MM. Huc and Gabet's '*Travels in Tartary and China*,' '*Blackwood's Magazine*,' '*The Times*,' '*The Official Gazettes*,' '*The Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*,' and numerous other sources. Thus the vast empire which for centuries had been closed against 'outside barbarians,' has suddenly become better known and more interesting to Englishmen than Britain itself was to Cicero or Pliny: offering to philanthropists, philosophers, merchants, politicians, and, above all, to Christians, the largest field for inciting inquiry and for energetic action ever known in the history of nations.

ART. VI.—*The Russian Shores of the Black Sea in the Autumn of 1852, with a Voyage down the Volga, and a Tour through the Country of the Don Cossacks.* By Laurence Oliphant. 8vo. pp. 336. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons.

THE resources of Russia have long been among the unsolved problems of European politics. The most conflicting opinions are held respecting them. By some of our statesmen they are deemed vast and inexhaustible, equal to any emergency, and full of peril to the freedom and civilization of other countries. This is perhaps the general opinion, and it derives apparent confirmation from the overthrow of Napoleon's grand army, and the prominent part which the Czars have subsequently taken in the settlement of European affairs. The opinion is not very clearly defined. It exists in the form of *impression* rather than of *thought*,—is matter of feeling more than of intellect. The steady progress which Russia has made for some years past, the rapid extension of her territory, her fearful strides towards Vienna, Berlin, and Constantinople, the vast military force she is

reported to have at her command, her unscrupulous diplomacy and iron despotism, have all served to induce apprehension of her power, and to render her policy matter of grave and very serious alarm. The interpreters of prophecy have combined with politicians in painting her *future* as full of peril to other nations. Few men, however, are accustomed to look narrowly into such themes. They are foreign from their habits, and want the more substantial basis on which material facts rest. But with some it is enough that such views have been propounded. The simple fact induces doubt and apprehension. Without troubling themselves to inquire into the grounds of the theory, they rest in a vague conclusion that there are, at least, some elements of truth in the views so propounded,—some plausible reason for an opinion which men of piety and of reputed intelligence have so zealously advocated. The effect of all this is easily traceable in the religious world. It may be true or it may be false—we are not concerned at present to prove either—all we are concerned about is to note the fact, as one of the elements which go to form the sentiment of no inconsiderable portion of the public.

To the vast body of our countrymen, however, such pursuits are unattractive, and appear foreign to such an inquiry. They look simply at the past history of Russia, and from the facts of that history they anticipate, while they dread, her future progress. Now, it must be confessed, that there is much in the records of the past to yield an apparent justification to their fears. Did the question respect the *defensive* resources of Russia, much more than this might be said. Nature has surrounded her with almost impregnable barriers. Her climate itself is as a wall of brass around her; while her vast area, thinly scattered population, and sterile steppes, laugh to scorn the threatenings of her foes. Had any doubt existed on this point, it was completely set to rest by the terrible campaign of 1812. But the question to be solved does not respect the *defensive* resources of Russia. Many of our countrymen—the best informed of them, as we think—do not sympathize with the fear expressed respecting the power and probable career of the Czar. Without denying the *apparent* magnitude of Russian resources, it is alleged that they are unsuited to an *aggressive policy*; are more plausible than real; better fitted to work upon the fears than to overcome the resistance of a courageous foe. Right or wrong, Russian diplomacy has, for some years past, enjoyed the reputation of great sagacity, combined with utter unscrupulousness; and has been supposed to direct itself with undeviating energy to a single purpose. In her intercourse with other and more developed states, her principal

reliance has been on their necessities. Concealing her ambition, she has interposed at critical periods, so as to advance her own interests, while professedly aiding theirs ; and has uniformly maintained a character of stern consistency, which, moulded on the type of a former age, has completely isolated her from the more liberal tendencies of constitutional governments.

Events are now occurring, which must bring these opposing theories to the test. When the rumor of war between Russia and Turkey first reached the west of Europe, it was generally supposed that the former must instantly prevail. Few indeed thought otherwise than that it was absolute infatuation on the part of the Ottoman government to hazard a contest. The mere presence of a Russian force on the Danube would suffice, it was supposed, to accomplish the design of the Czar. Turkey, it was said, existed only by sufferance, and the term of her existence was dependent on the resolution adopted at St. Petersburg. Well, the war has actually broken out. In Europe and in Asia, the opposing armies have met, and at first the advantage was with the Turks. They proved themselves the best soldiers; their generals displayed the highest military genius; and their resources have been laid under tribute with a promptitude, and on a scale, to which modern times supply no parallel. We do not affirm that any very decided engagement has taken place. We are content to allege that what has occurred clearly shows that Turkey is not so feeble, nor Russia so omnipotent, as we have been taught to believe. There have, indeed, been ravages in Asia, and terrible havoc has been made on the Turks at Sinope. In Europe, the Danube may yet be passed ; and in Asia Prince Woronzoff may be able to make head against the forces to which he is opposed, if not checked by the combined operations of England and France. But come what may, we have learnt much during the past few months, and are, in consequence, better prepared to estimate the power of Russia than at any previous period. When the heroic achievements of the Caucasian mountaineers were formerly appealed to in disproof of Russian invincibility, the case was stated to be special, and to be marked by circumstances which accounted for the facts without disparaging the prowess and valor of the army of the Czar. The case, however, is different now. Russian soldiers have confessedly been defeated, and their personal prowess and military discipline have been proved inferior in several encounters. What has occurred both in Europe and in Asia has thrown light on the terrible struggles of the Caucasus, which are now awakening deep sympathy throughout Western Europe. Her brave tribes, amidst the fastnesses of their mountain homes, have been teaching a lesson which we might never have known, had not the pride and ambition of Nicholas ordered his troops across the Pruth.

The appearance of such a work as the one now before us, at this precise moment, is matter of congratulation. It is just the sort of book we wanted. Mr. Oliphant is already known to the public as the author of 'A Journey to Nepaul,' whither he accompanied the ambassador, Jung Bahadoor, in 1851; and the manner in which he has executed his present undertaking, confirms the favorable impression he had previously made. He is a calm, intelligent, and useful traveller,—keenly alive to the peculiarities of the countries through which he passed; free from the sickly sentimentalism which disfigures the pages of many of our countrymen; a sworn enemy to mere rhapsodies, yet not insensible to beautiful scenery, nor incapable of candid comparison between the condition of his own country and that of Russia. The manliness and clear-sightedness of his descriptions please us greatly, and strengthen our confidence in his truthfulness. He is just such a companion as we love to travel with; the accuracy of his reports may be confided in; and in the present state of the East they are invaluable. It must also be borne in mind, that his visit is recent, and the extent of his journeyings was considerable. Referring in his *preface* to the little that is known of Russia, he tells us—

'The system of Government renders it impossible that any light should be thrown upon the present condition of the Empire from internal sources, while few strangers are tempted to extend their travels beyond St. Petersburg or Moscow. It is not an inviting country to the dilettante tourist, for the accommodation is execrable—the means of locomotion barbarous—the obstacles thrown in the way by government annoying—and the results, with respect to fine arts, literature, and social life, comparatively unworthy of his attention. Nor does Russia possess those charms for the more enterprising traveller which a new and unexplored country offers.'—pp. v., vi.

His original intention was to visit the rivers which run into the White Sea for the purpose of salmon-fishing, but on arriving at St. Petersburg he was induced to alter his route, at which we much rejoice, as it has furnished us 'with objects of interest of a more useful and solid description.' From St. Petersburg Mr. Oliphant proceeded by railway to Moscow, a distance of four hundred and fifty miles, which was accomplished in twenty-two hours. There is only one passenger train daily, which starts, or ought to do so, at eleven A.M. Travellers are required to be at the station by ten o'clock precisely, where minute descriptions of their persons are taken, and their reasons for journeying are required to be given. The mercantile importance of rapid communication does not appear to be in the slightest degree apprehended. 'In fact,' says our traveller, 'though the public cannot but be benefitted by the formation of railroads throughout a country, it is hardly for the public benefit that railroads are

constructed here. Russian railroads seem to be meant for Russian soldiers; and it is the facility thus afforded of moving large bodies of men, that invests this mode of communication in Russia with an importance which does not attach to it in Great Britain, or perhaps any other country in Europe, to an equal extent.'

The country between St. Petersburg and Moscow is tame and uninteresting. 'Now and then a picturesque wooden village is seen, but generally a sort of fir-scrub lines the railway. There are no tunnels, but some large rivers are crossed by bridges of considerable elevation.' At Moscow, Mr. Oliphant's stay was very brief, as he proposed returning thither, after visiting the fair of Nijni Novgorod, which, however, he did not accomplish. 'Though the droskies and pavements of Moscow,' he says, 'are, if possible, more execrable than those of St. Petersburg, and the streets far less handsome, the city itself is much more interesting than the modern metropolis.'

The journey to Nijni, which was performed 'in a comfortable, roomy, diligence,' occupied two days and two nights. The road is in general good, but in some places proved sadly treacherous. There was little to vary the monotony of the journey, and on its termination much difficulty was experienced in obtaining accommodation. The entertainment ultimately secured was scarcely worth, our readers will think, the trouble of the search.

'At last,' says Mr. Oliphant, 'we found a kind German merchant, who directed us to a more substantial part of the town, where we obtained possession of a small dirty room, in which, worn out with fatigue, we were glad to spread ourselves and our baggage. Here our ears were dinned by three of the loudest bells that ever called pious worshippers to church, our noses assailed by the foulest odours that ever a Russian even could imagine, and our skins tortured by more innumerable hosts of fleas than the combined experiences of Eastern travellers ever recounted; but yet, as we afterwards discovered, few could boast of better quarters than ourselves at the grand fair of Nijni Novgorod.'—p. 17.

The fair of Nijni is annual, lasts for six weeks, and is attended by upwards of three hundred thousand people. It is one of the great emporiums of commerce, and presents a scene of most singular and striking interest. It is held 'on a low, sandy spot of land, formed by the junction of the Oka and the Volga, and which is subject to constant inundation in winter. The substantial part of it, inhabited by the wealthy merchants, is arranged in twelve parallel streets, composed of neat two-storied brick houses, the lower part forming the shops and warehouses, which are protected by covered verandas. Each street terminates at one end in a pagoda, indicating the Chinese

quarter ; while at the other it is connected with a square, where the governor's house and public offices are situated.'

The wooden huts erected for the occasion were tenanted by ragged Tartars, Tehouvasses, Kirghees, and Calmucks, besides the peasantry of the neighbourhood, who supplied the fair with provisions and fruits. All parties are intent on gain. Mammon is the one deity worshipped, and the ardor of their devotion is proportioned to the brief period allotted to its exercise. The two rivers Oka and Volga were covered with every description of boat and barge, which had brought from distant regions the various articles for which they were famed. The confusion that prevailed is indescribable, and there were not wanting manifold proofs of the degrading serfdom in which the people were held. Mr. Oliphant says,—

'Our abode was situated in a suburb on the opposite side of the river, so that it was necessary to cross the bridge of boats every time we wished to visit the fair ; and here the confusion was always the greatest. We were obliged to struggle our way, if on foot, amidst sheepskins, greasy enough to scent us for the rest of our lives, thereby adding to the store of fleas with which we had started from our lodging. Women, with waists immediately under their throats, and petticoats tucked up to their knees, tramped it gallantly through the mud, and made better progress than we could. A Cossack on horseback rode up and down the bridge for the purpose of keeping order amid the droskies, which, heedless of the rules of the road, dashed in every direction, apparently bent upon splashing those they did not run over. Drunken men continually stumbled against us ; and when at last we reached the slough on the opposite side, the confusion and hubbub were greater than ever. The mud in the shallowest parts was at least two feet in depth, and nearly everybody waded about in it with Russian leather jack-boots. Numbers of small shops surrounded the bespattered populace, while a few miserable attempts at shows only proved how little they were appreciated. At the corners of the streets running into this delectable hole were stationed Cossacks, who showered blows upon offending Mujiks or peasants with their heavy-lashed whips, without regard to the nature of the offence or the size of the victim. Turning up one of these streets, and penetrating farther into the fair, other scenes and pleasanter forms meet the eye. The gay dress of the Georgian forms a pleasing contrast to the everlasting sheepskin ; and, as we enter the shop of the Tiflis merchant, beautifully embroidered slippers, rich table-covers, and the finest silks are spread out temptingly before us ; and it is fortunate for our pockets that we have a steppe journey in prospect, and the vision of sundry custom-houses afterwards. In the next shop are handsome furs and skins piled in every available corner, and the owner of the valuable collection stands at the door, his flowing robe and dignified demeanour betokening his eastern origin. Aaron was, in fact, a Bukharian Jew, who delighted to show us his costly wares, even though there was no

chance of our becoming purchasers; and, finally, regaled us with almonds, split peas, and raisins—flattered, perhaps, by the admiration we expressed at the belt he wore, the buckle of which, composed of solid silver, was set with turquoises. But it would be hopeless to attempt a description of the different merchants and shopkeepers, or to enumerate the variety of articles exposed for sale.’—pp. 23-25.

Large quantities of Sheffield cutlery, and of other English goods, were displayed, and the price at which they sold was much lower than that asked at St. Petersburg, where the guild dues and the rental are so high as to necessitate a considerable advance. ‘Foreign goods are to be procured more cheaply here than they can be at a seaport seven hundred miles nearer the country from whence they come; and, in some instances, the manufactured articles of a Russian town some hundreds of miles distant, are to be found here exposed for sale at lower prices than in the very town where they have been produced—an anomaly which is quite in accordance with the political economy of the country.’

Having at length satisfied his curiosity at Nijni, our author and his companion, with ‘no small satisfaction,’ embarked on board the Volga Steam Navigation Company’s steam-tug ‘Samson.’ His satisfaction, however, was greatly diminished by the innumerable delays which occurred, some of which were referable to the venal practices of the Russian police, and others to the incredible obstructions with which the navigation of the Volga has to contend. Mr. Oliphant concurs with all previous travellers, whether English or continental, in charging pecuniary corruption on the whole body of Russian officials.

‘Perhaps,’ he says, ‘the most serious impediment to the successful prosecution of commercial enterprise in Russia, is the impossibility of finding *employés* upon whose honesty any reliance can be placed. All Russians are so much in the habit of cheating their government that they are unable to divest themselves of this propensity where the pockets of private individuals are concerned. Nor do rank or station offer any guarantee, since greater responsibilities only afford greater facilities for successful speculation.’—pp. 38, 39.

A curious illustration of this, as also of the despotic character of the Russian administration, is subsequently given. At the time of Mr. Oliphant’s first visit to Sevastopol, the Emperor was there for the purpose of reviewing the troops, which, of course, caused much excitement. On returning thither a short time afterwards, one great change was noticed. The governor had been degraded from his post, and was employed with other convicts on the public works.

‘No dilatory trial had reduced him to the condition in which he now appeared before the inhabitants of his late government. The fiat had gone forth, and the general commanding became the convict

sweeping. I was very anxious to discover what crime had been deemed worthy of so severe a punishment, but upon no two occasions was the same reason assigned, so it was very clear that nobody knew; and probably no one found it more difficult than the sufferer himself to single out the particular misdemeanour for which he was disgraced. The general opinion seemed to be that the unfortunate man had been lulled into security in his remote province, and fancying himself unnoticed in this distant corner of the empire, had neglected to practise that customary caution, in the appropriation of his bribes and other perquisites, which is the first qualification of a man in an elevated position in Russia, and without which he can never look for promotion in the army, or make a successful governor. At the same time, the expenses attendant upon this latter position are generally so very heavy that it does not answer to be too timid or fastidious.

'I think it is De Custine who says that no half-measures in plundering will do here. If a man has not, during the time of his holding an appointment, sufficiently enriched himself to be able to bribe the judges who try him for his dishonest practices, he will certainly end his days in Siberia; so that, if the fraud has not been extensive, the margin left will barely remunerate him for his trouble and anxiety. The probability is, that General ——— had calculated upon the usual court of inquiry, and was consequently quite unprepared for the decided measures of his imperial master.'—pp. 264, 265.

The morals of the people are just what, from such samples, might be anticipated. The Czar is evidently intent on checking the corruption which prevails amongst his *employés*, but the force of circumstances is too great even for his iron resolution, and the practices condemned are in keeping with the honesty of the community. It could not well be otherwise. The form of religion which prevails is debased to the last degree. Christianity exists only as a type of unmanly superstition, and her clergy are amongst the most ignorant and immoral of the people. Religious freedom is unknown even in name. Its very profession is scouted. There is no pretence of anything of the kind. The Greek Church is more puerile than the papacy, and equally intolerant. The Christians of Turkey enjoy far more religious liberty than the Church of Russia allows to those who dissent from her faith.

'Whatever,' says Mr. Oliphant, 'may be the morals of the peasantry in remote districts, those living in the towns and villages on the Volga are more degraded in their habits than any other people amongst whom I have travelled; and they can hardly be said to disregard, since they have never been acquainted with, the ordinary decencies of life. What better result can indeed be expected from a system by which the upper classes are wealthy in proportion to the number of serfs possessed by each proprietor? The rapid increase of the population is no less an object with the private serf-owner, than the extensive consumption of ardent spirits is desired by the government. Thus each vice is privileged with especial patronage. Marriages, in the Russian sense of the

term, are consummated at an early age, and are arranged by the steward, without consulting the parties—the lord's approval alone being necessary. The price of a family ranges from £25 to £40. Our captain had taken his wife on a lease of five years, the rent for that term amounting to fifty rubles, with the privilege of renewal at the expiration of it.'—p. 97.

The little advance yet made in civilization is strikingly evident in the absence of an urban population throughout Russia. The impression made by St. Petersburg and Moscow is in this respect thoroughly delusive. They are anything but samples of the empire. The magnitude and splendor of their edifices deceive the European visitor by concealing the poverty and wretchedness which generally prevail. An air of civilization and wealth has been given to the capitals of the empire which contrasts mournfully with the scenes that are divulged in the interior of the country. Beyond all precedents of ancient or modern times, the extremes of civilization and barbarism have been brought together. This fact must be kept in mind, as absolutely needful to a right appreciation of the country. Nor could it be otherwise where the political institutions of a people are such as prevail in Russia. Serfdom is universal, and the ordinary motives to the formation of towns are therefore wanting. Cities have ever been the birthplace and nurseries of freedom. Men flock together where they have something to protect. They league for common defence. Now this motive is unknown in Russia, and we are not, therefore, surprised that there are only three cities whose population exceeds one hundred thousand; four ranking above fifty thousand; and eighteen or twenty with a population of twenty-five thousand. The official reports of the government show that there is only one town with an average population of seven thousand in an area of a hundred and thirty square miles. 'The absence of any market renders it unnecessary for the proprietor, who has no facilities for transporting his grain to a seaport, to grow more than is sufficient for his own consumption; and the peasant only cultivates land enough to yield the produce required to support his family.'

Mr. Oliphant left the 'Samson' at Dubovka, and journeyed thence by land through the country of the Don Cossacks, of whose appearance and habits interesting information is given. These are the descendants of the Calmuck Tartars, whom they resemble in their migratory tendencies. Quitting the deserts of Astrakhan, and crossing over the vast tracts of pasture land which extend from the eastern shore of the Volga into Asia; their tents are frequently pitched near the towns on the western bank—

'These "kybitkas" or tents,' says our traveller, 'consist simply of a

framework of wood, over which felt is stretched, while a circular aperture at the top gives egress to the smoke.

‘I should have stopped and paid a visit to these wanderers in their own habitations, had I not already inspected a party of them in Dubovka, and nothing could be more interesting than their whole appearance. Of all the inhabitants of the Russian empire the Calmucks are the most distinguished by peculiarity of features and manners; and certainly their ragged flowing robes, bound round the waist with a coarse dirty scarf, and exposing to view a copper-coloured chest, together with their red boots and flat yellow caps trimmed with fur, completed a wild costume, unlike anything to be met with in less remote parts of the country. Their long black hair hung in thick braids on each side of their faces, which were of true Mongolian type; and it was difficult to look on the low wide noses, high cheek-bones, and long narrow eyes of these men, and yet believe that they were inhabitants of Europe. I felt transported again to the borders of Chinese Tartary, where I had already visited a race sprung from the same origin, adherents of the same faith, and probably, to some extent, speaking the same language.

‘It is singular how little we know of those nomadic hordes inhabiting the vast steppes of Tartary and Thibet, whose only real allegiance consists in a religious veneration for the sovereign pontiff at Hlassa. Wandering over the deserts which form the boundary of Russia and China, they are a sort of connecting link between the two greatest empires in the world, as they become at pleasure the subjects of one or the other.

‘Once already from these regions have barbarian hosts poured forth, who, sweeping across the steppes which extend from the base of the Ural Mountains to the shores of the Caspian, spread themselves far and wide over the world of that day. We had crossed the very track of these invaders; and as we looked upon their successors, encamping in miserable tents, roving over arid plains, a scattered and degraded race, it was difficult to conceive that they could be the precursors of more barbarians, destined again to overrun the enlightened part of the world; and yet it is not long since the first Calmuck invasion took place.’—pp. 113, 114.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Calmuck Tartars were overcome by the Russians; but in the winter of 1770-71, half a million of the tribe, offended by the despotic measures of Catherine II., emigrated to China, where, from the appearance of those he saw, Mr. Oliphant conjectures that an exchange was made for the better. The country between the Volga and the Don is extremely dreary. Nothing was seen but an occasional bullock-cart transporting timber, or a wild Cossack, on a still wilder-looking horse. The road seemed carefully to avoid all villages, and the few huts which were visible in the distance were scarcely distinguishable from the hay-stacks by which they were surrounded. ‘I do not remember,’ says our traveller, ‘passing a rood of cultivation until we reached the Don.’ His posting experience is not inviting, as the following description shows:—

‘And now, for the following night and day, our journey presents one unwearied monotony; one undulation is as like another as are the post-stations: generally, on arriving at one of these, not a soul is to be seen—a solitary chicken, perched on the wheel of a broken-down cart, is the only visible sign of life. At length, after sundry ineffectual attempts to open the door of the wooden cabin, a slovenly woman looks out, followed by three or four ragged brats. One of the children immediately disappears upon the steppe, returning in about half an hour with a bearded sullen-looking man, who, without deigning a remark, mounts one of the last team, and gallops away as if he never meant to come back; presently, however, half-a-dozen horses are seen rattling at full speed down a distant slope, followed by two men—our sullen friend and his sullen friend, whom he seems to have picked up somewhere with the horses. By this time our yamschik, or driver, from the last place has succeeded in loosening the rope, which serves as a pole-strap, and which has hitherto been continually breaking on the side of every hill just when it was most wanted; upon the last occasion, however, he has apparently succeeded in getting it into a most permanent knot. Meantime three horses are selected from those which have just been driven into a sort of kraal—the work of harnessing begins, and occupies another half-hour. Notwithstanding all the experience which the driver brings to bear upon the subject of the pole-ropes, they prove a dreadful puzzle, and are evidently quite a modern and hitherto unseen invention.

‘At length everything is ready. The last driver is thrown into ecstasies at receiving a vodka of fourpence, after having driven us fifteen miles; the new driver is no less enchanted at the prospect of a similar magnificent remuneration; while the original sullen-looking man, who has been engaged inspecting and writing on our padaroshna, emerges with a grim smile on his countenance, and charges a ruble, by way of a good round sum, for the next fifteen miles, instead of the proper price, which is only eighty copeks (2s. 8d.) The yamschik then mounts the box in high spirits, and after having thus wasted an hour or two we are off again *ventre à terre*, down one pitch and up another, regardless of the ditch at the bottom, over which the carriage and horses take a sort of flying leap, much to our discomfiture. Our delays, however, are too long and numerous to admit of any remonstrance affecting our speed, and the yamschik continues to earn his vodka by undergoing the most tremendous exertion. He shouts, and curses, and applauds, and whistles, and yells without ceasing, flourishing his whip over his head, by way of a hint that the lash may come down, which, however, it very seldom does; for the horses, being without blinkers, invariably take the hint, and seem not to require much pressing. He is a picturesque figure altogether, this Don Cossack yamschik, with his huge red mustache, the ends of which are visible protruding on both sides of his head, as we sit behind him. He wears a grey fur cap, and a blue tunic reaching halfway to the knee, bound round the waist with a red sash. A huge pair of jack-boots, into which his loose trousers are thrust, complete a costume which, though not altogether unlike that of the ordinary Russian peasant, somehow invests the wearer with

a greater degree of independence. In an hour and a half he has jolted us to the end of our stage, where the same delay occurs, and the same scene is re-enacted.'—pp. 137-139.

It is difficult to trace the derivation of the Don Cossacks. They are probably a compound race. Mr. Oliphant favors the notion of a Slavonic origin, and says 'he could trace nothing whatever in their physiognomy to warrant the supposition of a Mongolian descent.' Only one sentiment appears to be universal amongst them, and that is 'a most unmitigated hatred toward the Russian.' Mr. Oliphant disputes their reputed bravery:—

'The Circassians have,' he says, 'by dint of frequent contact, learnt to estimate these formidable warriors at their true value, and hold them in almost as great contempt as they do the ordinary Russian soldier. It must be remembered that in those campaigns in which the Cossacks have distinguished themselves, it was only by contrast with other Russian troops; and it is rather for their barbarity and cruelty in harassing a retreating army that they are celebrated, than for any satisfactory displays of real valour.'—p. 152.

As he approaches the Crimea, our author's narrative increases in interest, and the reader of his volume will be rewarded by information as valuable as it is novel. From the Sea of Azov his route lay through tracks of wild thyme, where large flocks of bustards were met with, who manifested the utmost unconcern at his approach, 'merely moving aside like tame pigeons.' After a journey of thirty-seven hours, during which a hundred and twenty-five miles were accomplished with the same horses, our author arrived at Simpheropol, the new Russian capital of the Crimea. We are not surprised to learn that the Tartar driver 'was in continual danger of dropping off his box, fatigued with hunting along his team through two consecutive nights.' The condition of travellers in such a state of society is sufficiently pitiable, but that of the horses is much more so. What a tale of grievances might they put forth were they endowed with the intelligence of the human animal. Simpheropol appears to have gained little by its transference to Russia. The eastern magnificence of former days has been exchanged 'for the tawdry glitter of Muscovite barbarism.'

We pass over much that is interesting in Mr. Oliphant's description in order to accompany him to Sevastopol, the naval arsenal of Russia, on the Black Sea. It has been the policy, as it is the interest of Russia, to circulate exaggerated reports of the strength of Sevastopol. The entrance of foreigners is prohibited, but our author and his companion resolved to brave the dangers of detection, and were favored in their attempt by the miserable plight to which their attire had been reduced. 'A thick coating of grey dust,' Mr. Oliphant tells us, 'rendered all minor differences of costume

imperceptible; and as we leant back, half hidden amongst bundles of hay, with our hats slouched over our eyes, as if to keep the sun off, we flattered ourselves that we looked extremely like phlegmatic German peasants from some neighbouring colony. Our accomplice smoked imperturbably and incessantly; his friend occupied himself with the horses; and so, utterly regardless of the vigilant sentinels, we passed carelessly into the town, and half an hour afterwards were eating beefsteaks at the house of a worthy German, who was delighted to receive us, having borne with the utmost firmness the scrutinising eyes of whole regiments of conscientious soldiers.' The population of Sevastopol, including military and marine, is about forty thousand. The town is, in fact, a large garrison, and has an imposing appearance from the number and magnitude of the government buildings. Many Russian vessels were in the harbour, several of which are represented as mere hulks, employed as magazines or prison ships. They are said to be built of unseasoned timber, and to be utterly unfit for service after lying for eight or ten years in the harbor of Sevastopol. 'This result is chiefly owing to inherent decay, and in some degree to the ravages of a worm that abounds in the muddy waters of the Tehernoi Retcka, a stream which, traversing the valley of Inkerman, falls into the upper part of the main harbour.' The use of copper would seem to be a simple corrective of this evil, and we are therefore much inclined to Mr. Oliphant's opinion that 'a more intimate acquaintance with the real state of matters would lead one to suspect that the attacks of the naval *employés* are more formidable to the coffers of the government than the attacks of this worm.' The rule observed in this department of the public service is thus described, and there is good reason to believe that the account is not overcharged:—

'The wages of the seamen are so low—about sixteen rubles a year—that it is not unnatural they should desire to increase so miserable a pittance by any means in their power. The consequence is, that from the members of the naval board to the boys that blow the smith's bellows in the dockyard, everybody shares the spoils obtained by an elaborately devised system of plunder carried on somewhat in this way:—A certain quantity of well-seasoned oak being required, government issues tenders for the supply of the requisite amount. A number of contractors submit their tenders to a board appointed for the purpose of receiving them, who are regulated in their choice of a contractor, not by the amount of his tender, but of his bribe. The fortunate individual selected immediately sub-contracts upon a somewhat similar principle. Arranging to be supplied with the timber for half the amount of his tender, the sub-contractor carries on the game, and perhaps the eighth link in this contracting chain is the man who, for an absurdly low figure, undertakes to produce the seasoned wood. His agents in the

central provinces, accordingly, float a quantity of green pines and firs down the Dnieper and Bog to Nicholaeff, which are duly handed up to the head contractor, each man pocketing the difference between his contract and that of his neighbour. When the wood is produced before the board appointed to inspect it, another bribe seasons it, and the government after paying the price of well-seasoned oak, is surprised that the 120-gun ship, of which it has been built, is unfit for service in five years.'—pp. 256, 257.

The entrance to the port is defended by twelve hundred pieces of artillery, which, however, we are assured could not be discharged 'without bringing down the rotten batteries upon which they are placed.' 'Of one fact,' says our author, 'there was no doubt, that however well fortified may be the approaches to Sevastopol by sea, there is nothing whatever to prevent any number of troops landing a few miles to the south of the town, in one of the six convenient bays with which the coast, as far as Cape Kherson, is indented, and marching down the main street (provided they were strong enough to defeat any military force that might be opposed to them in the open fields), sack the town, and burn the fleet.' Of the Russian soldiery Mr. Oliphant speaks in most disparaging terms, and facts are not wanting to sustain him. Referring to the universal peculation of officials, he says—

'It is scarcely possible to apprehend at a glance the full effect of a process so paralysing to the thews and sinews of war; or at once to realize the fact, that the Russian army, numerically so far superior to that of any European power, and supplied from sources which appear inexhaustible, is really in a most inefficient condition, and scarcely worthy of that exaggerated estimate which the British public seem to have formed of its capabilities. It is not upon the plains of Krasna Selo or Vosnesensk, amid the dazzling glitter of a grand field-day in the Emperor's presence, that any correct notion can be formed of the Russian army. The imperial plaything assumes a very different appearance in the remote Cossack guard-house, where I have scarcely been able to recognise the soldier in the tattered and miserably-equipped being before me, or on a harassing march, or in the presence of an indomitable enemy.'—p. 262.

We had intended to say something respecting Odessa and the commerce with which it is connected, but having exceeded our limits, we must refrain from doing so. Odessa is the boast of Muscovites. They speak of it as the 'Russian Florence,' yet, strange to say, with a population of one hundred thousand, there is no other conveyance than a post telèga, 'which is infinitely more barbarous than a Cape bullock-waggon.' This fact speaks volumes, and gives credibility to the worst thi which can be said of Russian civilization.

In closing our notice of Mr. Oliphant's volume, we cannot do

better than recommend our readers to obtain and peruse it for themselves. It is not an ephemeral book. There is enough of personal adventure to give it interest, while the views it opens up are fraught with deep importance, and may be advantageously studied by the political economist and philosopher.

ART. VII.—*The Drying-up of the Euphrates; or, the Downfall of Turkey prophetically considered.* By John Aiton, D.D. London: Hall & Co. 1853.

THERE is one passage of Holy Scripture, penned in the Isle of Patmos, to which men's attention has been constantly directed by prophetic writers for more than a quarter of a century, as actually accomplishing before their eyes; which, however, still remains to be fulfilled, and, what is more, appears not likely to be fulfilled, yet unless England, France, and Turkey are unable to withstand the aggression of the northern autocrat. We refer, as the reader has probably anticipated, to the vision of the *Sixth Vial*, which was poured out 'on the great river Euphrates;' upon which its 'water was dried up, that the way of the kings of the East might be prepared.'

Few persons who have looked into the writings of our recent prophetic expositors, from Faber to Elliot, can fail to have observed the importance which this vial occupies in their various schemes. We are now living, it is confidently stated, under this very vial. The angel has already poured out its contents upon *the Great River*. The waters have already, to a considerable extent, dried up. The process is still rapidly going on; and soon, very soon, the Ottoman empire will only exist in the page of history!

The present hostilities on the Danube and the Black Sea, have served to only increase the conviction, that the days of Turkey are numbered. Pamphlets, and books of various sizes, have rapidly issued from the press, predicting with the most absolute certainty, from the apocalyptic page, the issue of the present struggle:—

'The doom of Turkey,' says Dr. Aiton, 'is sealed, and that empire will soon be no more. Russia may advance and retire, she may lay hold of this territory, and let that province go for a while, with a view to exhaust the treasures of Turkey, and to induce her to send her forces home to her own Pashalites, and also with the intention of rocking the Western Powers asleep. As the Russian troops, in their present position, may suffer from marsh fever,—the stores of the country may become exhausted,—winter rains may convert those districts into path-

less swamps, and neither advance nor attack may be made with effect, so that there may be, in the meantime, no military advantage in the occupation of the principalities. But still on the dial-plate of heaven, the pointing of the shadow lines tells us that the fatal term of Turkey's existence is about to expire; and that the year, the month, the day, are at hand when Russia will overflow and pass over.'—p. 69.

Now, we candidly allow that Turkey may not be a match, single-handed, for Russia; still there are many things to be taken into the account before thus jumping at the conclusion, that the overthrow of the Ottoman power must necessarily be the issue of the present struggle. As we have remarked elsewhere, the power of Russia has been greatly exaggerated; and the resources of Turkey vastly underrated. Certain, it is, that the latter nation is not, at present, in that exhausted and enfeebled condition, which prophetic writers for the last thirty years have represented. From Eton's 'Survey of the Turkish Empire,' published about fifty years back, it appears that the revenue of the kingdom, seventy years ago, amounted to £4,394,250, it now amounts to £6,500,000. The taxes, too, are said to be very moderate, and, on the whole, fairly collected. This large increase dates from the recent reforms. In 1774, Turkey could only bring into the field 142,000 men. In the Greek war the largest available force was 80,000 men, and these, with the exception of the Egyptians, were mere rabble. In 1829, Sultan Mahmoud possessed only 130,000 soldiers; and during the war with Mehemet Ali, there were never more than 70,000 in the field. Now, Abdul Medjid has on the frontiers no less than 200,000 men under arms, of which three-fourths are described as regular troops, equal, if not superior to the Russians. This does not include a reserve of 150,000 men in garrison. This is surely very far from what we should expect had Turkey been suffering, as prophetic writers assure us, from the desclating effects of the sixth vial, for the last twenty or thirty years.

The opinion recently delivered in parliament, by Lord Palmerston, is in exact accordance with this view. 'I do not at all admit,' said his lordship, 'that the Turkish empire is in the state of decay represented by the honourable gentleman (Mr. Cobden). The honourable gentleman is wholly misinformed as to the state of Turkey for the last thirty years. I assert it without the fear of contradiction, that Turkey, so far from having gone back, within the last thirty years, has made greater progress, in every possible way, than perhaps was ever made by any other country, during the same period. Compare the condition of Turkey now with what it was in the reign of Sultan Mahmoud, either with regard to the system of government as bearing upon the interests of the inhabitants, the state of the army and navy, the administration of justice, the condition of agriculture, manufactures, and

commerce, or religious toleration,—I venture to say that in all these respects Turkey has made immense progress during the period I have mentioned. So far from talking of Turkey as a dead body, an expiring body, or something which cannot be kept alive, I am satisfied that, if you will only keep out of it those who want to go into it, if you will only leave those who are in it to deal with it in the way in which they are now dealing with it, there are countries in Europe that are in much more danger of sudden dissolution from internal causes than Turkey. Turkey, it is certain, has no Poland, and no Siberia.’

If the above be a correct estimate of the actual state of parties, it would be at least a very uncertain thing, what might be the issue of the present war, especially if Turkey be assisted by England and France. Still, if it be true, as prophetic writers allege, that the sixth vial is already poured out on the figurative Euphrates, an additional, and most important consideration, is brought to bear upon the question. And, in this case, we do not hesitate for a moment to say, that the doom of Turkey is fixed. The invading armies will overcome all resistance, and the Russian autocrat will plant his standard, as he has vowed he will do, within the walls of Constantinople.

We propose, then, briefly to inquire on what grounds this opinion has been arrived at, and at the same time to ascertain whether there are not some reasons for believing that it is a mistake. The subject is not, like many other prophetic questions, one of mere speculative curiosity, but one of practical importance. If Turkey be indeed the power denoted by the figurative Euphrates, and if the point of time where we now stand, is between the effusion of the sixth and last the vials, then is the project that England should join France in offering resistance to the northern aggressor not only futile but impious; it is nothing short of an attempt to withstand the decrees of heaven, and to drive back, by our fleets and armies, the appointed minister of divine wrath.

So far as regards the application of the sixth vial to the Ottoman power, it must in all fairness be admitted that prophetic writers have a strong case. If a map of the Turkish empire be spread out before the eye, a single glance will suffice to show the observer that ‘the great river Euphrates’ rolls its mighty waters right through the central parts of that once formidable kingdom. It must be confessed, at the outset, that this symbol of the sixth vial is by no means an unsuitable one to set forth the population, or resources, or strength of Turkey.

Mede, the father of modern prophetic interpretation, a century and a half ago, thus expressed himself on this subject:—‘What, then, shall we say that this Euphrates, whose waters are to be

dried up, is? It is, in my opinion, the Ottoman empire which will then (just previously to the drying up of the waters) be the only barrier to these new enemies from the east, and the defence of the beast on that side.' (Mede's Works, folio, p. 529.) About the same time, Fleming, whose name has recently become famous, wrote as follows:—'The sixth vial will be poured on the Mahommedan Antichrist, as the former was on the Papacy; and, seeing the sixth trumpet brought the Turks from beyond the Euphrates, *from the crossing of which they date their rise*, this sixth vial dries up their waves, and exhausts their power, as the means and way to prepare and dispose the eastern kings and kingdoms to renounce their Heathenish and Mahommedan errors, in order to their receiving and embracing Christianity.' ('Rise and Fall of the Papacy,' p. 54. 1846.)

But the most satisfactory quotation on this subject is a passage from Scripture, in which the prophet, foretelling the invasion of Judea by the Assyrians, makes the *Euphrates* the symbol of that people and their king. 'Now, therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of THE RIVER, strong and many, even the King of Assyria, and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks.' (Isa. viii. 7.)

The opinion that the Euphrates denotes Turkey is strengthened by the consideration, that the same symbol, in the sixth trumpet, has, by general consent, been interpreted of the Ottoman power. It has long been observed by commentators that a striking analogy exists between the trumpets and the vials, as regards the subjects; so that, whatever is affected by the blast of any particular *trumpet*, is also the object against which its corresponding *vial* is directed. Now, it so happens that there is no portion of the Apocalypse in which a nearer approach to perfect unanimity of judgment has prevailed amongst recent expositors than in reference to the sixth trumpet. All the writers on prophecy, almost, that can be named, from the sixteenth century downward, agree in applying it to the conquest of Constantinople and overthrow of the eastern empire by the Turks. We are, therefore, justified, according to the analogy between the trumpets and vials, in pronouncing the Turks to be the power denoted by 'the great river Euphrates.'

But, whilst candidly admitting the correctness of that interpretation of the symbol of the sixth vial which applies it to the Ottoman Porte, we, nevertheless, demur to the conclusion drawn there,—that that nation is now suffering from the results of its effusion. In point of fact, we do not believe the vial is yet poured out. Nay, more, we do not believe that any of those '*seven last plagues*' are yet inflicted. And if the reader will favour us with his attention, we think it will be easy to show

that the opinion, that the effusion of the vials has already commenced, is not only opposed to the whole tenor of the Apocalypse, and the very principles of the commentators who advocate it, but is also at variance with undoubted matters of fact.

To every thoughtful reader of the Apocalypse, it must be evident that the one great subject of that wondrous book is the joint reign, for a specified time, of two symbolical wild beasts, with their tremendous overthrow at the expiration of that period. The one is usually taken to denote *Civil Despotism*, as it has developed itself in Europe from the sixth century. The other, *Ecclesiastical Despotism*, especially that of the Romish Church. It is true that other important topics are introduced, and not infrequently occupy a considerable space; but this is solely on account of their relation to the *one* great subject of the apocalyptic page, and for the purpose of illustrating more fully the character of the two leading actors in that mighty drama.

Now, the period during which these two antichristian powers—secular and spiritual—bear sway over Europe, termed a ‘time, times, and half a time,’ is everywhere represented in the Apocalypse as the hour of darkness,—the era of oppression and violence, persecution and crime. The first beast—the ten confederate kingdoms of Europe—enjoys a period of uninterrupted success and prosperity for 1260 years, ‘blaspheming God and his tabernacle and them that dwell in Heaven,’ ‘leading into captivity, or killing with the sword,’ all that oppose his will, and ‘shedding the blood of saints and of prophets,’ while God stands by as though unable or unwilling to save.

During the same period, the second or ecclesiastical beast—the worthy colleague of the first—exercises the same tyranny in spiritual matters as the civil power does in secular—corrupting Christianity into a compulsory system of superstition, idolatry, and crime, that impoverishes and destroys its votaries, whilst it enriches and deifies its priests. It is represented as joining the first beast in its ruthless war against God’s people, and is said to be ‘drunk with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.’

With the view of illustrating more clearly and fully the character of these two antichristian powers, the fortunes of the church of God, during this disastrous period, are represented under two different symbols. In one, we find her exhibited as ‘a woman clothed with the sun, the moon under her feet, and a crown of twelve stars upon her head,’ nourished by the providence of God in the wilderness, during ‘the time, times, and half a time’ that the two wild beasts bear sway in the earth. In the other, for the purpose of exhibiting them in their character of bearing a ceaseless but ineffectual testimony against these tyran-

nical and bloodthirsty systems, the people of God are represented as *two witnesses* :- the one denoting the line of individuals who have boldly protested against the usurpations and crimes of the civil despotisms of Europe, the other the noble army of confessors who have sealed by their blood their testimony against 'Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots and abominations in the earth.' These two witnesses of God are said to 'prophesy in sackcloth' during the whole period of twelve hundred and sixty prophetic days, to intimate the gloomy and distressing character of the times in which they live. At the close of this, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, i.e., the ten-horned beast, makes war against and kills them, and, not satisfied with their destruction, vents his implacable rage upon their lifeless and unburied remains.

Thus we see, beyond all contradiction, the period of the twelve hundred and sixty days is the era, on the one hand, of the fierce and bloody reign of the two antichristian monsters of the Apocalypse—civil and ecclesiastical despotism ; and, on the other, of the depressed and persecuted state of the true church of God, under the two-fold aspect of the woman hidden in the wilderness, and the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth for a time, and finally slain. It is, in short, the hour of gloom and woe, of tyranny and persecution. It is the dark millennium of all that is evil and terrible in man—the period during which a licence has been granted to evil spirits to fill earth with the practices of hell !

In marked contrast with this state of things is that which succeeds at the expiration of the 'time, times, and half a time,' when the seventh trumpet utters its welcome blast. Then 'the judgment sits, and the dominion of the beast is taken away, to consume and destroy it unto the end.' Then the church quits her hiding-place, and fearlessly stands forth as the sun-clothed woman of the Apocalypse. Then the saints of God, hitherto delivered into the hand of the papal horn, are set free from his bloody grasp. Then the two witnesses, suddenly restored to life, ascend to heaven in the sight of their enemies, to signify their sudden exaltation to honour, dignity, and power. Lastly, the commission is given to the seven angels to go forth and pour the vials of God's wrath upon the earth ; under the last of which 'the beast is taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him ;' and 'these both are cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.'

Such, then, being the very marked and well-defined characteristics of these two opposite eras, let the reader put the question to himself, 'To which of these two periods is the present state of things in Europe to be assigned ? Are we living in the

twelve hundred and sixty days, the time during which the two antichristian wild beasts have power given them 'to practise?' Or has this dark and dreary period passed away, and given place to the bright and glorious era of the seventh trumpet?

If we ask modern prophetic writers, they will tell us the latter is the case. The twelve hundred and sixty days of gloom and suffering have long since gone by. The French Revolution, at the close of the last century, was the period of the sounding of the seventh trumpet. The *first five* vials were then poured in quick succession upon France and the other continental kingdoms. And we, in our own times, are witnessing the effects of the effusion of the *sixth*, in the gradual decay and approaching extinction of the Ottoman power.

The best answer which can be made to these and similar statements, so current in the present day, is *not* by entering upon a long and doubtful course of prophetic argumentation, but, simply, by pointing to the present condition of Europe, and asking, 'Which of the two periods does the state of its various kingdoms in the present day best agree with, the era of darkness and woe, superstition and tyranny, or that of light and joy, religion and liberty?'

Is it not notorious, then, that now, in the boasted nineteenth century, in spite of 'the march of intellect,' and the progress of liberal principles and religious freedom, in some quarters, Europe, from the Atlantic to the Vistula, is filled with the groans of the oppressed and the cries of the persecuted? France, Naples, Venice, Tuscany, Rome, Austria, Germany, and Spain, exhibit, at the present time, *not* such a state of things, political and religious, as to indicate the downfall of popery and civil despotism as already past; but the continued prevalence of those wicked and destructive systems in more than their wonted malignity.

In France, the theatre of three successive revolutions, all political, all religious, all social liberty is at an end; and the whole kingdom groans under a more rigid and merciless despotism than it has ever yet experienced. In Naples a Bourbon rules who has forsworn his oath, destroyed the charter, and abolished the chambers and the constitution. Lombardy has fallen under the power of Austria. Venice has succumbed to the same despotic rule, and Austrian troops now occupy the garrisons of Tuscany. Rome has again been forced, at the point of the bayonet, to take back its fugitive Pope, and the capital of the Cæsars is garrisoned by an imperial French force. Germany is without a free press, and, it may be said, without a free parliament, for the chambers of Prussia cannot with any truth be styled a free assembly. Hungary has lost its national existence; its very constitution is abolished. Sicily, too, is again trampled

under foot by its oppressor. In a word, from north to south, with the exception of Belgium, Holland, and Sardinia, continental Europe now lies prostrate beneath a despotism so rigid as to tempt one almost to believe that the dial of time had gone back, and that we were fast hastening into a second period of medieval darkness.

Surely none but those who have a favourite hypothesis to uphold would venture, in the face of these facts, to say that the twelve hundred and sixty days, the period of tyranny and misrule, had passed away. Still less that the seventh trumpet had sounded, God has 'taken to him his great power and reigned, and the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of Christ.'

Such, alas, is the political state of Europe; and if we consider it in its religious aspect, what do we behold? Is it not well known that a reaction has taken place in the fortunes of the papacy; and that the exertions of the propagandist party are at length to some extent successful? We are far from listening to all the songs of triumph which are now issuing from the Romish camp. We do not credit a tithe of what its advocates proclaim. Still, it cannot be denied that the prospects of Rome are vastly more encouraging than they have been for the last half century. In France, the priests have well nigh put down protestantism, and got into their own hands the universities and the schools. In Belgium and Holland, popery is decidedly on the increase. In Germany, rationalism has almost demolished protestantism; and the Romish Church is fast regaining its long-lost inheritance. In Austria and Spain, popery is still dominant and powerful; and even England, we must allow, presents a gratifying prospect to a papist.

Strange state of things this, if the 'time, times, and half a time,' the night of papal superstition and priestcraft, has passed away! Marvellous contrast, this, to what might have been expected at the close of the twelve hundred and sixty years, when the woman was to emerge from the wilderness, the two witnesses against civil and religious tyranny ascend to the political heaven, the seventh trumpet usher in the advent of the kingdom of God, and the seven vials of divine wrath be poured out in quick succession, to 'destroy them that destroy the earth.'

It must, then, be admitted that modern prophetic writers, in the midst of much that is sound and valuable in their expositions, have committed an egregious error. They have failed to read aright the signs of the times. They have confounded together two periods, as different as light is from darkness. They have given out that the twelve hundred and sixty days were past, whilst Europe is still enveloped in papal gloom; and have assigned to

the glorious era of the seventh trumpet, a tyranny less tolerable than that of the worst of the dark ages.

It is easy to trace the source of this grievous mistake to the impression produced on men's minds by the results of the first French Revolution. It cannot be denied that the events which followed that tremendous outbreak of the popular will bore some analogy to those which are to succeed the close of the twelve hundred and sixty days, and were calculated to excite the expectation so generally indulged that a new and brighter era was fast dawning upon this benighted world. Besides imparting free constitutions to many of the European states, and in other ways advancing the interests of civil freedom, it was followed by religious benefits neither few nor inconsiderable. Shortly after the revolution broke out, a great revival of the evangelic and missionary spirit took place in England. Various societies were formed for the circulation of the Scriptures and the spread of the Gospel. Missions were set on foot for the conversion of the heathen in most parts of the world—India, the West Indies, Africa, the South Sea, and Greenland. Many parts of Europe, sunk in papal gloom and superstition, were set open to the preaching of the gospel. These and similar beneficial results were undoubtedly fitted to impress men's minds with the conviction that the dark millennium of despotism and priestcraft had passed away, and that the long-expected era of justice and truth, liberty and righteousness, was about to arise upon the earth. Now, however, that we have lived to see our fondest hopes frustrated; that we have witnessed these glorious influences to a great degree spend themselves; that, for a lengthened period, a reaction in every part of christendom has taken place, it were worse than folly to suppose that the French Revolution of 1793 was the death-knell of popery and despotism, and the harbinger of religion and freedom to mankind. Surveying, as we do, the results of that tremendous convulsion from the vantage-ground of history, we at once discover that it wanted depth and stability, permanence and progress. It resembled the meteor that shoots across the sky, rather than the 'shining light, that shineth more and more, unto the perfect day.'

We cannot but regard it as a striking proof of the justness of our conclusion as to the *non-termination* of the twelve hundred and sixty days, that the terrible revolutions on the continent, in 1848, were so speedily quelled, and, at the present moment, have scarcely left behind a trace of their existence. Who can forget the violent upheaving of the whole European continent, as with the throes of a mighty earthquake, such as the Apocalypse predicts? The shock was first felt in France, towards the close of

February, and, before a month had elapsed, its effects were communicated to the whole of Europe; and the governments, and laws, and armies, which had borne sway for more than a thousand years, were suddenly swept away like chaff before the wind! In France, a republic was established, and all trace of the kingly power effaced by the popular will; whilst the Protestants of the country once more enjoyed full liberty of worship. In Italy, the revolution obliged the ruling princes to grant free constitutions and free parliaments to their dissatisfied subjects. It moved Lombardy to cast off the iron yoke of Austria, and restored the oppressed Waldenses to an equality in civil and religious rights with their fellow-countrymen. In the various electorates on the Rhine, large popular concessions were made by the terrified rulers to their subjects. In Prussia, the people prevailed over the monarch, and obtained, after a brief delay, all that they demanded. It imparted a free constitution and religious freedom to Bavaria. It was followed by similarly beneficial results in the kingdoms of Saxony and Hanover. Whilst in Austria—the very stronghold of European despotism and priestcraft—the fullest civil and religious liberty was guaranteed by the astonished monarch. Can we wonder that, at the time men thought that this was indeed the last great earthquake predicted in the Apocalypse—that they described the period as the time of trouble foretold by Daniel, the days of vengeance spoken of by Christ?

To what cause, then, can we ascribe it that the wave of popular revolution so speedily recoiled, bringing with it the terrible reaction of military despotism? To what possible influence was it owing, that liberated Europe was, in a few months, driven back into its old fetters and the dark night of its ancient dungeon? The only answer that can be given is, in the words of the mighty angel who was seen standing on the earth and the sea, 'that the time was not yet' come. The twelve hundred and sixty years—the period assigned by God, in his inscrutable wisdom, for the reign of the two apocalyptic wild beasts—were not yet expired; and hence no human power, no possible conjunction of circumstances, however favourable, could break the spell. Nations might be convulsed—thrones upturned—monarchs flee from their distracted capitals—free institutions arise, and all remains of ancient tyranny and oppression be swept from a whole continent. It matters nothing. All is of no avail. A few months suffices to restore the ancient order of things with increased severity, just because power has been given to the ten-horned beast 'to practise forty and two months,' and the time was not expired. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but the word of God can never pass away!

We think, then, it must be admitted that the twelve hundred and sixty days are still running on—the two antichristian wild beasts still in possession of the powers given them by the dragon. As a necessary consequence, the true church of God is still in the wilderness, the two witnesses still prophesying in sackcloth. In short, instead of living, as certain writers would have us believe, under the glorious era of the seventh trumpet and seven vials, we are still in the dark and dreary night of oppression and injustice, persecution and woe. True, in this favoured country, we do not, at present, feel ‘the rod of the oppressor.’ But what if the beams of the rising sun gild the top of the Alpine mountain long ere they reach the vales at its base? Who would hence deny that the world below was all the while enveloped in the darkness of night?

But there is a class of expositors who allow that the twelve hundred and sixty days are still unexpired, and the seventh trumpet still future, who, nevertheless, hold that the seven vials have all been poured out except the last. Now, to any one who carefully considers the nature of these vials of wrath, and the objects against which they are directed, this opinion will at once appear altogether untenable. Nothing can be plainer, as appears to us, than that the very nature of these ‘*seven last plagues*’ is that of *retributive judgment upon the beast and the false prophet*, for the terrible arrear of crimes which have for twelve centuries been accumulating. And not only so: it is expressly stated that they are the *last plagues*. They finish the work. They utterly destroy those guilty systems from the face of the earth, and consign them ‘to the lake of fire.’ Now, to suppose, as Elliott and many other writers do, that such tremendous and final judgments as these can have been, for the last sixty years, in the course of infliction upon the beast and his coadjutor, and that yet the twelve hundred and sixty days, the period of their prosperity, is still running on, is to us one of the grossest inconsistencies of which even prophetic writers have ever been guilty.

Besides, if we mistake not, the very structure of the Apocalypse requires that as the seventh seal contains the seven trumpets, so does the seventh trumpet contain the seven vials. But, from verse 14 of chapter xi. of the Revelation, it is certain that the twelve hundred and sixty days close before the seventh trumpet sounds. Hence the vials, too, contained in that trumpet, are poured out after the close of that calamitous period.

Finally, the very language of the seventh trumpet proves, we think, that such judgments as those of the vials are really comprised in its terrible contents. After mentioning that God’s ‘wrath was come,’ and ‘the time of the dead, that they should be avenged’ (it is added, ‘and that thou shouldst destroy

them that destroy the earth.' Here, then, is the place of the vials. That being the exact nature of those judgments, issuing, as they will, in the destruction of those guilty systems which have for so many centuries desolated and destroyed Europe.

We are justified, then, we think, in uttering our protest against the opinion of Elliott and other writers, that the *sixth vial* is now in course of effusion, and the figurative Euphrates rapidly drying up under its deadly influence.

Another reason why thoughtful men should pause before they fall in with the views of our modern expositors of prophecy, as to the fulfilment of the *sixth vial* in the present state of the Turkish power, is found in the very unsatisfactory nature of the pretended fulfilments of the five previous vials.

How miserably poor and inadequate are the expositions of these '*seven last plagues*' in our best commentators! The *first vial* is by Elliott, Keith, and a host of other writers, unanimously interpreted as referring to the infidelity and irreligion which prevailed in France and some other countries during the first French Revolution. Now, to represent the prevalence of atheism and irreligion as a *vial of wrath* appears to us a most strange and unnatural mode of interpretation; and is, in short, nothing else than confounding together guilt and the punishment which visits that guilt.

But, in point of fact, the spread of infidelity and irreligion bears no kind of resemblance to the effects of the first vial. '*A noisome and grievous sore,*' if there be any meaning in language, denotes *some direct and obvious source of torment*. It implies that, just as men covered with boils are constantly harassed and tormented with those sores, so would the miserable objects of this first vial suffer continual anguish and torture under this terrible visitation. Now, none will pretend to say that the atheism and irreligion which disgraced the revolution of 1789 constituted a source of ceaseless suffering and torment to the guilty subjects themselves. On the contrary, in yielding to the spirit of the times, they were just following the bias of their own inclinations, and giving vent to their own corrupt passions. So inconsistent an interpretation of a prophetic symbol as this we have seldom met with, nor is it easy to explain it except on the supposition that prophetic writers had settled in their minds that the French Revolution of the eighteenth century constituted the fulfilment of the vials of God's wrath, and, nothing more plausible offering itself, they had no alternative than that of applying it to the atheistical and irreligious principles professed at that period.

The *second vial* is, by Elliott and others, interpreted of the *destruction of the naval forces of the various kingdoms of the*

papacy by the victories of the British commanders. As though the naval achievements of Hood, Howe, and Nelson could fulfil the terms of a prediction which states that 'the sea became as the blood of a dead *man*!' or as though such comparatively unimportant events—events which men have constantly witnessed in various ages of the world, could constitute one of the '*seven last plagues*' in which is 'filled up the wrath of God!' We say nothing of the fact that expositors seem altogether to have mistaken the character of the symbol of '*the sea*,' which is always in the Apocalypse the emblem of 'peoples, and multitudes and nations and tongues.'

The *third* vial is interpreted by Elliott, and most others, of the conquests of the French republican armies on the Danube, Rhine, and other rivers. Now, we willingly allow that these battles were very terrible and sanguinary in their character; but we have yet to learn in what respect they so differed from all other periods of warfare in the history of Europe as to be styled one of the '*seven last plagues, in which is filled up the wrath of God.*' Nor can we admit their nature and extent to be such as to justify the language used in the response of 'the angel of the waters,'—'They have shed the blood of saints and of prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink, for they are worthy!'

It is unnecessary to follow in detail the expositions of the remaining vials, given by modern prophetic writers. Suffice it to say, that they are, if possible, still more unsatisfactory than those we have considered. Nothing even approaching to the 'sun scorching men with great heat,' and the wretched sufferers 'blaspheming God, who hath power over those plagues,' nor yet to 'the kingdom of the beast being smitten with darkness, and then gnawing their tongues for pain,' has ever yet occurred in Christendom; and when it does, if not before that time, men will at length discover that God does not dictate the scenes of futurity to his prophets in words of bombast and hyperbole, and that the terrible events accomplishing the prophecies of the seven vials of the wrath of God, exceed, rather than fall short of, the awful language in which they are couched.

The brief and rapid glance which we have given at the supposed fulfilment of the five first vials, in the French Revolution of the eighteenth century, confirms all that we have urged before against the idea that Turkey is gradually wasting away under the operation of the *sixth*. No. Unless we have read amiss 'the signs of the time,' the great period of twelve hundred and sixty days is still unexpired—the ten-horned beast still possesses his original 'power to practise' his tyrannical will—the 'woman arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls,' still 'sits upon' the monster, and holds out her

‘golden cup’ to the nations of the earth;—the despised and persecuted church of God still prophesies in sackcloth against the horrid abuses in church and state which fill almost every kingdom in Christendom;—the blessed jubilee sound of the seventh trumpet still remains to gladden the earth;—the divine summons to the seven angels to ‘go’ and ‘pour out the vials of the wrath of God,’ has not yet been given. And Turkey, doomed as it has been for more than a quarter of a century to speedy annihilation, as the power upon which the sixth vial of divine wrath was long since poured out, yet lives; and, to the manifest chagrin and mortification of our prophetic writers, is now engaged single-handed in a war with the most formidable power in Europe. We will not say, as Mr. Urquhart has, in his recent valuable work, that the Ottoman Porte is itself equal successfully to cope with the great northern invader of its rights and liberties. But this we will say, that for any man to take up his Bible, and pretend to discover there that Turkey must inevitably now fall, because the contents of the sixth vial were poured out upon that nation some twenty or thirty years ago, is nothing less than sheer infatuation!

- ART. VIII.—*Theological Essays*.** By Frederick Denison Maurice, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln’s Inn, and Professor of Divinity in King’s College, London. pp. ix.—449. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.
2. *Grounds for Laying before the Council of King’s College, certain Statements contained in a Recent Publication, entitled ‘Theological Essays,’ by the Rev. F. D. Maurice, M.A.* By R. W. Jelf, D.D., Principal of the College, and Canon of Christ Church. Third Edition. Oxford and London: J. H. Parker; Rivingtons. 1853.
 3. *The Word ‘Eternal,’ and the Punishment of the Wicked.* A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Jelf. By Frederick Denison Maurice. pp. vii.—39. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1853.
 4. *The Record Newspaper.* September—November, 1853.
 5. *The Spectator.* November and December, 1853.
 6. *The Prospective Review.* November, 1853.
 7. *Preface to the Second Edition of Theological Essays.* Concluding Essay: ‘Eternal Life and Eternal Death.’ pp. xi.—30. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1853.

THE interest excited at Cambridge, and elsewhere, by Professor Maurice’s removal from the Professorship of Divinity in King’s College, London, calls for some attention on our part to the

publications whose titles are here given. Our first duty is to state distinctly, and as briefly as may comport with adequate perspicuity and fairness, what they are, and then to express our deliberate judgment on their respective merits, in order that our readers may be aided in forming a right estimate, not only of Mr. Maurice's theology, but of the alleged reasons for his deposition by the Council of King's College, and of his reply to that allegation.

In the dedication of his *Essays* to the Poet Laureate, Mr. Maurice says, 'I have maintained in these *Essays*, that a theology which does not correspond to the deepest thoughts and feelings of human beings cannot be a true theology.' (p. v. First Edition.)

In the 'Advertisement,' after explaining the circumstance by which he was led to write 'some book especially addressed to Unitarians, he says: 'A mere controversial work I felt I could not compose. Such works, so far as my experience has gone, do little else than harm to those who write and to those who read them.' (p. vii.)

The author's sense of the importance of these *Essays* is manifest, when he says, 'The book expresses thoughts which have been working in my mind for years: the method of it has not been adopted carelessly; even the composition has undergone frequent revision. No labour I have been engaged in has occupied me so much, or interested me more deeply. I hope it may be the means of leading some to a far higher knowledge than their guide has ever attained.' (p. ix.)

The *Essays* thus seriously announced as the writer's most elaborate and earnest expression of his maturest views are on the following topics:—I. On Charity. II. On Sin. III. On the Evil Spirit. IV. On the Sense of Righteousness in Men, and their Discovery of a Redeemer. V. On the Son of God. VI. On the Incarnation. VII. On the Atonement. VIII. On the Resurrection of the Son of God from Death, the Grave, and Hell. IX. On Justification by Faith. X. Regeneration. XI. On the Ascension of Christ. XII. On the Judgment-day. XIII. On Inspiration. XIV. On the Personality and Teaching of the Holy Spirit. XV. On the Unity of the Church. XVI. On the Trinity in Unity. Conclusion.—On Eternal Life and Eternal Death.

The *Essay* on Charity represents the feelings of many persons in this day, who wish that Paul had always adhered to what he says of charity in the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and who cling to what they suppose to be his meaning there, in support of 'a principle which we feel to be all-important, and which it is the great work of our age to proclaim.' To a person so speaking, Mr. Maurice says he had often

been tempted to answer in a way which he describes as foolish and wrong, impertinent and unchristian. Instead, however, of replying, that by charity the Apostle does not mean tolerance of opinions—the disposition to fraternize with men of all characters and creeds—but something altogether different, he proceeds to describe ‘the course which a divine in the nineteenth century should follow.’ The course is this: to acknowledge all the truth which he believes to be in the mind of the objector; to avoid dogmatism; to seek the reconciliation of the various grounds of theological theories, notions, feelings about God—such as church authority, the Bible, and consciousness, in theology considered—not as a collection of our notions and theories about God, but as setting forth His acts and purposes to us. The central point he finds in charity.

‘The Bible and the church speak to me of charity. My consciousness responds to that speech, and so, I imagine, does yours. I hold this charity to be the ground and centre of the universe. I believe God himself to be charity. He desires me, as I think, to be like Him, to have His charity. I start from that maxim. It is what has explained to me the different points or articles of the creed which I receive and confess. I have tried to understand those articles when they have been interpreted to me by some doctor or apologist who did not start from this ground, and I frankly own I have failed. Their meaning as intellectual propositions has been bewildering to me. As guides to my own life, as helps to my conduct, they have been more bewildering still. But, seen in this light, I have found them acquiring distinctness and unity just in proportion as I became more aware of my own necessities and perplexities, and of those from which my contemporaries are suffering. They have brought the Divine Love and human life into conjunction,—the one being no longer a barren tenet or sentiment, the other a hopeless struggle.

‘I wish that I might be able to set them before some whom I know, as they present themselves to me. I do not think that I have anything rare or peculiar to tell; I believe I have felt much as the people about me are feeling. I might, therefore, address myself to many of different classes with a slight hope of being listened to; but I have one most directly and prominently before me while I write.’—pp. 11, 12.

The ‘Unitarian’ is either one who absolutely repudiates the articles described in this volume, or one who repudiates them, not absolutely, but as portions of a creed from which all the spiritual essence which may once have been in them has departed. While Mr. Maurice differs from each of these classes of Unitarians, he professes to have strong points of sympathy with both.

‘I am not ashamed to say, that the vehement denunciations of the general faith of christendom which I have heard from Unitarians—denunciations of it as cruel, immoral, inconsistent with any full and honest acknowledgment of the Divine Unity, still more of the Divine

Love—have been eminently useful to me. I receive them as blessings from God, for which I ought to give Him continued thanks. I do not mean because the hearing of these charges has set me upon refuting them; that would be a very doubtful advantage; for what does one gain for life and practice by taking up the profession of a theological special pleader? but because *great portions of these charges seem to me well founded, because I have been compelled to confess that the evidence for them was irresistible.* And I have been driven more and more to the conclusion, that the evidence does not refer to some secondary subordinate point which we may overlook, provided our greater and more personal interests are secured, or to some point on which we can for the present know nothing; but that it concerns the *grounds of our personal and of our social existence*; that it is not to be numbered among those secret things which belong to the Lord, but is *the root of that revelation which He has made to us and our children.* I owe it very much to these protests that I have learned to say to myself—“Take away the Love of God, and you take away everything.” The Bible sets forth the revelation of that love, or it is good for nothing. ‘The church is the living witness and revelation of that love, or it is good for nothing.’—pp. 12, 13.

In a similar manner he expresses his feeling of obligation to the other class of Unitarians, who, though less strong in their condemnation of Trinitarian writings, *hate orthodoxy, as such, with a perfect hatred.* He yields to many of their assertions and arguments. At the same time, with all these sympathies and grateful acknowledgments of what he has learned from both sets of Unitarians, he turns round to tell them what he had learned, not from them, but in another school:—saying to the first—Your creed does not help me to know whether God is doing anything to remove the countless disorders of the world; and to the second—Your words and phrases are no more substantial than ours, and your speculations leave me in the dark.

The *Second Essay*, ON SIN, is designed to expose the orthodox way of representing sin by putting into strong language the objections of those who ‘hate orthodoxy.’ He believes that resistance to these theological teachings arises from conscience, not from self-will. He exhorts the objector to hold fast his anti-orthodox conviction, but not to resist another conviction—the conviction of personal wrong-doing or thinking, the presence of his own dark self, the consciousness of individual responsibility. This sense of sin haunts all men. He represents the deep effects of methodist preaching in the last century as produced by appealing to this feeling; and the rareness of such effect now is to be accounted for, he says, by our not speaking straightforwardly to this universal feeling. He advocates the possession of knowledge, without limitation, for every man. He thinks that studying economics and physics may do more for man’s moral welfare than insincere artificial theological

teaching; yet that scientific truth may only build up superstitions, if the man is not first called into life to receive them and to connect them with himself; and as surely as it behoves *us*,—the clergy, we presume,—to call on men's hearts and consciences to see their Father in Heaven, and themselves in relation to Him, that they may study science in this light. Sin, according to this showing, is probably felt most fully when a man remembers how 'he has made himself alone by not confessing that he was a brother, a son, a citizen. 'The priest and the prophet will confess that they have been greater rebels against the law of love than the publican and the harlot, because they were sent into the world to testify of a love for all and a kingdom for all, and they have been witnesses for separation, for exclusion, for themselves.'

He then strongly appeals to the 'Unitarian brother' to explain how it is that his party were in sympathy with the feeble worldliness of the clergy in the last age, when both were beaten by the methodists; and why they are still powerless:—

'The secret of both failures seems to me to be this. You of the older school knew something of transgression, almost nothing of sin. But the transgression was of a rule rather than of a law; breaches of social etiquette and propriety, at most. And unkind habits seemed to compose all the evils you took account of which did not appear in the shape of crimes. Those who must be treated, not as members of some class of men, but as men, have no ears for discourses about convention and behaviour; if you cannot penetrate below these, you must leave them alone. You who believe in spiritual powers, do you yet acknowledge spiritual evil? Can you speak to us as persons? Can you tell me of myself what I am, who is for me, who is against me? I have not found that you can. You have a religion for us, I know; apparently a graceful and refined one. It is a luxury, if we can afford it. But we have an enemy who tries to deprive us even of necessities. Unless you can teach us how to procure them in spite of him, I and my fellow-creatures must for the present let your religion alone.'—p. 53.

The *Third Essay, ON THE EVIL SPIRIT*, exhibits several theories on the origin of evil—circumstances; hereditary corruption, in the body, in the soul; evil spirits—all developed out of human nature, and producing various systems of religion. The Christian theology, in relation to these theories, declares that there is an evil spirit; that man's whole nature is acknowledged to have a downward tendency; that society is to be restored to order, not by substituting a new set of circumstances, but by the unfolding of that human and divine order to which men belong; and that this social regeneration can be effected only when man is delivered from the spirit of selfishness which rebels against the law of order and love. The belief that there is a personal devil appears to Unitarians to be a figment so unutterable and even foolish, that they can hardly think the man sincere who professes in the present day to hold it. Mr. Maurice confesses that he

would be glad to avoid the profession of this belief if he could. But to the timidity thus confessed he attributes the way of speaking of our depravity inherited from Adam, which comes so ~~very~~ near representing sin as a law; while Scripture represents it as the transgression of the law of God. He does not deny that 'every child of Adam has this infection of nature,' but most entirely and inwardly believes it. He speaks of it as

'An inclination to something which is not right, an inclination to turn away from that which is right, that which is the true and proper state of him who has the inclination. What is it that experiences the inclination? What is it that provokes the inclination? I believe it is the spirit within me which feels the inclination: I believe it is a spirit speaking to my spirit who stirs up the inclination. That old way of stating the case explains the facts and commends itself to my reason. I cannot find any other which does not conceal some facts, and does not outrage my reason. And of this I am sure, that when I have courage to use this language as the expression of a truth which concerns me and every man, the whole battle of life becomes infinitely more serious to me and yet more hopeful; because I cannot believe in a spirit which is tempting me into falsehood and evil, without believing that God is a spirit, and that I am bound to Him, and, that He is attracting me to truth and goodness.'—pp. 50, 51.

In the same Essay the author denounces the 'war' (in the Divine mind) 'between justice and mercy as a portentous imagination of modern divines;' and he calls for a return to the practical faith of 'the old men.' On the other hand, he denounces in Unitarians the disbelief of an evil spirit not less earnestly and plainly than in previous essays he had denounced their substitution of a mere amiable good-natured being for a God of perfect charity, and the love of quietness and propriety which overlooks the deepest wants of human beings in the actual conflict of life. The closing paragraphs contain an earnest assurance to Unitarians:—'Your minds will be in a simpler, healthier state; that you will win a real victory over some of the most plausible conventionalisms of the age; that you will grasp the truth you have more firmly, and be readier to receive any you have not yet apprehended, when you have courage to say, "We do verily believe we have a world, and a flesh, and a DEVIL to fight with."'

THE SENSE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS IN MEN AND THEIR DISCOVERY OF A REDEEMER is the title of the *Fourth* Essay. We can only say here, in few words, that it is an attempt to reconcile the acknowledgments of sin, and the assertions of righteousness, in Job's addresses to his friends. The theory is, that 'the Christ is in every man the source of all the light that ever visits him, the root of all the righteous thoughts and acts that he is ever able to conceive or do.' That the author regards this as the true key

to many mysteries of human life, and to the entire course of revealed instruction, is manifest from the words in which he concludes this remarkable essay:—‘ Apart from him I feel that there dwells in me no good thing, but I am sure that I am not apart from Him, nor you, nor any man. I have a right to tell you this: *If I have any work to do in the world it is to tell you this.* And now I will tell you further why I hold that this righteous being is the Son of God.’ (p. 76.)

THE SON OF GOD. This is the theme of the *Fifth Essay*. The objections to the creed of Christendom, which are grounded on the notion of sons of God, found in the ancient mythologies, are met by acknowledging the fact, regarding it as the sign of a universal instinct towards a divine helper; by asserting that it cannot be taken for granted that we show our reverence for the instincts and conscience of humanity by ascribing all the mythological ideas of ‘sons of God’ to the grateful imaginations of men; and by affirming that, though, in fact, men have ascribed their own attributes to their gods, the radical explanation may be found in the theory of the preceding Essay. The Christ *was* before his incarnation. Our Lord himself asserts this. He also asserts the connexion of this sublime truth with the deliverance of man from the bondage which is inseparable from the consciousness of sin. Ideas of this kind, we are told, have floated down on the vast sea of tradition. We want a revelation to account for, explain, and substantiate them. The Unitarian clings to the idea of a Son of God, while he treats and derides as mystical the orthodox interpretation of the phrase. Without intending it, men of that school have preserved in orthodox minds the distinction of persons which is necessary to the confession of the unity of substance in the living God. By sincere and fervent admiration of Jesus Christ, whom they deny to be one with the Father, they are in danger of idolatry. In sorrow they are reminded—

‘ In the sad hours of your life, the recollection of that Man you read of in your childhood, the Man of Sorrows, the great sympathizer with human woes and sufferings rises up before you, I know; it has a reality for you, then; you feel it to be not only beautiful, but true. In such moments, does it seem to you as if Christ were merely a person who eighteen hundred years ago made certain journeyings between Judæa and Galilee? Can such a recollection fill up the blank which some present grief, the loss of some actual friend, has made in your hearts? It does not; it never did this for you, or for anyone! Yet I do not doubt for a single instant that a comfort has come to you from that contemplation. So far from denying your right to it, I would wish you and all earnestly to believe how strong and assured our right to it is. In Him, and for Him, we were created; this is our doctrine, or rather the doctrine of St. Paul; for we have said little enough about

it. If so, is it wonderful that He should speak to you, and tell you of Himself? And, oh! if that voice says,—You may trust me, you may lean upon me, for I know all things in heaven and earth—“I and my Father are one;” is the whisper too good to be true, too much in accordance with the timid anticipations and longings of our spirit *not* to be rejected?—p. 95.

THE INCARNATION is treated of in the *Sixth* Essay. After referring to the Greek mythology, to the appearance of angels or sons of God in the Old Testament, and to the difference as well as the resemblance between the former and the latter, he shows how both Greek and Jew, the learned few, and the masses of the people, rejected the doctrine of the Son of God in our flesh, which was taught by the apostles, and also how this struggle against this truth continued in the early period of the Christian Church. He then explains why this doctrine should be maintained, as taught especially by the Apostle John. He speaks of the professedly orthodox as needing to be called to repentance, that they may recognise the Incarnate Son of God, not less than the Unitarians, especially because they speak of God manifest in the flesh without declaring who is the Manifester. To the Unitarians he addresses numerous appeals and cautions; and on behalf of the orthodox creed he sums up thus:—

‘To conclude. I shall be content to put the whole cause on this issue. Let it be considered earnestly what has made the difference between the belief concerning God, and concerning man, which has prevailed in Christendom, and that which exists in any part of heathendom. To understand the difference, study as carefully the resemblances,—all the dark and horrible thoughts respecting our Father in heaven, and our fellow-creatures on earth, which exist among us, and which we have adopted from heathenism. Let all allowance you please be made for varieties of races, and for progress of civilization, on condition that you are not satisfied with these formulæ, but are willing to regard them as indications of facts, which need to be explained. And then let it be seen whether the belief that Jesus Christ set forth in the Gospels is the express image of God, and the image after which man is formed, has not been the secret of all that is confessedly high, pure, moral in our own convictions; the departure from that belief, and the attempt to deduce the nature of God from some philosophical generalization, or from some heroical man, or from a number of men, or from ourselves, has not been at the root of all that is cruel in our doctrine, as well as of that which is most feeble and base in our practice.’—pp. 126, 127.

In the *Seventh* Essay, ON THE ATONEMENT, the author develops the suggestions of human consciousness in relation to sin and its consequences, as generalized into theological theories. The guilt of priests in every land—most of all, the priests of Christendom—consists in their ‘willingness to create a religion

out of consciousness.' He sides with the objectors to the doctrines respecting sacrifice and atonement, which prevail in Christendom, among Protestants as well as Romanists, as 'a system of notions which does outrage the conscience, which does misrepresent the character of God, which does generate a fearful amount of insincere belief, positive infidelity,—also, I think, of immorality.' (p. 133.) Maintaining that these notions belong to the theology of consciousness, not to God's revelation or the old creed, he opposes the theory of the *satisfaction of Christ*, as understood in the evangelical schools; and he represents the atonement as consisting, not in enduring the penalty of sin, but in the complacency of the Father, in the purity and graciousness of the Son. He says boldly, 'I must give up Archbishop Magee.' The Essay closes thus:—

'When the atonement is contemplated as the ground of a Gospel to man—when I dare to say, God so loved the world as to give His only begotten Son for it—how closely does that belief bind me to Unitarians of every class and hue! They may build their theology upon certain deductions of the intellect, or upon certain individual consciousness; mine rests on the eternal love, which overlooks all distinctions, which embraces the universe. They may glorify this or that material—this or that spiritual notion or conception. I am bound to acknowledge a Son of God, who is the Lord of their spirits and bodies as He is of mine, who took their nature as he did mine, who died upon the Cross for them as He did for me. They may argue about the degree of sin in one or another of us; I am bound to think that I am as much a sinner as any one of them can be, and that Christ is the Lamb of God, who took away the sin of the world. They may think there is some other way to the Father than through the Cross of the Son; I must confess that there, He is as willing to meet and bless every one of them, as He can be to meet and bless me. I can only hope to know Him while I seek Him in One who perfectly humbled himself; what a lie and blasphemy to exalt myself all the plea of possessing that knowledge.'

We pass to the *Eighth Essay, ON THE RESURRECTION of the Son of God from death, the grave, and hell*. It treats of Strauss' paradox, 'that the last enemy which shall be destroyed is the belief of man in his own immortality:' the desire for which distinction Mr. Maurice describes as natural in certain circumstances, but impossible to realize 'till a man cease to think of himself as a person, and become merely a thing.' The horror of death is met in the Gospel by the assurance of communion in death with the crucified Saviour; and the dread of the grave, by the assurance of communion there with the Saviour, who, being dead, was buried. The article of the creed—'He descended into hell,' is adopted as it stands in the Book of Common Prayer.

The generally received notions of the separation of soul and

body—the identity of the risen body with that which was buried—the distant futurity of the resurrection at the ‘last trump’—the separate existence of disembodied spirits—heaven and hell as places are discarded;—but Unitarians of the new school are reminded that they cannot retain the ground on which their fathers held the belief of the Resurrection, and they are therefore exhorted to seek for that belief a divine basis, which their fathers did not perceive.

JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH is discussed, not as a doctrine of Scripture but as belonging to the difficulty, felt in every age of the church, of drawing the line of demarcation between the church and the world. Through several pages the author descants on baptism, and on the ecclesiastical distinction of the religious from the secular life, as illustrating the pernicious effects of *thus* drawing the required line; and then he dwells on the similar mischief attending the efforts of the Reformers to rally round the doctrine of justification by faith as the separating point between the church and the world. In reference to all those methods, whether Romanist or Protestant, he says—‘The great moral distinctions which God’s law proclaims, and which the conscience of man affirms, have not been deepened, but obliterated; fictitious maxims and standards have been raised, which are as unfavourable to the common honesty of daily life, as they are to any higher righteousness which we should seek as citizens of God’s kingdom, as creatures formed in his image.’ (p. 196.)

Instead of adhering to these narrow and mischievous human distinctions, as he deems them, he sets forth—as God’s great distinction—that there is in every man a spirit that seeks righteousness and a flesh that stoops to evil; that there is with every man the Christ, who would quicken his spirit and deliver his soul and body out of death, and with every man an evil power who tempts him to become the slave of his flesh, and so to destroy his soul and body; that men are in Christ, the true Lord of their spirit, claimed as sons of God; and that they, by distrusting him, and yielding to the devil, become utterly unlike him, forming themselves in the image of the father whom they have chosen. (p. 204.)

Mr. Maurice’s notion of justification is that *in the justification of Christ by His resurrection, each man was justified.*

ON REGENERATION, in the *Tenth* Essay, the author dwells at length on the doctrine of ‘laws,’ on Mr. Combe’s Essay on the *Physical* Constitution of Man, and on Bishop Butler’s view of our MORAL constitution, as bearing on regeneration. He rejects the notion of regeneration being the substitution of a specially bestowed nature for that of ordinary human beings, as essentially ‘antipathic’ to Butler’s doctrine of the moral constitution. The ‘renovation or restitution’ of that which has fallen into decay, he

regards as inconsistent with Butler's doctrine ; but discarding the ordinary evangelical belief that this restitution is progressive by virtue of a perpetual renewal of spiritual life, he represents Christ as the true root of humanity, and, therefore, the regenerator of society. He charges the Romanists with denying this doctrine by their assumptions on behalf of the church ; and Protestants also, by representing the 'glory and privilege of the new birth, of being members of Christ,' as the distinction of a few persons, not the claim of every human being. Looking on Christ as the regenerator of society, he is led to touch on the politics of whiggism and radicalism as defective, because of the absence of this principle from both. 'If I thought that the world which is to arise out of the wreck of that in which we are living, were one of which some other than Jesus Christ, the son of God, was to be the king, I should have no more fervent wish, if I could then form a wish, I could conceive no better prayer, if there was any one to whom I could offer a prayer, than that I, and my fellow men, and the whole universe might perish at once and for ever.' (p. 250.)

It is not easy to analyse, abridge, or condense the *Eleventh Essay, ON THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST*. In the course of it he deals with the Ideal school—the rude notions of Galileans—the teaching of Christ—the gospel story of the ascension—the effect of Christ's preaching in the minds of his disciples—the preaching of Paul, as offering in the ascension of Christ a ground of fellowship for all men—the fantastic as opposed to the substantial—the mistakes and errors of the church in relation to the ascension—the influence of Greek legends, the struggles between doubt and belief in England, with its probable results—conflicting theories on the eucharist—the influence of our separations on colonists and on the heathen portions of the British empire.

Rigidly adhering to the literal fact of the ascension as 'not a legend, but the fulfilment of all legends ; not as an idea, but as the *substantiation of an idea in a fact*'—a fact like the resurrection, exhibiting eternal laws which vindicate the true order and constitution of human existence, the author winds up by saying :—

'I now lay these same thoughts' (previously addressed to English churchmen) 'before my Unitarian brethren of both sections. What I have said of Paley may show those whom the younger school stigmatises as Materialists or Utilitarian, that I do not feel separated from them ; that I do not think it needful for them to go through any initiation in any German or American school before they can understand St. Paul or St. John. Good manly sense seems to me so precious and noble a gift, that I am afraid I often speak intolerantly of those who put spiritualism and philosophy in place of it. But I have no right to do so, for I have felt their temptation strongly ; and if I have felt also the punishment for having indulged it, and the reaction against it, I

should be the last to cast stones against any offender. Most earnestly, therefore, do I call upon all of the spiritual school to join with those from whom they are in part alienated, and with me, that there is one ascended on high, and on the right hand of God, who is our MEDIATOR and theirs; who claims us as spirits now, and change the body of our humiliation to the body of His glory, by the power whereby he is able to subdue even all things to Himself.'—p. 283.

The *Ninth* Essay, ON THE JUDGMENT DAY, opens with a description of the power of public opinion, of the recoil from it, and the secret of the power to overcome it which lies in acting under the conviction that we are indeed responsible to some other and more righteous one.

As to the descriptions of the day of judgment, which are common in sermons and religious treatises, the author, as we understand him, rejects them: he thinks they are not consistent with the current teachings of the New Testament, well considered with the practical and substantial; that the popular notion is a superstitious apprehension, derived not from Scripture, but from heathenism; that the constabular force is a more useful, effectual, and also a more godly instrument for producing 'terror in the minds of thieves and vagabonds;' that the habitual homage of ordinary men to public opinion is a proof that they can be influenced by the belief of a constantly proceeding judgment from without; and that religious men, and men earnestly looking for an improved edition of the world, are not satisfied with the popular notion.

As a kind of appendix to this Essay, some observations on tenets and creeds are addressed to Unitarians and other dissenters.

Mr. Maurice has in several of his former publications expressed his views of INSPIRATION—the theme of the *Thirteenth* Essay in this volume. He here says that the ancient poets uttered their strongest convictions when they asked a muse or God to teach them; that one party in the present day says that these poets were inspired in the same sense in which the writers of the Bible were inspired—while others reply that the Bible must be looked upon as *the* inspired book; that earnestly religious men speak of themselves as taught by the indwelling spirit; that many religious teachers claim to be inspired men, and are believed in; that the Church of England teaches men to pray for the *inspiration* of the Holy Spirit; that the Greek traditions abounded in statements regarding inspired poets, prophets, and priestesses; that to people inheriting these traditions, St. Paul declared that the works which they ascribed to *dæmons* belonged to the Father of Spirits, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; that his own prophets and seers had spoken as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; that the knowledge of this inspiration had gradually advanced till the manifesta-

tion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost; that evangelical writers, as Francke and Spener, Venn and Newton, and simple Christians, have received the Bible as the work of the same spirit which reproves and comforts the sinner; that received formulæ, which represent the inspiration of the Bible as generically unlike that which God bestows upon his children in this day, cannot be enforced on the consciences of young men without treating the evangelical treatises and the simple believers referred to as enthusiasts; that a *theory* of inspiration is taking the place, it is to be feared, in many minds, not only of faith in inspiration, but of faith in Him; that notions of *verbal* inspiration, or plenary inspiration, express not too much, but too little; that the usual mode of dealing with impostors and fanatics is unwise and perilous, and that there is a better way, which he points out as specially binding on the teachers of the Church of England:—‘There is another method; may we have faith to follow it out! It is that of saying to our countrymen, of every order and degree, the Father of all has sent forth his Son, made of a woman, that you may receive the adoption of sons. He has baptised you with the Spirit of his Son; and that Spirit would be crying in your hearts, Abba, father. That Spirit would be leading you into fellowship with all your brethren. That Spirit would be making you humble, teachable, courageous, free. That Spirit would claim all things for you; common books and the chief book, nature and grace, earth and heaven.’ (pp. 345, 346.)

In the *Fourteenth* Essay, ON THE PERSONALITY AND TEACHING OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, the writer speaks with much freedom of the theories which seek to explain the promises of Scripture respecting the Spirit as fulfilled in the limited experience of believers; in the possession of the Bible; in the *lapses* spoken of by Milner in his ‘Church History;’ or in the belief that man has a spiritual nature; and he represents the solution of the difficulty—that the promises of the Old Testament do not seem to be fulfilled in the present dispensation—by pointing to the peculiar feelings of the modern world respecting sin, its higher standard of righteousness, and the deeper sense of judgment, and *desire* for it, which he regards as the proofs of the abiding presence of the Comforter with men. Addressing Unitarians, he says:—

‘Try if you can solve the problems of the world without the belief in this personal teacher. Or if you do not care for the problems of the world, try if you can solve the problems of your own heart. I speak boldly to you on this point, for I am satisfied that you have this Comforter with you as I have; that He is convincing you of sin, of righteousness, of judgment, as well as me. I am sure there is a spirit of lies, who is always striving to lead me into all falsehood, and to separate me from you and all men. I believe we shall understand one

another when we know that this adversary is with us, to make us true and make us one.'—p. 374.

In the *Fifteenth* Essay, ON THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH, Mr. Maurice introduces the idea, so familiar to the readers of his former publications, of *the expansion of a national society into a human and universal society*. The mode of realizing this expansion is the formation of societies. 'Each of these is named an *ecclesia*.' Avoiding the 'wicked trifling of assuming that forms and professions constitute a church,' the author exhibits the claims of the society which calls itself exclusively the 'catholic church,' with strong reasons for rejecting those claims, nervously worded, and leading to the conclusion that the boasts of Romanists themselves establish the inference which an intelligent observer in Italy would have deduced from his own experience, 'that the preservation of a vast machinery; of a surface of uniformity, of an artificial holiness; is what *they* understand by the preservation of a church in which the Holy Spirit of Unity has made his habitation.' Turning to Protestant nations, the writer finds similar fault with the established church, and the various 'sects;' and, instead of the notion that 'there is no salvation out of the church,' he expects either the national church, or some Italian monk, some earnest member of a Protestant sect, or 'some man lying outside of all churches and sects,' or all of them, to bear witness that the Spirit of Truth and Holiness is everywhere.

THE TRINITY IN UNITY is represented in the *Sixteenth* Essay as a truth of which the essayist has been speaking throughout. Of this truth he says:—

'Each consciousness that we have discovered in man, each fact of revelation that has answered to it, has been a step in the discovery and demonstration of this truth. I should be abandoning the method to which I have endeavoured strictly to adhere, if I admitted that now, at last, I have come upon a mere dogma, which had no support but tradition, or inferences from texts of Scripture; or, on the other hand, upon a great philosophical tenet which wise men may deduce from reason, or find latent in nature, but with which the poor wayfarer has nothing to do. We may owe much to tradition for giving expression to the faith in a Trinity; texts of Scripture may confirm it; the context of Scripture may bring it out in beautiful harmony with all the divine discoveries to man. Philosophy may have seen indications of a Trinity in the forms and principles of the universe, in the constitution of man himself. But unless we are utterly inconsistent with all that has been said hitherto, these can be but indexes and guides to a name which is implied in our thoughts, acts, words, in our fellowship with each other; without which we cannot explain the utterances of the poorest peasant or of the greatest sage; which makes thoughts real, prayers possible; which brings distinctness out of vagueness; unity out of

division; which shows us how, in fact, and not merely in imagination, the charity of God may find its reflex and expression in the charity of man, and the charity of man its substance as well as its fruition in the charity of God. What I have to do in this essay, then, is certainly not to bring forth arguments against those who may impugn this doctrine, but only to show how each portion of that name into which we are baptized answers to some apprehension and anticipation of human beings: how the setting up of one part of the name against another has been the cause of strife, unrighteousness, superstition; why, therefore, the acknowledgment of that name in its fulness and unity, is eternal life.'—pp. 409, 410.

The portion of these essays which has led to the author's exclusion from his professorship in King's College, occupies not more than ten pages in the *first* edition, and is introduced, apparently, as an after-thought, rather than as belonging to the 'deepest ground the student has been feeling after, and which, when he finds it, proves just as firm a footing for every child and beggar as for him.' For the right understanding of 'eternal death,' we must cite a few lines from a passage on 'eternal life':—'It (Scripture) teaches us to think of the healthy activity of all our powers and perceptions, and their direction to the right object, as the living state, the torpor of these, or their concentration on themselves, as a state of death.' (pp. 423, 424.)

Referring to the attempts of Unitarians to explain away the words of Scripture which suggest the consideration of 'eternal death,'—to the number of 'the most wise, devout, excellent men living now or that have lived in our own church and among the dissenters, who have shrunk from them,'—to the infidelity into which multitudes in both the upper and the lower classes of society have been scared by these words of Scripture,—and to the apparent anxiety of 'divines,' good and earnest men, to get a much more formal and distinct assertion of everlasting punishment than the older confessions supply,—the author proceeds to the fact that the English reformers, having introduced an article upon it into the *forty-two* which were originally drawn up for the use of the English church, omitted that article in the *thirty-nine*. This fact he contrasts with the conduct of the Evangelical Alliance in framing an article which 'expressly canonizes the doctrine that appears to afflict the consciences of so many.' The question with him is not whether 'death' is 'eternal' in the same sense in which 'life' is 'eternal'; but what is meant by 'eternal' in both cases: whether death, as the punishment of sin, is *everlasting*. This Mr. Maurice, as we understand the first edition of his Essay, earnestly denies. He says that it is not protestantism, not Christianity, to affirm 'that the whole body of human creatures who have not yet apprehended Christ as their justifier, and God as their father, pass from hence into a state in which that appre-

hension is impossible.' In such a judgment, he says, 'We and not Christ are judging. And our judgment proceeds on this principle, that there is no living relation between Him and the creatures whose nature He took, and for whom He died.'

'We do not want theories of universalism; they are as cold, hard, unsatisfactory, as all other theories. But we want that clear, broad assertion of the divine charity which the Bible makes, and which carries us immeasurably beyond all that we can ask or think. What dreams of ours can reach to the assertion of St. John, that death and hell themselves shall be cast into the lake of fire! I cannot fathom the meaning of such expressions. But they are written; I accept them, and give thanks for them. I feel there is an abyss of death into which I may sink and be lost. Christ's Gospel reveals an abyss of love below that; I am content to be lost in that I know no more—but I am sure there is a woe on us, if we do not preach this Gospel, if we do not proclaim the name of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit—the eternal charity. Whenever we do proclaim that name, I believe we invade the realm of night and eternal death, and open the kingdom of heaven.'—pp. 442, 443.

In a 'Note,' the author adverts to the Athanasian Creed. The purpose of the allusion is to show that he does not consider that creed as 'forcing him to pronounce judgment on any person,' or even tempting him to do so, but that, on the contrary, he feels that it condemns certain moral corruptions from which, he says, 'many who are called heretics may be freer than I am;' and that he looks upon that creed 'as a witness that eternal life is the knowledge of God, and that eternal death is Atheism, the being without Him.' These opinions he had published eleven years ago in his 'Kingdom of Christ; or, Hints to a Quaker,' and he has not seen any cause to alter them.

The 'Theological Essays' were published in May, 1853. In July, Dr. Jelf, Principal of King's College, wrote to Mr. Maurice, to say that his attention had been called by high authority to the conclusion of the last Essay, as denying the eternity of future punishment. Confessing that the Essay bears that interpretation, or at least seems 'to throw an atmosphere of doubt on the simple meaning of the word *eternal*, and to convey a general notion of ultimate salvation for all,' he expresses his anxiety to ascertain the writer's actual meaning. In reply to the principal, Mr. Maurice states that he had distinctly declared his belief 'in the doctrine of eternal punishment or death, in that sense which seems to be most consistent with the other uses of the word *eternal* in the New Testament; but not in the sense which is given to it, or seems to be given to it, in many popular discourses and theological treatises; that he repudiates that sense as inconsistent with the Gospel of Christ, with the distinction between time and eternity in which all Christians in some way agree, with the

spirit of our formularies, and with our Lord's own definition of eternal life.' In a letter to a private friend, which he sends to the Principal, Mr. Maurice had, two or three years before, revealed something of the processes of thought through which he had himself passed while endeavouring to arrive at truth. He refuses to 'dogmatise on the *duration* of future punishment,' because he cannot apply the idea of time to eternity. He refuses also to 'dogmatise on the other side.' He rejects the theory of universal restitution, 'which,' he says, 'in his early days he found so unsatisfactory.' Though he rejects the 'theory,' he believes in 'a restitution of all things, which God, who cannot lie, has promised since the world began.' 'I am obliged to believe that we are living in a restored order. I am sure that restored order will be carried out by the full triumph of God's loving will. How that should take place while any rebellious still remain in the universe, I cannot tell; though it is not for me to say that it is impossible. I do not want to say it. I wish to trust God absolutely, and not to trust in any conclusion of my own understanding at all.' (Grounds, &c., pp. 7, 8.)

In the course of his letters to Dr. Jelf, Mr. Maurice tells him that he dares not 'say that there is some place, or time, or mode in which the resistance of man to God should be effectual, and when the resources of His converting grace shall be exhausted.' 'The articles of my church do not make that demand upon me.'

The sentences in the Bible about 'eternal punishment and eternal death,' he explains by the words in our Lord's Prayer. 'This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.' (John, xvii. 3.)

The entire controversy between the divinity professor and the principal turns on the two questions, whether the 'notion of duration' is excluded from the word 'eternal;' and whether the professor's last Essay does or does not 'convey a general notion of ultimate salvation for all.' Dr. Jelf analyzes the uses of the word *αἰώνιος* in the Greek Testament. From the seventy instances of its occurrence he concludes that 'There are at least fifty-seven passages where the sense of "duration" was required by the subject matter, either as relating to God himself and his glory, or to the happiness of the blessed, which, whatever else it includes, will be admitted by all Christians to include everlasting duration.' (Ib. p. 29.)

That a 'general notion of ultimate salvation for all' is conveyed in the last Essay, Dr. Jelf maintains, though Mr. Maurice's language, often distinguished for its eloquence and force, can hardly be called remarkable for its perspicuity. 'The Essay and your letters together, I do not hesitate to affirm, unquestionably hold out the hope that the punishment of wicked, unbelieving, and impenitent sinners, may, after all, not be everlasting. This

hope is set forth with more or less distinctness in more than one part of these writings. I should say, also, that you appear to look upon it as a special part of your mission to inculcate it whenever circumstances may seem to require it.' (Ib. p. 9.)

Passages of the Essay are then quoted from pp. 432, 438, 442, 443, 439, 441, which put it beyond doubt that the 'general notion' is really conveyed by the writer's words. These passages are interspersed with comments for elucidating and supporting the truth of the 'received' view of the subject, which Mr. Maurice repudiates. Dr. Jelf also combats 'the key of the whole system, the assured incompatibility of everlasting punishment with the infinite love of God,' and he contrasts this peremptory way of 'settling the mystery' with the 'golden words of Bishop Butler':—'Perhaps divine goodness, with which, if I mistake not, we make very free in our speculations, may not be a bare, single disposition to produce happiness; but a disposition to make the good, the faithful, the honest man happy.'

In reply to Mr. Maurice's argument, from the absence of any dogmatic statement respecting future punishments in the Thirty-nine Articles, Dr. Jelf remarks that in the same compendium there is no formal assertion of other fundamental tenets; but that they, as well as the doctrine of the everlasting punishment of the wicked, are 'virtually in the Thirty-nine Articles, inasmuch as the eighth unreservedly accepts the three creeds.' This long letter ends with some grave observations on the practical consequences of Mr. Maurice's teaching on this subject, in the direction of scepticism, immorality, and delusive hope; and on the reverend doctor's own duty as Principal of King's College, Beseeching the Professor to prove to him, if possible, that he has mistaken his meaning, he concludes by saying,—'If this, my last appeal, should prove ineffectual, the ultimate decision must pass into other hands than mine.'

The pamphlet on 'The Word Eternal' is in the form of a letter to Dr. Jelf. In this letter Mr. Maurice replies, at length, to that of the Principal in his 'Grounds.' His main positions, briefly expressed, are,—that the Athanasian Creed contains no explanation of the words 'everlasting' and 'eternal,' which are to be understood as meaning there what they mean in Scripture;—that he understands 'everlasting' as the synonym of 'eternal,' the former being measured by the latter, not the latter by the former;—that several passages making mention of eternal life in the First Epistle of John, i. 2, 3, which Dr. Jelf has set down as referring to the *future* life of the blessed, actually refer to the *present*;—that 'eternal' describes the *quality*, not the *duration* of life;—that as the possession of righteousness, love, truth, constitute eternal blessedness, so wickedness, impenitence, and

unbelief constitute eternal damnation and misery ;—that his doctrine is not opposed to Bishop Butler's, but built upon it ;—that he is not a disciple of Origen ;—that Origen was not condemned before the fourth century, and is not now condemned 'by our own church ;'—that the everlasting torments are not brought home in our sermons to the consciences of particular evil doers ;—that the gospel proclaims a present emancipation from a present accursed and damnable state ;—that he had not resigned his professorship before he published his *Essays*, because he believed he was doing what it was right for him to do as a Clergyman of the English Church, and, consequently, as a Professor of Divinity in King's College ;—that he cannot resign *now*, because every professor in the college is interested in knowing 'whether the council demands that he shall assent to certain conclusions of the Principal concerning our formularies, and not to the formularies themselves,' while every clergyman, and tens of thousands of laymen, 'crave for satisfaction on these points.' In the event of his dismissal by the council, he demands from them, as English gentlemen, that they will declare distinctly to the world the grounds on which they dismiss him. And he demands, further, that they shall authorize the publication of this correspondence.

To the second edition of this letter Mr. Maurice prefixes one, dated four days after, which he addressed to the Council of King's College, demurring to the competency of that body as arbiters of the theology of the English Church, and calling on them, if they pronounce theological sentence on him at all, to declare what article of our faith condemns his teaching. 'After reading this letter, the council decided that they did not think it necessary to enter further into the subject, and declared the two chairs held by me in the college to be vacant.'

In the preface to the *second* edition of his *Essays*, Mr. Maurice reiterates his opinion, 'that our formularies are the best protection we have against all exclusiveness and cruelty of private judgments.' Though it is in the *first* edition that the judgment of Dr. Jelf and the Council of King's College was based, we observe that in the second edition some passages are altered, and some erased, to remedy alleged obscurity and unnecessary offence, while some are expanded, with a view to further explanation.

The *Essay on Eternal Life and Death* has been re-written, and, instead of eleven pages, extends to thirty-eight.

Our best sympathies are ever with earnest speakers or writers, who aspire to raise men out of the region of mere forms of thought, and traditionary phraseology—which becomes in time a substitute for thinking—to the living principles of truth in their practical power. We believe there is a simple truth in the gospel of God easily apprehended by the humble trusting mind,

which the stereotype of creeds and the subtleties of schools, must from their artificial nature and merely human origin, always fail to represent.

We have seen, over and over again, how the accumulation of human opinions produces a medium of vision which gives its own interpretation to the words of scripture; how this interpretation is defined in the strict language of formulæ, liturgies, creeds, articles, and confessions; and how these formulæ themselves receive interpretations which vary according to the intellectual or social idiosyncrasies of individuals or parties. The conclusion seems to be—that the human thought is incapable of being either stifled or satisfied by forms imposed upon it by authorities external to itself. Assuming, as we certainly have a right to assume, the infinite difference between the authority of a divine revelation and the value of interpretations of that revelation, our only safe course is that of humbly and reverently bowing to the express teaching of the Divine Intelligence, making the best use we can of whatever helps come from other minds in learning what that teaching means.

He who professes his faith in divine revelation, and yet reduces the *peculiarities* of that revelation to the standard of his own consciousness or other men's opinion based on some *lower* authority, treats the revelation as a nonentity. In like manner, he who professes a *bona fide* faith in human expositions of the revelation, and yet reduces the peculiarities of that exposition to any other standard, treats the exposition which he professes to accept as though it had no authority for *him*. A clergyman of the Church of England is placed in the singular position of declaring his assent to formularies which are not perfectly harmonious; so that, if he adheres to the Articles, he partly ignores the Liturgy, and if he adheres to the Liturgy, he partly ignores the Articles. This is the grand distinction between the high and low schools as brought to a point in the famous Gorham controversy, the issue of which, as everybody knows, was, that both parties are alike acknowledged to have a *legal* standing in the State Church of England. Under the sanction of such a decision as that, one does not see that the ruling powers in the national establishment can consistently repress the freedom of belief within those peculiarities; nor is it easy to see how far the *principle* of comprehension, adopted in one case—and that by no means of slight importance—can reasonably or safely be extended in others. That, however, is a political, not a *theological* question. In its bearing on Mr. Maurice's case, as it affects his standing as a clergyman in 'the church,' we are not now called to discuss it. As to his relation with the council of King's College, his own understanding is, that being expelled from his office on a *theological*

ground he has been dealt with by a body without *authority to judge* whether he be orthodox, in the sense of the Church of England, or not: a body, too, which refuses to state explicitly 'the particular article in the theology of the church which condemns his doctrine of eternal death.'

His view is ably supported in a series of papers, which we have read with some attention, in 'The Spectator,' where the writer argues with eminent ability against the right of the council to pronounce a sentence of heterodoxy on one of its professors. This, however, is not the thing done by the council. Instead of prosecuting Mr. Maurice in the Episcopal Court, they have acted *as a voluntary society* in removing from an important office a man who teaches for truth what they regard as mischievous error. The charges against Mr. Maurice by Dr. Jelf are plainly stated. Mr. Maurice does not, at the beginning, question Dr. Jelf's *right* to judge in the matter, but answers his questions; and it is not till he has received an intimation that the matter must pass into other hands, that he turns round to demand the ground of the judgment that has gone against him. According to our own impression, Dr. Jelf could do no other than he has done; and the council, with their views—they being in harmony with Dr. Jelf—could not consistently retain the writer of the 'Theological Essays' as a divinity professor in their college. It was not for them to enter into controversy with Mr. Maurice in so cloudy a speculation as that which he has woven round the word 'eternal;' nor was it necessary for them to retain a teacher, however gifted and honoured, until some ecclesiastical authority had pronounced him unworthy of a standing among the English clergy. The appointment to the chairs held by Mr. Maurice is with the council; and, we presume to think, they are perfectly competent to withdraw the appointment without involving themselves in either polemical or legal pursuits. Cannot a nobleman dismiss a chaplain or a tutor, if he has been teaching the members of his family what *he* believes to be erroneous and mischievous? Can the several missionary societies, hospitals, and county magistrates, as managers of prisons, not do the same?

We do not see any essential difference in principle—we are not alluding to dignity—between the position of a divinity professor in a college, and a religious teacher in any institution not under the immediate control of the State. Mr. Maurice says that Dr. Jelf knew his opinions on the subject in discussion in their correspondence *before* he invited him to occupy the chair, which has now been declared vacant. Dr. Jelf assures him, that in 1846 he had not the slightest surmise of his opinions on this subject, such as he now describes them to be.

We cannot use language too strong to express admiration of Mr. Maurice's sincerity, his genius, his earnestness, his large humanity, as displayed in several parts of these Essays; yet he seems to be defective in that deference to the supreme and final authority of Scripture in matters beyond the range of human consciousness or experience, as well as in the habit of studying the exact meaning of Scripture, which we regard as indispensable in a teacher of Christian theology. He fails, also, in giving the prominence which is given by the Apostle Paul to the *judicial* character of God, as an essential element in the doctrine of atonement which he received by revelation. It belongs to Mr. Maurice's intellectual idiosyncrasy to see *resemblances* more clearly than *distinctions*: to carry away a disciple by his earnest eloquence rather than to convince an antagonist by argument. While his beliefs are with the creeds, his heart is with the haters of orthodoxy much more largely than with such earnest and successful preachers of the gospel as Luther and Jewel, Whitfield and Wesley, Venn and Newton, Chalmers and Simeon, Hall and Noel, and both the Sumners. His notion of 'charity' surprises us by its *superficialness*: and this quality of superficialness, indeed, pervades all he says in regard to what Protestants have hitherto agreed to hold as *the* doctrines of the gospel, taught by *authority*, respecting God's way of saving sinful men by faith in His Only Begotten Son. He overlooks altogether the *special* character which belongs to the teaching of evangelists and apostles. He denies what plain texts of Scripture, honestly expounded, expressly declare concerning the grand theme of New Testament instruction. His speculations on 'eternal life' are so narrow, obscure, and inconsistent, that nothing but the tenacity of a mind which imagines itself to have made a grand discovery could induce so accomplished a writer to cling to it. As for 'eternal death,' there is no such phrase in Scripture: though there is in the Burial Service. In one place he speaks of the 'eternal being the living,' the 'permanent fixed state.' 'Like our own word *period*, it does not convey so much the impression of a line as a circle,'—as if a circle were something generically distinct from a line! and yet he will not admit that the '*eternal* punishment' is a permanent fixed state. He can believe that the infliction of pain—the non-prevention of moral evil indefinitely continued—the punishment of wicked doers—the sufferings of the innocent Saviour—are compatible with the eternal charity of the Father; but he deems it contrary to that charity to regard the Just One as suffering 'for the unjust,' or to conceive of the 'curse' and 'eternal punishment' as being a 'permanent fixed state,'—one which *will not cease to be*. This is not clear writing.

It does not indicate clear thinking. It belongs to the 'nebular.' Whatever Mr. Maurice believes, he does *not* believe what we believe—in common with the Christians of all ages—regarding sin, atonement, justification, regeneration, and eternal punishment. Our readers will draw these conclusions from the extracts we have given somewhat largely for that purpose. The conclusions will be much stronger if they read the *Essays*, and the pamphlets occasioned by them, for themselves.

Has Mr. Maurice succeeded better with the Unitarians than with the Orthodox? The well-written *critique* of his *Essays* in the 'Prospective Review' answers that question. Mr. Maurice's preface to the second edition of his *Essays* shows how that *critique* affects his own mind. He clings as closely as possible to the formularies of his 'church.' He rejoices that there are some Unitarians, and Trinitarians also, by whom he has been understood, and who have responded to his words. Dr. Colenso, the new bishop of Natal, who had dedicated a volume of simple rural sermons to Mr. Maurice, holds the belief of English churchmen in the 'endlessness' of future punishment. We are told that the college authorities at Cambridge have endeavoured to prevent the reading of Mr. Maurice's *Essays* by the students.* Probably this is the principal cause of the demand for a second edition. We are also told, by a Cambridge newspaper, that an appeal is circulating among leading *dissenters*, 'to raise a testimonial to Mr. Maurice;' on what grounds we do not know; unless it be as a demonstration against the 'bigotry' of the council of King's College. The large bodies of dissenters, we feel assured, are not likely to unite in such a demonstration. Mr. Maurice is, we have no doubt, quite conscientious. We are not of opinion, however, that he is an *injured* man. If he had held a professorship of divinity in any dissenting college of which we know anything, we suppose he would have *resigned* his office; but, whether he resigned or not, his office would have been declared vacant by the proper authorities. He has the same right to interpret the Bible and the church formularies as other men have; but the converse of this must hold—that other men have the same right in this respect that he has. As we read the whole affair, the council of King's College have used this right, and have acted accordingly. If Mr. Maurice has any remedy in the laws of his own church, it is for him, and those who sympathize with him, to seek it; and, if he *can* maintain his ground in any ecclesiasti-

* Professor Maurice's 'Essays' may be said to have taken their place in the English 'Index Expurgatorius.' We have heard that they have been forbidden at Cambridge as improper reading for students. The prohibitors are said to have intimated to the Cambridge booksellers, that if they furnish the forbidden volume to students, the bill for the same will not be allowed by the tutor.—*Church and State Gazette*.

cal or civil court, there is nothing in our invincible objection to his theological teaching to prevent our wishing him success.

The professorships in King's College, declared by the council to be vacant, are now filled up by Dr. M'Caul, who is to fill the chair of Ecclesiastical History, and by Mr. George Webb Dasent, of Magdalene Hall, Oxford, Doctor of Civil Law, who has been elected to the chair of English Literature and Modern History.

We are informed by the 'Spectator,' that a rumour having been spread that Mr. Maurice had offered his resignation to the benchers of Lincoln's-inn, an address to the reverend gentleman from members of the society, and numbers of the congregation of Lincoln's Inn chapel, expressive of their sympathy with him under the circumstances connected with his dismissal from his professorships at King's College, London, and of their hope that he might continue his ministrations amongst them, was drawn up, and was in course of being numerously signed, when the further circulation of it was stopped, in deference to what is understood to have been the feeling of the benchers, that the continuance of his connexion with Lincoln's Inn is a sufficient evidence of the satisfaction of the society with his labours. The thronged attendance in the chapel is referred to, at the same time, as unquestionably showing the sense which the public entertain as to their value. We know, however, by personal observation, that other motives besides a sense of the value of Mr. Maurice's labours bring together no small portion of his hearers.

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The History of England from the Earliest Times to the Final Establishment of the Reformation. By the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh. A new edition, revised by the Author's son, R. J. Mackintosh, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. Longman and Co.

It has long been matter of regret to the students of English history, that Sir James Mackintosh's contribution to its earlier period has not

been procurable in a separate form. His qualifications for this species of composition were so pre-eminent, and his success in the portion which he lived to complete so marked, that an earnest desire has existed to possess his volumes without the necessity of purchasing the whole work of which they form part. It is no disparagement of his continuators, Messrs. Wallace and Bell, that a special value should be attached to the labors of Sir James. They would probably have been amongst the first to acknowledge that he was entitled to a rank to which few can aspire. The original work forms ten volumes in 'Lardner's Cyclopædia,' of which Sir James's contribution extends to the 211th page of the third. His object, as stated in his preface, was, 'to lay before the reader a summary of the most memorable events in English history, in regular succession, together with an exposition of the nature and progress of our political institutions clear enough for educated and thinking men, with as little reasoning or reflection as the latter part of this object will allow, and with no more than that occasional particularity which may be needed to characterize an age or nation,—to lay open the workings of minds which have guided their fellows,—and, most of all, to strengthen the moral sentiments by the exercise of them on the personages conspicuous in history.' How far this end has been attained need not be pointed out. It is enough to state that no other work in our language forms so admirable an introduction to English history, or is so adapted to awaken a taste for this most useful course of study.

With such views of the value of this contribution to English history, we are much gratified by the appearance of these volumes, which are printed in the same size and style as those of Macaulay and other standard works. The present reprint is edited by the author's son, who has thrown together in an appendix of thirty-seven pages, 'a few passages of an insulated character,' adapted to illustrate or confirm some portions of the narrative. We cannot too strongly recommend these volumes. Young men, especially, will do well to give them an attentive and repeated perusal.

The Pilgrim Fathers; or, the Founders of New England in the reign of James the First. By W. H. Bartlett. With Illustrations. Royal 8vo. pp. 240. 12s. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co.

THIS is a very beautiful volume, 'got up' with much elegance, and richly illustrated. Its general style is similar to Mr. Bartlett's other works, yet we are free to confess that it has inferior attractions to us. The history of the 'Pilgrim Fathers' is deeply interesting and instructive. Its character, however, is too grave, and bears too obviously a religious coloring, to have been hitherto extensively popular. We are glad that it has been selected for illustration by so skilful an artist. No subject is better suited to his purpose. It involves points of physical and moral interest of the rarest kind, and is associated with some of our darkest memories as well as our most cherished hopes. In proportion as its facts are known, the history of our puritan fathers who emigrated to the New World, will be regarded with respect and

admiration. Ignorance may distort their character and misrepresent their mission, but knowledge will vindicate their fame and assert their fellowship with the highest class of men. Mr. Bartlett's volume is admirably suited to attract attention to the theme, and will do much more than graver productions to disabuse the popular mind of some prevalent misconceptions. The work is illustrated by a considerable number of woodcuts and steel engravings, executed by some of our best artists.

The narrative is drawn up with care, and is founded on a personal inspection of the scenes described. Mr. Bartlett does not identify himself 'with the peculiar religious doctrines of the Pilgrims.' His work has no theological purpose or predilection. His sole aim is to do justice to the founders of New England. 'They were men,' he says, 'who accomplished a great purpose, of whom the nation that drove them forth may justly be proud, and it is time to cast aside the lingering prejudices generated by political and religious animosity, and to enrol their names among the best and worthiest whom this country has ever produced.' 'The Pilgrim Fathers' should be found in the house of every man by whom religious earnestness, intense love of freedom, and conscientiousness of purpose, are honored. The only limits to its circulation amongst such should be the possession of means to purchase it. Others may buy it as a Christmas book, but the wealthy dissenter should procure it as a candid narrative, beautifully illustrated, of the career of men whom he professes to venerate and love.

The Evangelist of the Desert. Life of Claude Brousson, sometime Advocate of Parliament at Toulouse in the reign of Louis XIV.; afterwards a Protestant Minister and Martyr. From original and authentic records. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THIS small volume is one of the most deeply interesting publications of our day. It forms an appropriate sequel to 'The Witnesses in Sackcloth,' which Mr. Baynes printed a short time since, and will go far to induce the religious public of Britain to study the records of the Protestant church of France. In our notice of Dr. Felice's 'History of the Protestants of France,' in September last, we extracted that author's account of the martyrdom of Claude Brousson, and are now glad to direct our readers to a more extended narrative of his eventful life. Claude Brousson was a principal leader of that heroic band which, amidst incredible sufferings, and in the daily prospect of martyrdom, upheld the doctrines of evangelical truth in France. The persecution endured by the Protestants of that country was more protracted than that of any other community. It elicited the worst and the noblest passions of the human heart. The agents of Louis XIV. deemed no measures too base or sanguinary which promised the extirpation of heresy; while the Christian heroism of many of their victims shone forth with a lustre unparalleled in modern times. Mr. Baynes has been long engaged in tracing the career of Brousson, and the result of his inquiries is eminently adapted to raise our admiration of a man who combined intelligence with zeal, legal knowledge with fearless

honesty, intense devotion with the mildest charity. We cordially commend 'The Evangelist of the Desert' to the early acquaintance and confidence of our readers.

Pilgrimages to English Shrines. By Mrs. S. C. Hall. With Notes and Illustrations, by F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. New Edition. Medium 8vo. pp. 588. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co.

A BEAUTIFUL volume, suited alike to the drawing-room, the boudoir, and the library. It is just such a book as Englishmen like,—neat, yet valuable; admirably illustrated, yet solid and useful; elegant in its form, and at the same time full of instructive and pleasing anecdotes. 'In this work, the author aims to render more familiar to the general reader, places which—in association with the great men and women of English history—cannot fail to be generally interesting.' In this attempt Mrs. Hall has completely succeeded. At this season of the year her work is specially appropriate, and as a present it would be excelled with difficulty. We are glad to find that the former Edition is exhausted. The demand for a new one she naturally regards as 'very gratifying,' and we shall be surprised if her gratification is not yet further increased. The work is now printed in one volume, and its price is consequently reduced from 32s. to 21s. The substitution of such works in the place of the 'Annuals' which, a short time since, combined the extremes of artistic skill and literary imbecility, is one of the many pleasing signs of the day.

Memoir of Richard Williams, Surgeon-Catechist to the Patagonian Missionary Society in Tierra Del Fuego. By James Hamilton, D.D. pp. 255. London: James Nisbet and Co.

MOST of our readers have heard of the tragical end of Captain Gardiner and his associates in their effort to establish amongst the inhabitants of Tierra Del Fuego a Christian mission. Mr. Richard Williams belonged to this heroic band, and the 'Memoir' now before us furnishes one of the most remarkable instances of religious consecration and faith which we have ever witnessed. In reading the narrative, we have had some doubts about the propriety of its publication. Of the simplicity and earnestness of Mr. Williams's piety there can be no question. His single-hearted devotion to what he deemed the service of God is obvious in every page. His ONE purpose was to do the will of God, and in the accomplishment of this he was ready to make any sacrifice, and to endure any suffering. So far his example is worthy of imitation, and we have rarely met with a religious portraiture better suited to awaken admiration, or more indicative of an indwelling divine energy. Still there was a lamentable want of common sense and forethought in all the arrangements of the enterprise in which he embarked. Captain Gardiner, though a man of intense devotion, was about as unfit as a child to superintend such an undertaking. In a subordinate capacity, and in association with men of practical judgment, he would have

been invaluable; but in the actual circumstances of the case, his very excellences proved mischievous, by inducing others to confide in his judgment. This was Mr. Williams's fault. According to his own acknowledgment, he engaged in the mission 'with a profound ignorance of the means whereby so great a work was to be accomplished.' The whole party perished without the slightest approach being made to the accomplishment of their object, and the volume before us, together with Mr. Despard's 'Narrative,' can serve only one useful purpose, that of warning others from imitating the example set. Dr. Hamilton has accomplished his task with much judgment. His 'Memoir' does full justice to Mr. Williams's religious character; while the closing chapter leaves no doubt of his opinion on the points we have alluded to. We wish it had been more extended, and had entered more fully into the questions mooted. The deliberate judgment of such a man would have exerted a beneficial influence on the conduct of future missions.

Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly. A Tale of Slave-life in America. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. With above one hundred and fifty Illustrations. 8vo. 12s. London: Nathaniel Cooke.

It is needless to repeat the commendations, universally expressed, of this work. We have already, and on many occasions, recorded our estimate of it. Whether viewed as a work of art, or as a vehicle of conveying moral sentiments, it stands unrivalled, and wins on our admiration with every fresh perusal. We are glad to see such an Edition as the present. It is well-timed, and only requires to be known in order to obtain a wide circulation. The illustrations, engraved by Mr. William Thomas, from designs by Mr. George Thomas and Mr. T. R. Macquoid, are executed in admirable style, and set vividly before us the main incidents of the story. On some of them we could gaze for hours. They are conceived in the true spirit of the narrative, and constitute in themselves a tale full of significance and interest. In a very few cases the artist has been, we think, at fault. This is specially the case in Eliza's flight across the river, which is simply horrific, and wants the truthfulness that characterizes the rest. The countenance of Miss Ophelia also, especially on page 153, is more cross-grained and repulsive than her character justifies. With these two exceptions the illustrations are highly appropriate and very superior, and we strongly recommend the Edition to all who can afford to purchase so ornate a volume. Considering the style in which it is prepared, the Edition is published at a remarkably low price.

Cherry and Violet. A Tale of the Great Plague. By the Author of 'Mary Powell.' pp. 311. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co.

THE author of 'Mary Powell' is in the way of becoming one of the most prolific writers of the day. Her productions succeed each other with a rapidity which awakens apprehension lest present popularity rather than permanent reputation should become her object.

Should this be the case we shall deeply regret it, for she possesses qualities which, if duly improved, will insure her high rank amongst the most attractive authors of our times. There are some writers about whom we are careless. Their only quality is that which pleases at the moment. They are read hastily and then forgotten, and any attempt to render them subservient to a high and enduring purpose is futile and disappointing. It is not so however with the author of this work, and we confess to much solicitude that she should do her best, and, by severe revision, enrich our literature with sterling and permanent additions. Besides the present volume five works have already been published, and two others are now announced as in course of preparation. This, to say the least, is hazardous, and with the kindest possible feeling we give the author warning of the danger she incurs.

Like all her other productions, 'Cherry and Violet' is perfectly free from the least moral taint. It may be read without offence by the most fastidious; and does not contain a sentence or an image unfavourable to moral purity, or unfitted for circulation amongst the younger members of our households. The scene is laid in London; the time ranges from the latter part of the reign of Charles I., to the days of the Restoration. The title of the book is taken from the names of two maidens residing on London Bridge, in the 'olden time,' whose opposite character and diversified histories, are sketched with skill and beautiful simplicity. The typography and paging are after the fashion of the seventeenth century; but the style soon loses the quaintness of our fathers, and assumes the easy and flowing costume of our own day. This is one of the effects of rapid authorship, and confirms the fear already expressed. We shall not attempt to follow the tale. Suffice it to say that it throws light on the domestic and public life of the period, and that its sketch of the 'Great Plague' is fearfully vivid and life-like. The volume is just such an one as will please the young and imaginative, without giving offence to the older and more sedate. It is another proof that works of fiction are not, as a class, to be forsworn.

The Cyclopædia Bibliographica. A Library Manual of Theological and General Literature, &c. Part. XV. London: J. Darling.

WE are glad to report the steady and satisfactory progress of this work. The present number brings down the catalogue to the historian Platina, and is distinguished like its predecessors by extensive researches, sound judgment, and general freedom from sectarian bias. In the last respect, the work, though highly commendable, is not wholly faultless. In the brief account given of Dr. John Owen, the 'Rebellion' is spoken of, and the execution of Charles I. is styled 'murder.' We understand what these terms imply, and the publisher will do well to prevent their recurrence. We are surprised to find that the only work mentioned in the case of Theodore Parker is that published in 1853, entitled, 'Ten Sermons of Religion.' There are other volumes, some of them of much earlier date, which ought not to have been omitted.

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1. *Stuyvesant*. A Franconia Story. Illustrated with many Engravings.
 2. *Caroline*. A Franconia Story. Illustrated with many Engravings.
 3. *Agnes*. A Franconia Story. Illustrated with many Engravings.
- By Jacob Abbott. London: Ward and Co.

THESE are among the most delightful children's books which have ever fallen in our way. They cannot fail to be popular, and their popularity will be permanent. After reading them our prevailing emotion is one of regret that, in our own childhood, no such books existed; and, as parents, we feel that our little ones would have ground of complaint against us if we did not immediately put them into their hands. They are not religious books in the specific sense of that term, yet their influence is eminently friendly to the formation of sound sentiments and of healthful religious character. Their nature will be best understood from the author's own explanation. 'Though written,' he says, 'with a view to their moral influence on the hearts and dispositions of the readers, these stories contain very little formal exhortation and instruction. They present quiet and peaceful pictures of happy domestic life, portraying such conduct, and expressing such sentiments and feelings, as it is desirable to exhibit and express in the presence of children.' The volumes are copyright, and are published at two shillings each.

The Congregational Lecture. Fifth Series. Holy Scripture Verified. By G. Redford, D.D., LL.D.—Seventh Series. 'The Connexion and Harmony of the Old and New Testament.' By William Lindsay Alexander, D.D.—Ninth Series. 'The Existence and Agency of Evil Spirits.' By the Rev. Walter Scott.—Twelfth Series. 'The Revealed Doctrine of Rewards and Punishments.' By Richard Winter Hamilton, LL.D., D.D. London: Jackson and Walford.

THESE volumes form the second issue of the new and uniform edition of the 'Congregational Lectures' which Messrs. Jackson and Walford are publishing at so cheap a rate. The desire to have a low-priced edition of these highly esteemed works was expressed in terms so strong that we hope the exertions of the publishers will be duly appreciated, and that the class of readers in possession of these treatises will be greatly enlarged. Of the authors who produced the early series, the venerable Dr. Wardlaw and Mr. Gilbert have been recently translated to the fellowship of heaven; and the last in the present issue, Dr. Hamilton's, is the monument of a noble spirit also numbered with the blessed. The themes of these discussions are not of merely temporary interest:—all of them are permanent. Their value is even greater now than it was at the time of their oral delivery. We repeat our testimony on their behalf, and recommend them most heartily to all who desire to be solidly instructed in matters of gravest import, by teachers of approved competency, in the maturity of disciplined intelligence, and in the free expression of their most deliberate judgment.

Truth Spoken in Love; or, Romanism and Tractarianism Refuted by the Word of God. By the Rev. H. H. Beamish, M.A. pp. xvi.—474. London: Shaw.

MR. BEAMISH is a genuine Protestant, a bold and faithful champion for the supreme authority of 'The Word of God,' and an enlightened expounder of its meaning, in opposition to the Romanism which has, of late years, been so mischievously revived in the Church of England. There are but few passages in this volume to which we should be disposed to object, and those only on the comparatively small matters on which Protestants are known to differ among themselves. We hold, with him, that the 'Liturgy' is to be explained by the 'Articles,' not the Articles by the Liturgy. The 'offices' for the administration of the sacraments are, however, more familiar to the people than the Articles, and produce a deeper impression on the people, it is to be feared, than the preaching of evangelical doctrine. We are glad to find that the views of the rule of faith, baptismal regeneration, catholicity, auricular confession, schism, and apostolic succession, which have been uniformly advocated in this journal, are so clearly avowed by many of the evangelical clergy. We hope their influence will spread far and wide. Come what may of the forms of worship, it is manifestly of the highest consequence that the 'truth of the Gospel' should be upheld, as the true antidote to the arrogancies of the priesthood, and the mummies of superstition. At the same time, we must conscientiously declare our conviction that without the entire purification of the Church of England, acting as a church severed from the patronage and jurisdiction of the state, we have but feeble hopes of the Reformation being carried out to its scriptural results. We rejoice in the appearance of this volume, as, at all events, a testimony to important truth, and as, according to our judgment, a step in the right direction.

Outlines of Literary Culture from the Christian Stand-Point. By the Rev. B. Frankland, B.A. pp. 203. London: Partridge and Oakey.

THE views contemplated in this brief treatise are, generally, such as we advocate; but the writer has spread them like a thin vapour over a wide surface, and called them 'outlines.' What young readers want for their guidance is something distinct. Mr. Frankland would have done well had he labored for a few years to attain the simple style exemplified by the masters of composition in all cultivated languages. One would presume from these pages that he had studied none of the subjects on which he expresses himself with oracular decision;—if the fact be otherwise, why has he written so differently from the manner of well-informed men? There can be no power, because there is not any utility, in heaps of thought from various quarters without the stamp of an active and re-producing intellect. We are not finding fault with the thoughts:—some of them are very good and familiar; but we have seen them better expressed; and we are unable to see what particular good they are to do, as mystified in these pages, unless the writer addresses only those readers who will benefit by them because they are his.

Hippolytus, and the Christian Church of the Third Century. With a copious Analysis of the Newly-Discovered MS.; and a Translation of all its Important Parts, from the Original Greek. By W. Elfe Taylor, author of 'Popery, its Character, and its Crimes.' pp. viii.—245. London: Hall, Virtue and Co. 1853.

THE recent works of M. Bunsen and Dr. Wordsworth have already interested the more erudite on the newly discovered 'Philosophumena' of Hippolytus. Mr. Elfe Taylor has here produced a work on the same subject, which will, we hope, bring it within the reach of numbers who have been unable to procure the larger publications of the German statesman or the English divine. He supposes that a difficulty, occasioned by a passage in Photius, and some citations from Hippolytus by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, in the fourth century, and by Gelasius at the end of the fifth century, is to be solved by the probability that Hippolytus wrote *two* works on heresy, 'the one a brief compendium, the other an elaborate refutation in ten books. He considers it beyond question that M. Bunsen is right in ascribing the 'Philosophumena' to Hippolytus, and not, as M. Miller, of the Paris Library, and the Oxford authorities, to Origen. This discovery has quickened the attention of scholars to the other works of the author, of which Mr. Taylor has given a succinct account in the fifth chapter of this volume. He has proved, we think, in opposition to Dr. Bunsen, that Hippolytus is innocent of the charge brought against his memory of disbelief in the personality of the Holy Spirit. The Second Book of Mr. Taylor's work contains an analysis of the 'Philosophumena,' and a translation from the Ninth Book on the State of the Church at the end of the second and beginning of the third century, and the Fathers' Confession of Faith from the last Book. In Mr. Taylor's Third Book he gives an account, generally similar to that of Dr. Bunsen, of the Government and worship of the Church, and the Christian Life in the time of Hippolytus. The last chapter is an able argument against the claims of the papacy, from the writings of Hippolytus, one of its own saints. While the author gratefully acknowledges his sense of the high value of the larger works which we have mentioned, he evidently judges for himself, and differs from the profound Chevalier, on good grounds, as it appears to us, in one or two particulars; and a considerable part of the 'Philosophumena' appears in English for the first time in his pages. We have great pleasure in commending this compendious treatise to our readers.

Life in Death. A Sermon Preached at Rodborough, Gloucestershire, on Sunday, June the 12th, 1853, on Occasion of the Death of the late Earl of Ducie. By Samuel Thodey, Minister of Rodborough Tabernacle. London: Partridge and Oakey. 1853.

MR. THODEY has a happy conception of the sermon as a work of art, and expresses select thoughts in language at once perspicuous, neat, and chaste. On the present occasion he has paid an elegant and just tribute to the memory of a nobleman distinguished for his Christian

excellence. Mr. Thodey's portraiture of Earl Ducie's religious character is admirably drawn; and the account of his lordship's private habits, and especially of his feelings on the approach of death, derived from domestic sources, is full of touching interest and precious suggestions, which add greatly to the attractiveness of the discourse.

Youthful Development; or, Discourses to Youth, Classified according to their Character. By Samuel Martin, Minister of Westminster Chapel, Westminster. Second Edition, and Third Thousand. pp. 204. London: Ward and Co. 1853.

MR. MARTIN is too well known as a remarkably successful minister, especially to the young, and his numerous small publications, aiming chiefly at their welfare, are too widely circulated to need any recommendation of his volume in our pages. The discourses are characterized by the discrimination, practical good sense, terseness, clever and appropriate illustration, moral authority, and spiritual earnestness, in which are found the elements of Mr. Martin's power. They are worthy of the author of the previous series entitled 'The Cares of Youth,' and 'The Circumstances of Youth,' and we cordially advise our young readers, and all who are interested in the highest well-being of the young to study them, to act upon the principles they inculcate, and to promote their circulation as extensively as they can.

The Religion of the Heart. A Manual of Faith and Duty. By Leigh Hunt. pp. xxi.—259. London: Chapman. 1853.

WE are prepared for being accused of bigotry and its kindred vices for stating that this appears to us to be one of the most pernicious books we have read for a long time. We look upon it as worse than useless, on account of the shallow sentimentalism which it miscalcs religion, and the mimic form of belief and service which it substitutes for the faith and worship of Christians; and we regard it as mischievous in the highest degree, because it *ridicules* the Holy Scriptures, and exalts the writings of Confucius, Esop, Plato, Epictetus, Marcus Antoninus, François de Sales, Sidney Smith, Channing, Dewey, Foxton, Newman, Parker, Martineau, Hennel, Fox, Shaftesbury, Comte, Emerson, Carlyle, and Richter, into the place which Christians give to Moses and Isaiah, to Peter, and James, and John. A more heartless, superficial, and altogether unchristian publication cannot be easily imagined:—its gentle feebleness will necessarily limit the mischief which it is adapted to produce. Without originality, or any one attribute of life, it is a mere mimicry,—a literary 'Smallweed.' We are not denying that it contains some respectable morality, prettily expressed, not unworthy of the author's reputation. But it has no more to do with 'religion,' as we understand the word, than with navigation; and, as to the 'religion of the heart,' that must be a very small, or empty, or self-satisfied heart that can find its religion in these pages. Where hypocrisy, ignorance, and infidelity prevail, this little book will probably be cherished; but

by all serious, manly, and womanly worshippers of God, it will be slighted, certainly; and we cannot promise that it will not be despised, and its author—*pitied*.

Sir Philip Sidney, and other Stars of the Sixteenth Century. By S. S. S. London: Ward and Co. 1853.

THE contents of this volume are very miscellaneous, as its title imports. Besides an account of the family, life, writings, and death of Sir Philip Sidney, it contains sketches of Queen Elizabeth, Spenser, Shakespere, Languet, Du Plessis, Prince Casimir, Paul Sarpi, Drake, Raleigh, and other 'stars of the sixteenth century,' as well as a chapter on the state of the English people, and two chapters on the progress of literature in this country during that age. The work is enriched by valuable extracts from the letters of distinguished men, and several specimens of poetry. In her estimate of Sidney, the writer says:—'He was one of the most brilliant ornaments of a reign distinguished for its learning and its dawning of refinement; he stands out conspicuously among the gallant knights of chivalry, as the possessor of every grace, whether of personal charms, or of those more valuable qualities which adorn the soul,—courageous and yet gentle—poetical and romantic, yet neither puerile nor ridiculous,—the patron and the friend of genius wherever it was discoverable, as well as having an eye, a heart, and a hand for the unfortunate and wretched. Few, very few, characters there are who call forth so much admiration, so much enthusiasm, as Sir Philip Sidney. In him we find united all the accomplishments which youthful zeal and warmth, and general talent, could acquire or bestow. The fascinations of which he was capable were not confined to individuals or parties. Whole nations were charmed by his manners and won by his goodness; he was the idol of the age in which he lived, and his death was a blow felt by all, as though each had an individual interest in his life. Sir Philip Sidney was, in a few words, a pure specimen of the English character, ere foreign manners and customs had tarnished its lustre.'

The analysis and description of the 'Arcadia' are followed by a vindication of the 'warbler of poetic prose' from 'the ill-natured criticism and vituperation which his works have encountered,' supported by the judgments of Temple, Heylin, Fuller, Cowper, and Campbell. A large account is rendered of his 'Defence of Poesy,' and a list is given of his other works. We seldom meet with a volume of the same extent containing so large a mass of biographical and literary information.

An Introduction to the Elements of Practical Astronomy. By James R. Christie, F.R.S. 8vo. pp. 118. London: Longman and Co.

THE author has well fulfilled the object expressed in his preface, of furnishing a 'work, which, without entering far into the details of physical astronomy, would yet lay a solid theoretical basis for the future progress of the student.' Works of this kind are often so complicated, that the beginner is perfectly bewildered. Though able to solve

problems by certain rules, he does not feel an independent and efficient worker, through not having a thorough comprehension of the fundamental laws on which the science of astronomy is based.

To many in the merchant service, such a work will be a great boon from its clearness and conciseness. The writer candidly states that skilful manipulation, so essential for scientific observations, can only be gained by continual practice. Appended, are a set of tables, extracted from that wondrous volume, 'The Nautical Almanack,' which will assist the teacher in forming additional questions, such as would occur in astronomical operations, and are well calculated to exhibit the use and value of tabular astronomical data. The description of the principles of construction, of the sextant, the Altitude and Azimuth instrument, and Transit instrument (a modification of the second), is specially instructive.

Benedictions; or, the Blessed Life. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., F.R.S.E. pp. iv.—494. London: Shaw; Hall, and Co.

WE can scarcely keep up with the prolific pen of Dr. Cumming. It seems as though he preached all he thinks, and prints all he preaches. The volume now before us appears to consist of sermons, designed to prove that Christianity is essential to the blessedness of man. There are twenty-four chapters, entitled—Glad Music—The Favoured People—The Happy Heirs of the Kingdom—Sorrow Sweetened—Earth's Rightful Heirs—The Hungry filled with Good Things—Twice Blessed—Beatitude of the Pure in Heart—The Happy Family—The Noble Army of Martyrs—Blessedness—The Joyous Festival—The Blessed Watchman—The Holy and Happy Dead—Bread for the Blessed Life—Refreshment and Rest—The Blessed Mother—The only Absolution—The Way of the Blessed Life—Complete in Christ—The Blessed Promise—Words of Eternal Life—Temple Life—The Apostolic Blessing. Each of these chapters is headed with a verse as well as by a passage of scripture, which seems to be the text of a sermon turned into a chapter. The books from which the poetry is cited are never mentioned. A few of them are trite quotations, or portions of well known hymns; others may be, like Walter Scott's bits from an 'Old Play,' written for the nonce. However, they are all of them appropriate. In the chapters themselves there is a popular exposition of some familiar scripture, interspersed with exposure of Romish errors, and such practical suggestions as are usual in the pulpit; but little elucidation of difficulties, and few peculiarities of either thought or expression. The doctor's millenarianism, of course, appears on suitable occasions. There are few who may not read the 'Benedictions' with profit, and we doubt not that it will be extensively read.

Christ our Passover; or, Thoughts on the Atonement. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., F.R.S.E. pp. 170. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co.

WE had just written the above when this new volume, without preface, came to hand. We have time only to say that it contains

nine good simple sermons on Israel in Egypt—The Atoning Death—Behold the Lamb—Christ Crucified; or, Christianity—‘It is Finished’—‘The Lord is Risen’—‘The Great Attraction’—Ashamed of Christianity—Passover Tidings.

The Leisure Hour. 1853. Royal 8vo. pp. 844. London Religious Tract Society. This admirable periodical has now completed the second year of its existence, and fully realizes the expectations which its commencement awakened. Its contents are very various, and unite the pleasing and the instructive in an unwonted degree. Its artistic illustrations are executed in superior style, and few works, even amongst those of higher pretensions, are capable of exerting so healthy an influence. We do not know a work so well fitted for general circulation, and we strongly recommend it to our readers. They should take it in weekly, and those who have not hitherto done so should immediately procure the two volumes already published. It has a permanent value beyond the ephemeral interest of a periodical.—*Successful Men of Modern Times, Modern Edinburgh.* London Religious Tract Society. Two of the *Monthly Series* of the Tract Society, which contain much information, conveyed in a pleasing style, and perfectly free from the objectionable matter sometimes furnished by caterers for the young.—*Edmund Burke: being first principles selected from his Writings.* With an Introductory Essay, by Robert Montgomery, M.A., pp. xxxii.—416. This selection ‘is not a second-hand one, grafted on some pre-existing volume; but the result of a diligent, careful, and analytical perusal of Burke’s writings.’ Such a work was needed, and its value is great. It contains a large mass of sound political philosophy, expressed in a style to which few are equal, but the power of which all may appreciate. We warmly recommend the volume as a pocket-companion.—*The Stepping-Stone to Music: containing several hundred Questions on the Science; also, a short History of Music.* Adapted to the capacity of Young Children. pp. 72. By Miss Parkhurst. London: Longman, and Co. We cannot speak too highly of this little work. It is admirably adapted to its avowed object. As an introductory manual it is unrivalled, and may be confidently adopted by all teachers. We speak with less hesitation, as we have seen it tried.—*Risen from the Ranks; or, Conduct versus Caste.* By the Rev. Erskine Neale, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. pp. 341. London: Longman, and Co. A small volume, specially addressed to ‘military readers,’ but containing much that will interest all classes. The brief Introductory Chapter is open to some grave objections, which, however, we must waive for the present. The promotions recorded—whatever Mr. Neale may allege—are *exceptions*, not the rule, and the military *profession* cannot be reconciled, by any ingenuity, with the spirit or the precepts of Christianity. Without adopting the abstract principle of the *Peace Society*, we do honor to the labors of those philanthropic men whom Mr. Neale refers to in terms of disparagement and contumely.—*Lorenzo Benoni; or, Passages in the Life of an Italian.* Edited by a Friend. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, and Co. A cheap and neat edition of a work of which we have already expressed our favorable judgment. It is illustrated by five drawings on wood, by J. B., and is published at five shillings in

cloth, and gilt.—*Water from the Well-spring, for the Sabbaths of Afflicted Believers.* Being a Complete Course of Morning and Evening Meditations for every Sunday in the Year. By Edward Henry Bickersteth, M.A. London: The Religious Tract Society. A most seasonable publication, which will be welcome in many a lonely chamber.—*Work; or, How to Do It.* By Margaret Maria Brewster. Edinburgh: Constable and Co. A useful manual for those who do every work as 'the Lord's work,' and a faithful monitor to those who do not.—*Oliver Cromwell; or, England in the Past, viewed in relation to England in the Present.* By the Rev. Joseph Denham Smith. Third Edition. Dublin: Robertson. A glowing oration of the meridian of Dublin during the papal aggression excitement. We like it, as doing justice to Cromwell's memory in a small readable book.—*The Circle of Human Life.* Translated from the German of Dr. Fred. Aug. G. Tholuck, by the Rev. Robert Menzies. Second Edition. Edinburgh: Macphail. Those who have heard of Dr. Tholuck only as a learned expositor, will be delighted with the simple-hearted piety of these extracts from his 'Stunden Christlicher Andacht.' The Scottish presbyterian translator has made a few slight alterations in freely translating the original. Some of our readers can make similar alterations for themselves.—*Songs of Feast, Field, and Fray.* By A. London: Longman and Co. Spirited poetry on themes a little out of our own quiet way. 'The Legend of Decius' is in the style of Macaulay's 'Lays of Ancient Rome.'—*The Solitary; a Lay from the West. With other Poems in English and Latin.* By Mary Benn. London: Masters. Mary Benn here displays considerable facility in English and Latin versification, but not great freshness of sentiment, or brightness of imagination. From one poem we infer that she is not a quakeress; from a second, that she is not a wife; from a third, that she is not a mother; but, from the whole volume, we conclude that she is clever, well educated, and has been a contributor to the 'Nation' newspaper, when that periodical was at the height of its popularity.—*A Memoir of the Rev. W. A. B. Johnson, Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, in Regent's Town, Sierra Leone, A.D. 1816-1823.* With some Prefatory Remarks, by the Rev. William Jowett, M.A. London: Seeleys. A valuable addition to the increasingly interesting department of missionary biography, in which we are glad to find honourable mention made of Raiatea and John Williams.—*Village Sermons.* By the Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. Dr. Colenso is appointed bishop of Natal, and these sermons are a parting memorial to his rural parishioners. They are charmingly simple, but their simplicity is that of a cultivated mind imbued with the spirit of the gospel, though defective in doctrinal views. The 'Dedication' to Professor Maurice is much in the style of a disciple towards the founder of a school, and avows doctrines and sentiments towards the object of the writer's adulation, with which, as appears elsewhere, we have no sympathy.—*Naaman; or, Life's Shadows and Sunshine.* By the Rev. T. W. Aveling. London: Snow. In a pleasing and popular manner Mr. Aveling has drawn from the history of Naaman the evangelical and practical les-

sons with which it abounds, and which we hope will be gratefully appreciated by an extended circle of readers. We earnestly commend the book for keeping in view so steadily the one great aim of the Christian pulpit.—*The Day of Trial*. An Allegorical Poem, in Five Cantos. By the Author of 'England's Palladium.' London: Kirby and Son. It has lately become a fashion among poets to issue their publications from the press without dedication or preface. So in this instance. We do not know anything of the author, or of the work mentioned in the title as 'England's Palladium.' As to the Poem, the writer has made a mistake in calling it 'Allegorical.' In this respect it disappoints the reader. It is a good delineation of human experience in connexion with the gospel, expressed, sometimes in simple language, and sometimes in imagery as near to allegory, it may be, as the writer could approach, but certainly not the thing understood by that term. We have no wish to be hypercritical; but choking a sea-serpent with a folio Bible is not an exploit worthy of the grave design the author has in view. The little allegory about the pirates, too, is clumsy; but some skill might have made something of it. There is the germ of an excellent allegory in the book, but it is buried under a heap of commonplaces in very humble verse. However, the religious tendency is so good that many will look over these literary faults.

Review of the Month.

A NUMEROUS AND HIGHLY RESPECTABLE MEETING OF THE PROTESTANT ALLIANCE was held on the 29th of November, at the Freemasons' Hall, London, 'for the purpose of memorializing Her Majesty's government on the aspect of popery abroad towards British subjects.' The Earl of Shaftesbury presided, and in a speech of considerable length explained and enforced the object of the meeting. His lordship said many admirable things, but like all his orations on such topics, his speech leaves on us the impression of his seeing only part of the case, and of his being involved in inconsistencies by occupying a false position. There cannot be any difference of opinion among men, like minded with ourselves, respecting the cases to which he referred. An unusual activity has, unquestionably, for some time past, been evinced by the agents of popery throughout Europe, and this activity has been specially directed against our countrymen. Whatever be the reason of this, the fact itself is obvious. The recent cases of the Madisi, Miss Cuninghame and Mr. Hamilton, are familiar to the public, and clearly illustrate what is occurring on a large scale. Portugal, Spain, Tuscany, and even Malta, though a British possession, furnish instances in proof, to say nothing of the aggressive movements which have taken place in this country, in Holland, and in Prussia. We are not surprised at this. It was to be looked for. It is a natural reaction from the

influences recently abroad, and is well adapted to mark the cordial hatred with which we are regarded by the agents of spiritual despotism. As such it is our honor; nevertheless, it becomes us to adopt all reasonable and Christian measures for the protection of our countrymen, and the vindication of the truth for which they suffer. Whether the measures suggested by the Earl of Shaftesbury and the 'Protestant Alliance' are the best suited to this end, we have our doubts. Of one thing we feel assured—*the British government is not in a position to take the ground suggested without grave and very manifest inconsistency.* Contending for the right and the duty of rulers to superintend the religious interests of their subjects, we are, as a nation, committed to the *principle* of interference. The only question, therefore, respects the mode, and about this, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that each people must judge for themselves. If interference be allowed, who is to determine its form and extent? Grant the premises, and we see not how the conclusion drawn in Spain, Portugal, Tuscany, Naples, and elsewhere, is to be avoided. Nor is the case, as it appears to us, altered when viewed in relation to British subjects residing in popish countries. If it be the duty of rulers to provide for the religious instruction and welfare of their people, it is manifestly incumbent on them to prevent, so far as they can, the danger arising from the presence of error whence-soever it may arise, whether of home or foreign growth. This is a mere accident with which the government has nothing to do. Their mission respects error, and it matters not whence it comes, or by what agents it is propagated. To suppose that they are right in undertaking the religious culture of their subjects, and wrong in prohibiting foreigners from impugning the national faith, or doing that which is thought likely to undermine it, is, in our judgment, manifestly inconsistent.

Lord Shaftesbury alluded to the example of America, and affirmed that he did not see why the ministers of Queen Victoria 'should be less bold than Queen Elizabeth or Cromwell.' The reference is unhappy, for America has renounced the right of interference at home, before challenging it abroad, and the language of Elizabeth and Cromwell, however gratifying to English pride, is scarcely compatible with the nature of Christianity, or in accordance with the means by which its legitimate triumphs are wrought. It is well that our countrymen should know the character of the laws of the States they visit. Some of these are marked by the worst features of a former age. Take, for instance, the code of Tuscany. It extends to three hundred articles, 'and the great and leading principles of it,' said Lord Shaftesbury, 'are these: that word, and speech, and action, and even thought, are interdicted to everybody who lives under the authority of the Grand Duke. By the enactments of this code, any British subject sojourning in Tuscany, who might speak in secret to friend or relation, to wife or husband, to son or daughter, or who might write to a friend upon religious sentiments, touching religious doctrines not necessarily controversial or polemical, but which, according to the opinions of the persons who might read it, or of the court before which it might be brought, or according to the will of the Jesuit confessor who advised the Grand Duke, might contain any sentiment of religion drawn from

the gospel, might be perverted into an offence against the Roman Catholic church, and be punished with fine or imprisonment of ten, fifteen, or twenty years, with hard labour, or, in some instances, with death by the hatchet or on the scaffold.' This is a terrible state of things, and our countrymen should look to it before placing themselves under the operation of such a code. No difference of opinion can exist among us as to the enormity of a law of this kind. We want language to express our abhorrence of it, and are prepared cordially to join in measures which command our approval, for the deliverance of the victims of so unchristianlike and diabolical a system.

The means proposed by the 'Protestant Alliance' are thus expressed in their memorial to Lord Clarendon:—'They conceive that no political complication or difficulty could result from its being made distinctly known that Great Britain will not maintain diplomatic relations with any State which shall persist in denying to British subjects within its territory the free exercise of their religion, with liberty to possess places of worship for their own use, as well as places of interment, and to have the rites of baptism, marriage, and burial performed among themselves without hindrance or compulsory secrecy. To demand less than this measure of liberty and justice, as the condition of continued diplomatic relations, would seem not consistent with the high position and moral claims of England. In the case of an alleged offence on the part of British subjects against the church established in those countries, by the peaceable avowal of their own religious convictions, the penalties affixed by the codes above mentioned are, it is conceived, wholly unjustifiable, and inconsistent with the admitted principles of international law. The Committee conceive that, if the refusal of any power to comply with these righteous demands should lead to the cessation of such diplomatic intercourse, no danger would necessarily result to the trade and commerce of this country, as no ground for war would arise out of it, and as the government of the United States finds it quite practicable to protect the American trade with Europe by means of consuls, where they have no resident minister.' The memorial was, of course, received with respect, and one good, at least, will result from it. It is well for ministers to see that the country is interested in such matters. Official diligence will thus be stimulated, and even the agents of despotism abroad will be restrained by the knowledge of their misdeeds being reported and commented on in this land of free speech. Farther than this, we do not expect the labors of the 'Protestant Alliance' to prevail.

TURKEY AND RUSSIA CONTINUE TO OCCUPY THE ATTENTION OF EUROPE. Recent intelligence is less favorable to the former than what we reported last month. No decisive engagement, however, has taken place, and the issue is clearly dependent on the course taken by France and England. The most conflicting reports are current, and have been so during the whole of the month. Some of these are evidently traceable to the Stock Exchange, and others are fabricated at Vienna, in order to keep up the reputation of Russia, or to embarrass the monetary arrangements of the Porte. The Tory press has availed itself of the pending struggle to damage the ministry, and we regret that too much occasion has been furnished it, by the dilatory and unde-

cided policy pursued. Early in the month, the 'Morning Herald' and other papers announced with a great flourish of trumpets, that the court of St. Petersburg had 'addressed a brief and conclusive note to the governments of England and France, announcing that no further negotiations, with respect to the affairs of the East, will be listened to—that the part of Russia is definitely taken—and that that part is *la guerre*.' This, however, was denied by the 'Times' of the 5th, in the most explicit terms. 'No such communication,' said that journal, 'has reached this country;' and the information subsequently received proves that the 'Times' was, in this case, right.

In the meantime an important advantage has been gained by the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. Admiral Nachimoff, when cruising on the coast of Anatolia, observed an inferior squadron of Turkish ships in the roadstead of Sinope, and immediately sent to Sebastopol for reinforcements. These were speedily furnished, and on the 30th of November he entered the roads of Sinope with a force which converted the contest into a slaughter. A vast loss, both of men and ships accrued to the Turks, the report of which naturally occasioned great excitement at Constantinople. Sinope lies midway between the Bosphorus and Trebizond, and is the principal naval station of the Porte in the Black Sea. How it happened that so small a force as that of the Turks was permitted to cruise in waters known to be traversed by a superior Russian fleet we know not. Still more are we at a loss to account for the fact that no reinforcements were solicited from the Bosphorus, when the danger of an attack must have been seen. As there was time for the Russian admiral to send to Sebastopol, there must have been time also to summon aid from the Porte; and had this been done, the terrible disaster might have been prevented. If such a communication could not be made by sea, a Tartar courier would have performed the journey with sufficient speed. The Turks, however, reposed in fancied security, and we know what followed. On the news reaching Constantinople, the English admiral, Dundas, proposed putting to sea immediately, with a view of intercepting the Russian fleet on its return to Sebastopol. This course, however, was not adopted, to the evident detriment of the Turkish cause. An explanation of the fact is due to all parties, and we shall probably receive it on the meeting of parliament, if not earlier. The disposition of the French government to adopt a more decided policy than our own, precludes the supposition of their representative being afraid to commit them by so bold and decisive a measure. The French and English fleets, are now we are told, in the Black Sea, but whether their mission is to prevent further conflict between the belligerents, or to take the part of Turkey remains to be seen. The Vienna press reports the former *as on authority*. The 'Morning Chronicle' of the 28th states that their instructions are to confine the Russian fleet to Sebastopol.

The victory of Sinope, if such it can be called, has been reported at St. Petersburg with more than the usual mixture of fanaticism and falsehood. 'The most pious Czar,' says the 'Journal de St. Petersburg,' 'thanked the Lord of lords for the success of the victorious Russian arms which triumphed in the sacred combat for the orthodox

faith.' 'It is difficult,' remarks the 'Times,' on quoting these words, 'to express the disgust with which one reads such expressions; and, bad as every part of this transaction has been on the side of Russia, these violations of the laws of nations and of man are stamped with a deeper guilt when they are imputed to the favour of that Almighty Power which is the source of perfect justice and the avenger of innocent blood.'

In the meantime negotiations have been recommenced. The failure of the Vienna conference had led to the supposition that nothing further would be done in this way. The interest, however, of other powers, in the pending struggle is too great to permit them to rest while any measures remain to be adopted. The recent services of the Czar to Austria have gone far to destroy its independence, yet it is clear that an extension of Russia in the direction of Vienna can be anything but pleasing to the statesmen of the latter. In addition to this the struggle can scarcely be continued without Austria being drawn into it, in the service of Russia, and so surely as this happens, Hungary and Italy will take advantage of her position to reassert their independence. Prussia, also, is greatly interested in the termination of the contest, and we are therefore not surprised to find that her representative has united with those of Austria, France, and England, in pledging her 'to maintain the existing territorial arrangements of Europe, and to recommend fresh preliminaries of peace in the east.'

'It is an event,' says the 'Times,' of the 6th, 'of no common importance which has thus brought together France, Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia, in direct and determined opposition to the pretensions of Russia on the east, and has led them to renew their joint resolution to uphold the existing territorial rights of Turkey. For this declaration and the measures connected with it are a distinct corroboration by all the Powers of Lord Clarendon's statement, that the evacuation of the Danubian Principalities is the *sine quâ non* of every arrangement; and we may now assume that Prussia and Austria concur with the Western Powers in their determination that these provinces shall not be filched from Turkey and annexed to the Russian empire.'

A communication, we are informed, has been addressed to the Turkish government, requesting to know on what terms it is willing to re-open communications; and strong confidence is expressed of the acceptance by Russia of the propositions of the four Powers. We have our doubts; but we shall see. The past course of Nicholas does not incline us to rely much on his future moderation.

We observe with deep regret the prevalence of reports, charging on a certain illustrious personage, an exertion of political influence in favor of Russia. We trust this is not the case. Strong evidence must be adduced, as such conduct stands in open and obvious contrast to the course previously pursued. Should it be so, there will speedily be an unmistakable expression of popular feeling; for if there be one thing which Englishmen are less inclined to tolerate than another, it is the interference of a foreigner, however high his rank, in the conduct of their national affairs.

LORD PALMERSTON'S RESIGNATION OF OFFICE has taken the country by surprise. The nation was not prepared for it. His continuance in the ministry was, indeed, matter of astonishment to many, but this arose from the *Aberdeen* character of the policy pursued on the Eastern question, and as his lordship did not, on this account, resign, no other cause of his doing so was apprehended. It was, therefore, with no little amazement that the 'Resignation of Lord Palmerston,' announced in large capitals by the 'Times' of the 16th was read, and this feeling was increased by the leader which followed. Referring to the cause of his retirement, it is confidently stated to be wholly 'unconnected with the foreign policy of the government; it has not arisen out of the difficulties of the Eastern question; nor is it true that differences of opinion on that subject have manifested themselves with such force as to lead to the retirement of any member of the administration. The ground on which Lord Palmerston is said to rest his inability to remain in the present cabinet, and to share in the responsibility of the measures of the approaching session, is distinctly and exclusively his decided opposition to the Reform Bill which has been prepared under the direction of Lord John Russell, and assented to by the other members of the government.' 'We repeat,' says the 'Times,' 'it is upon this ground, *expressly and alone*, that Lord Palmerston has retired from the cabinet, and not upon any question of foreign policy.' The 'Morning Chronicle,' and other ministerial papers, hold the same language, while some liberal journalists are foolish enough to encourage the delusion of Lord Palmerston becoming the premier of a cabinet more reforming than the present. We confess that we are amazed at this. We have never had much faith in the liberal statesmanship of the ex-secretary. In January last we distinctly avowed this judgment, and nothing has occurred since to alter our opinion. What, therefore, can be meant by some of our London journalists, who profess great zeal for reform, we are at a loss to imagine. One thing is clear. A judgment so liable to error—and that, too, on so grave a matter—is not entitled to the confidence of the public. We regret Lord Palmerston's resignation, not because it involves any loss to the reform spirit of the ministry, but because his official experience and acknowledged talents are of great value to a cabinet which, with all its short comings, is, we fear, as good as the country yet deserves or is prepared to support. We also regret it on account of the Eastern question, though we are not sure but that more will be gained from his lordship out of office than in office. Many efforts have been made to secure a successor. Lord John Russell, Lord Panmure, Sir James Graham, and Sir George Grey, have all been named, but the *silence* of the 'Times' for a few days past confirms the general impression that a negotiation is on foot for the return of Lord Palmerston. 'His lordship,' says the 'Daily News' of the 26th, 'has had long remonstrative visits inflicted upon him by divers members of the cabinet, and his and their friends out of doors have been for the last few days busy demonstrating—to their own conviction, if not to that of their hearers—how desirable it is that the noble viscount should quietly return to Downing-street, and how perfectly consistent such a

termination of the *fracas* would be with the dignity and self-respect of all parties concerned.* We wait to see the result.* It behoves the country to be watchful, lest its interests be sacrificed to those of the cabinet.

Reform Bill has been promised. The all-but-universal prevalence of electoral corruption proves its necessity; and if, instead of a *real* measure, we are proffered only a *sham*, it will be no equivalent that Lord Palmerston has returned to office, and the Aberdeen cabinet been relieved from perplexities. Did we see reason to believe that a more liberal government would be supported, we should not regret the present dissensions; but as this is not the case, and as we greatly prefer the coalition ministry to that of Lord Derby, we shall be glad to find that the home secretaryship is supplied in a manner consistent with public faith, and conducive to the stability of the Aberdeen cabinet.

THE REV. DOCTOR WARDLAW DIED AT GLASGOW, ON SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17th, at the age of seventy-four. For several days before his decease, there was reason to apprehend that the final scene was approaching. Without pretending either to sketch a biography or to write a eulogy, we cannot record this sad intelligence concerning one who sometimes enriched our pages, and who for so many years has enjoyed a special reputation among British divines, without dwelling for a moment on those characteristics of intellect and heart for which he was so widely loved and admired. He reckoned among his maternal ancestors, we believe, the Rev. Ralph Erskine, one of the founders of the Associated Synod of Scotland, whose name he bore, and of whose church he was a member until the rise of Independency in Scotland. For some years he preached in a chapel of his own, in the city of Glasgow. There he delivered his lectures on the 'Socinian Controversy,' occasioned by lectures on the other side by the Rev. Mr. Bates. The popularity accruing from these lectures induced Dr. Wardlaw's friends to build the spacious and costly chapel in George-street, in which he has preached for the last five-and-thirty years, to a large and influential congregation. Besides his labours in the pulpit, Dr. Wardlaw, in connexion with the late Mr. Greville Ewing, presided over the Congregational Academy, whose students received their classical and mathematical education in the University of Glasgow. He was likewise associated with Mr. Ewing, Mr. Aikman, of Edinburgh, and Dr. Russell, of Dundee—all of whom he survived—as leading ministers in the Congregational Union of Scotland. In connexion with that Union, he frequently visited London, and some of the principal towns in England, where he was always liberally received, and welcomed as an eminent scholar and remarkably instructive and engaging preacher. On one occasion he was invited to deliver in London a series of lectures on church establishments, in reply to the lectures on the same subject by his illustrious friend Dr. Chalmers. Dr. Wardlaw had been invited, on more occasions than one, to become the president of an English theological college. Besides numerous single sermons and pamphlets, of great value, several larger works exhibit the fruits of his research and thoughtfulness. Of these, we may mention, 'Lectures

* Since this was in type the return of Lord Palmerston is announced.

on Ecclesiastes; and one or more controversial treatises on Baptism, and on Church Government. 'The Responsibility of Man for his Belief,' occasioned by a passage in Mr. Brougham's inaugural address, as Lord Rector of Glasgow University; Letters to the Society of Friends; Christian Ethics, one of the Congregational Lectures; and separate essays on Assurance, on the Atonement, and on Miracles. Dr. Wardlaw's mind was distinguished by penetration, logical method, considerable power in balancing arguments, and detecting fallacies; profound reverence for the divine authority of Scripture in all things, and great facility and ingenuity in the interpretation of its language. His style of writing is lucid, sometimes beautiful, always neat, generally elegant, uniformly calm, tending to diffuseness rather than to condensation, and never disturbed by emotion, nor elevated into grandeur. The Christian virtues of his social life endeared him to innumerable friends; and he lived in the confidence and esteem of his fellow-citizens belonging to all classes and persuasions. He was pre-eminently a prudent man; and whatever failings were ascribed to him, leaned that way. As a private companion, his conversation, always quiet, habitually serious, and somewhat reserved, was frequently enlivened by that brilliancy of *repartees* and delicate play of epigrammatic wit, by which so many men of distinguished learning and piety have relieved the severer necessities of studious life. Though it has not been his favoured lot to pass through the world without being called to defend his character, as well as his opinions, through the press, few men, we should suppose, have left behind them a choicer circle of intelligent admirers and ardent friends. He was the last of a host of contemporaries—the Haldanes, Dale, Ewing, Russell, Chalmers—whose memory will be ever dear to Scotland, as the assertors of great religious principles, the fathers of noble institutions, and the promoters of a sound theological literature. Only last year, he celebrated the jubilee of his ministry, and before the year has run its course, the Master has called him to the repose and celebrations of that higher state, towards which he had been so long aspiring.

MILTON CLUB. Though our 'Review of the Month' is devoted to the *past*, we are induced, in the case of the Milton Club, to deviate from this rule by calling attention to the future, and pressing on those friends who are invited to the *soirée*, which is to be held at Radley's Hotel, on Wednesday, the 11th of January, to attend on that occasion. The chief object of this gathering is thoroughly to explain and defend the entire plan, and to give the fullest information; and we think this very desirable, as we fear there is some misunderstanding, or rather non-understanding, on the subject. It will be but a small sacrifice of time to attend the meeting, and we believe it is intended then to close the subscription list. Surely this will be an easy matter, if those who have not yet taken part in so important a project seize this opportunity of making themselves masters of the subject, which we most earnestly recommend. The progress already made, insures, we are informed, the success of the effort. We rejoice in this. It is as it should be, and those who have not yet taken part will do well to avail themselves of this last opportunity.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

A Commentary of the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to Ephesians. By John Eadie, D.D., LL.D.

Letters of the Madiai, and Visits to their Prisons. By the Misses Senhouse.

The Attic Philosopher in Paris; or, a Peep at the World from a Garret. Being the Journal of a Happy Man. From the French of Emile Souvestre.

Notes, Critical, Explanatory, and Practical, on the Old Testament. By Albert Barnes.

The Book of the Prophet Daniel. 2 vols.

Young's Night Thoughts. With Life, Critical Dissertation, and Explanatory Notes. By Rev. George Gilfillan.

Phraseological Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis. By Theodore Preston, M.A.

The Autobiography of a Five-pound Note. By Mrs. J. B. Webb.

Miss Corner's Scriptural History Simplified, in Question and Answer, for the Use of Schools and Families. Revised by John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A.

Lily Gordon, the Young Housekeeper. By Cousin Kate.

The Powers of the World to come, and the Church's Stewardship as invested with them. By George D. Cheever, D.D.

Letters of Laura D'Auverne. By Charles Swain.

Poems. By Matthew Arnold. A new edition.

Notes on the Scripture Lessons for 1853.

Clinical Lectures on Pulmonary Consumption. By Theophilus Thompson, M.D., F.R.S.

The Spirit of the Bible; or, the Nature and Value of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures Discriminated, in an Analysis of their Several Books. By Edward Higginson.

The Bible Class Magazine. Vol. VI. 1853.

Being, Analytically Described in its Chief Respects and Principal Truths in the Order of this Analysis, fully stated, with a Detail of Man's Spiritual Nature and Chief Attractions. By John Richard Pickmere.

The Sunday School Teacher's Class Register and Diary for 1854.

The Scottish Psalmody; being a Selection of Tunes with the prevailing Harmonies used throughout Scotland, with Elementary Lessons for Beginners, &c. Issued by the Education Committee of the Free Church of Scotland.

A Martyrology of the Churches of Christ, commonly called Baptists, during the era of the Reformation. Translated from the Dutch of T. J. Van Braght. Edited for the Hanserd Knollys Society, by Edward Bean Underhill. Vol. II.

The Life of Martin Luther, the German Reformer. In Fifty Pictures. From designs by Gustav Konig. To which is added a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Reformation in Germany.

Struggles for Life; or, the Autobiography of a Dissenting Minister.

Historical Development of Speculative Philosophy, from Kant to Hegel. From the German of Dr. H. M. Chalybäus. By the Rev. Alfred Edersheim.

The British Controversialist and Impartial Inquirer. July—December, 1853. Half-yearly volume.

An Englishman's Travels in America; his Observations of Life and Manners in the Free and Slave States. By J. Benwell.

Protestant Endurance and Popish Cruelty; a Narrative of the Reformation in Spain. By J. C. M. Coan, Esq.

A Practical Treatise of Christian Baptism. By Thomas Houston, D.D.

The Races; the Evils connected with Horse-racing and the Steeple-chase, and their Demoralizing Effects. By Thomas Houston, D.D.

The Autobiography of William Jerdan, with his Literary, Political, and Social Reminiscences, and Correspondence during the last Fifty Years. Vol. IV.

Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore. Edited by the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, M.P. Vols. V. and VI.

The Knot of To-day, and a Hand to undo it: a Letter addressed to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Clergy and Laity of the United Church of England and Ireland, on 'Church Revival.'

Saturday and Sunday: Thoughts for Both.

Christ our Passover; or, Thoughts on the Atonement. By Rev. John Cumming, D.D., F.R.S.E.

A Lamp to the Path; or, the Bible in the Heart, the Home, and the Market-place. By Rev. B. K. Tweedie, D.D.

The Land of the Forum and the Vatican; or, Thoughts and Sketches during an Easter Pilgrimage to Rome. By Newman Hall, B.A.

The Typology of Scripture Viewed in Connexion with the Entire Scheme of the Divine Dispensations. By Patrick Fairbairn, Professor of Divinity. Second edition, much enlarged and improved. 2 vols.

The Wesley Banner and Christian Family Visitor for the year 1853. New Series. Vol. I.

Blue Jackets; or, Chips of the Old Block. A Narrative of the Gallant Exploits of British Seamen, and of the Principal Events in the Naval Service during the Reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. By W. H. G. Kingston, Esq.

Ocean and her Rulers: a Narrative of the Natives who have from the Earliest Ages held Dominion over the Sea. By Alfred Elwes.

Stars of the East; or, Prophets and Apostles. By Rev. John Stoughton.

The Crook and the Sword, the Heir of Lorn, and other Poems. By Francis Fitzhugh.

The Philosophy of Atheism Examined and Compared with Christianity. A course of Popular Lectures, delivered at the Mechanics' Institute, Bradford. By Rev. B. Godwin, D.D. Third edition.

The Child's Companion and Juvenile Instructor. New Series. 1853.

Lectures to Young Men. No. I. The Age; its Advantages and Temptations. A Lecture, delivered at Trevor Chapel, Brompton. By John Morison, D.D., LL.D.

Lectures to Young Men. No. 2. The Bible; its Conflicts and Triumphs. Delivered at the same Chapel. By Dr. Morison.

THE
Eclectic Review.

FEBRUARY, 1854.

ART. I.—*The History of Scotland from the Revolution to the Extinction of the Last Jacobite Insurrection.* By John Hill Burton.
In Two Volumes. 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

IF Scotsmen are desirous of ascertaining what are the effects of its union with England, we commend to their notice Mr. Burton's 'History of Scotland from the Revolution to the close of the Rebellion of 1745.' In it they will find all the circumstances which led to or retarded the Union fully and sensibly discussed; all its results examined with an impartiality not often to be met with, and the whole history of the period clearly and thoughtfully traced. It was a period of no ordinary importance to Scotland. The events comprised in it, if not all of such magnitude as those which immediately preceded them, certainly left an abiding impression on the institutions and social features of the country. They constituted, in short, the transition from the old to the new system of things under which Scotland changed altogether her relation to the sister kingdom. Hitherto, though swayed by the same sceptre, both countries had their peculiar grievances and their own mode of dealing with them. The revolution, however, while terminating, to a great extent, the conflicts which had disturbed the peace of each, had the effect of turning the attention of the respective peoples to the means of promoting the national aggrandizement. Commerce was beginning to revive, and with the blessings of peace came those requirements from industry and enterprise which peace brings with it. The interest of a work

treating of such a period depends, therefore, for the most part, on the skilful use which the writer makes of the materials within his reach :—for we should conceive that his chief difficulty would consist in the selection of these, rather than in obtaining them. Every event of any moment called forth a flood of publications expressing the views of the respective parties by whom political conflicts were maintained, and the apprehension or exposure of Jacobite plots invested even comparatively trivial occurrences with interest enough to give them a place in the records of the time.

Mr. Burton's first volume, which closes with the passing of the Act of Union, treats of such events as the accession of William III.; the settlement of the church ; the struggle made by Viscount Dundee in behalf of the old system of things ; the massacre of Glencoe ; the circumstances connected with the origin and failure of the Darien scheme, and the Act of Security. Each of these is so fully discussed in all its bearings, that to attempt anything like a particular examination of them would not only compel us greatly to exceed the limits of this article, but would be to some extent unnecessary, inasmuch as most readers are, more or less, acquainted with them. The manner in which Mr. Burton has arranged his narrative of these events is deserving of almost unqualified commendation ; and his opinions in regard to them evince not only an extensive acquaintance with their causes and effects, but a soundness of judgment, and a breadth of view, fitted to give us a decidedly favorable impression of his qualifications for writing a satisfactory, because impartial and solid, work of history.

Without any pretensions to the higher graces of style, and all but destitute of that imaginative warmth which invests certain events with somewhat of a pictorial charm, Mr. Burton is careful in his examination of every question, graphic sometimes in his descriptions—to the extent at least of giving us the idea that he has made himself acquainted with the locality described ; while each event is so systematically evolved, and so calmly worked out, that we rise from the perusal of his pages, if not with a very vivid, certainly with a satisfactory, impression of the things contained in them. This we take to be as high commendation as can be accorded to a work treating of a period the events of which are, for the most part, not such as admit of ornate writing. If we except the massacre of Glencoe, there is really nothing in Mr. Burton's first volume which calls for anything but calm and dispassionate reflection, and even that event has been too often contemplated in the light of strong party prejudices, or at least with a more direct reference to its infamous nature in the abstract, than to the circumstances connected with it. It would be too much, perhaps, to say, that as a simple fact, and in its

naked horror, the murder of the Macdonalds has been associated with the memory of William III. with very little show of reason; yet we may safely aver that an unprejudiced and careful examination of the evidence which has been brought to light regarding it, would have tended to the conclusion at which Mr. Burton has arrived;—that the king gave a licence for severity, necessary in the then state of the country, of which others availed themselves. A great many blunders, and perhaps as many wilful perversions of the truth, have been connected with this subject by almost every one who has had anything to say about it. The tragedy, and no one can deny that it was a very dark one, has been surrounded by all the accessories calculated to make us believe that the victims were a community of simple and unoffending Highlanders, whose greatest errors were a lingering love for their old customs and mode of life, and a certain chivalrous faith in that open hospitality which put them within the power of their enemies. Now, this romantic view of the matter falls very far short of the truth. The Macdonalds of Glencoe were unquestionably not only amongst the most restless of the Highlanders—they were *marauders* of the worst class. Apart from the circumstance of their complicity in the rebellion kept up by Claverhouse, they were notoriously a set of troublesome and unscrupulous thieves, and *as such* were not only compromised with the government, but were at feud with, and, in fact, lived upon the spoils riven from their neighbours. Mr. Burton brings this out very clearly, by turning to account, in a plain and matter-of-fact way, the description of the gloomy and sterile glen which they inhabited, and which has always been largely made use of in depicting the horrors of the midnight massacre, showing us that ‘if they had not lived on the reft produce of other people’s industry, their arid glen could not have supported the population.’ Macdonald of Glencoe, it is well known, had been prevented from taking the oath of allegiance until some days after the appointed time; he had held out to the last, in the hope of being allowed to maintain his disloyal position, and was therefore liable to punishment. The system of punishment agreed upon, however, cannot be excused on any ground. The project of making the feuds of rival clans available for the extermination of the disaffected was, it must be admitted, a most nefarious one, for which we cannot find the slightest palliation in the state of the country at the time. It degraded the government into an engine of mere destruction, and took away all the dignity and moral force of the law to which those Highlanders became amenable who did not take the oath. William was not only aware of this plan of dealing with the disaffected, but sanctioned it in a proclamation; in fact it had

been the policy of the government for centuries before, and he well knew its operation. There is no evidence that he was privy to the diabolical design of quartering the soldiers of a regiment composed of men who were the hereditary enemies of the Macdonalds, in Glencoe, on the pretence resorted to; nor is there any reason to believe that he did more than approve of the proposal to punish or intimidate the disaffected Highlanders by such measures of severity as circumstances warranted. The odium, the infamy of the black tragedy by which the Macdonalds suffered, must rest on the memory of Sir John Dalrymple, the Secretary of State for Scotland; on Breadalbane, who seems to have been influenced in some measure by a feeling of private revenge for depredations committed by the men of Glencoe; and on one or two others who were in the secret, and whose correspondence in regard to it, Mr. Burton speaks of as having 'a very fiendish appearance.' The affair was, in all respects, one of fiendish malignity; it makes a dark blot on the history of the period, and covers with merited infamy the memories of the men who were its originators. The purpose of it was signally defeated by its cold-blooded character: for the strong feeling of sympathy with the survivors of the massacre, and the horror with which the chief actors in it were regarded, had a decided effect in retarding the union of the two kingdoms. It had now become obvious to most men of sound judgment that a union was necessary, and would soon become a matter of the last importance to both kingdoms. The old elements of discord had in a great measure been removed; the church question had been settled so far as a settlement was then possible; and an era of commercial enterprise had dawned on both England and Scotland. It was plain, then, that if either the one country or the other was to prosper, a cordial union was necessary; without it there would have been innumerable causes of jealousy leading to discontent, and probably ending in a rupture, which would have brought about a union on grounds the very reverse of peaceful.

Early in his reign, William had evinced an anxiety to bring about the union, and had endeavoured to induce the English parliament to enter upon the consideration of the subject. Mr. Burton clearly shows that from the very first the chief obstacles in the way of its being consummated lay in that short-sighted commercial policy which Charles II., with characteristic folly, had revived by abrogating the complete freedom of trade between England and Scotland which had been established by Cromwell, and was so beneficial in its results. The narrow prejudices of the English traders were awakened by the consideration that their commercial privileges could no longer be held exclusively by them, if the two kingdoms were to be thoroughly united. In

a spirit of the most abject selfishness, they reasoned on the absurd belief, that what was shared by others was something lost to themselves—something to which their northern neighbours were not entitled. The king's efforts were, therefore, not seconded; his proposal to parliament was coldly received, and the question of the union was allowed to drop. The selfish apathy manifested in England was keenly felt in Scotland, where it was construed into a national slight. The feeling of nationality was still strong; the massacre of Glencoe was regarded by many as an outrage upon it; and the pride of the Scotch, awakened by the contempt, or apparent contempt, shown by the English parliament, sought some means of asserting the national independence.

It was apparent to the most zealous of the national party—even to such men as Fletcher of Saltoun—that, however proud they might be of their hardy poverty, it was necessary that something should be done to maintain the position of their country. The trade with France was at an end; it had become treason to hold any intercourse with that country since it was the refuge of the exiled Stuarts, and the centre of their intrigues. Scotland was placed on the same footing as regarded England with that of the Turks and the Russians; and it was clear that these disadvantages rendered it by no means improbable that her neighbour, fast advancing in wealth and power, might some day make an attempt to annex the kingdom rather than to incorporate with it as an equal. The only course left for Scotland, then, was to endeavour by some means or other to open a field for foreign trade. The achievements of the East India Company had excited the adventurous spirits of the time, and called forth general aspirations after foreign enterprise. Among those who attracted notice by the projection of schemes for the extension of commercial operations, William Paterson gained notoriety in connexion with the foundation and failure of the Darien Company. The scheme originated by Paterson, of whose history Mr. Burton has given but a meagre and not very satisfactory account, was destined to prove one of the most memorable things of the period to which these volumes refer.* Brought forward at a time when Scotland might be said to be on tip-toe for some proposal that would give it at least a chance of maintaining its position among the nations, the ardour with which it

* We learn with much satisfaction that the life and writings of William Paterson are shortly to be given to the public. Contrary to the general impression, there are ample materials for a full and satisfactory account of this remarkable Scotchman, whose career, though chequered, was one of devotion to the good of his country, and whose writings shed a strong light upon the history of British commerce and finance.

was received and entered into, is by no means to be wondered at. It offered the very advantages which were sought; it was far from being an impracticable scheme; and although it was borne on, as Mr. Burton remarks, by an intense feeling of nationality, the enthusiasm regarding it does not, we apprehend, at all reflect on the characteristic caution of Scotsmen. The act of the Scottish legislature conferring powers on the new company was clearly founded on the practicability, by a settlement on the Isthmus of Darien, of opening up a trade, which, though intended for the special benefit of Scotland in the first instance, was not to be restrictive in the sense in which the English trade then was so. The half of the subscribed capital could be owned by foreigners, or non-resident Scotsmen. The half of the subscription, open to England, was filled up with great rapidity; the English capitalists, excluded from the trade corporations, readily seized on an investment which promised them the means of speedily rivalling the more favoured merchants. In Scotland the prospects of the company were equally brilliant; but the jealousy of England was awakened. 'The Commons,' says Mr. Burton, 'were urged on to an immediate extermination of the upstart rival of English commerce.' The Lords were roused as rapidly, and by the same influences. The books of the company were seized, the directors declared guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, and it was resolved to impeach Lord Belhaven and other persons of note, whose names appeared on the subscription lists. This course of conduct may be regarded rather as a series of insults upon Scotland than as indicating any practically operative measures. The other means taken to destroy the company, however, were only too effectual; the English ambassadors were instructed to prejudice foreign governments against it, and the result was ruin and disaster to all who had engaged in the enterprise.

The whole history of this memorable attempt on the part of Scotland to work out a commercial position for herself is told by Mr. Burton with great clearness, force, and impartiality. The course adopted by England in regard to it was exceedingly discreditable, and it is a matter of marvel that no hasty outbreak of popular feeling resulted from it. The wrong inflicted sank deep, however, and it was keenly felt even at the time when the mutual animosities of the two kingdoms were supposed to be in a great measure extinguished.

It is evident that William saw the difficulties into which the circumstances connected with the failure of the Darien scheme, and the strong jealousy which had caused its ruin, were likely to plunge the country. He dreaded the consequences of the excitement awakened by a series of insults to a nation proud of its history, and not yet without the means of asserting its right to

conduct its own affairs. He obviously felt that injustice had been done to Scotland, and that the only thing which could avert an outbreak of national anger was the union of the two kingdoms, whose ancient animosity seemed to be once more revived. To the last his energies were directed to bring about this result, and at his death the question was left as a legacy to his successor, whose first speech to parliament contained an urgent injunction regarding it. Still the shallow views of self-interest predominated, and new difficulties were arising every day. Scotland had ceased in a great measure to look upon the union as at all desirable; but she was now determined to take a step which would prove her independent nationality to be something more than merely nominal; hence the passing of the 'Act of Security,' decreeing the crown of Scotland to be essentially separate from the sovereignty of England in the question of a successor to Queen Anne. This step was thoroughly a national one.

This measure, Mr. Burton tells us, was the object of a long and fierce parliamentary battle. 'Charges of corruption, tyranny, and bribery—denunciations of foreign domination and insult—and lamentations, rather ferocious than pitiful, about national degradation and slavery, crowded the debate. Ministers scarcely dared to speak, lest they should be considered the servants of their country's enemies; and when the Commissioner gave assurances in the hopes of mitigating the fervour of the House, he was scornfully asked if he had obtained the consent of the Lord Treasurer of England, so as to be really able to keep his word should the House accept it.' Fletcher of Saltoun shone conspicuously in these debates, and their excited character will not be wondered at, if the reader bear in mind the indignities to which the Scotch had only a short time before been subjected. The old spirit of strong independence had been aroused, for the liberties of the country had been threatened—nay assaulted; and it is no marvel, that when the English Commissioner refused his sanction to the Act of Security, those who had been most animated in the debate upon it, spoke of dying freemen rather than living as slaves, and of proclaiming their liberty with their swords.

The position thus taken by Scotland opened the eyes of the English parliament. It was now apparent that Scotland was not to be trifled with, and could not with safety be longer treated as a mere province or fief of the English crown. The parliament which had the boldness, as it unquestionably had the power, so far as the sympathy of the people was concerned, to pass the Act of Security, proved to be more than the form of an extinct national independence; and the English government was brought, through something not unlike fear, to see that the

union could alone prevent a decided expression of hostility, which might in time lead to a renewal of the old relations that had obtained between Scotland and France. It was now plain that there were other considerations of interest than those connected with the privileges of trade, and accordingly all real resistance on the part of England to the consummation of the union was at an end. Hitherto the Scotch had manifested nothing like anxiety for the formal union of their country with the sister kingdom; now there was in many quarters a decided opposition to it, and the matter was not brought to a conclusion without heart burnings and difficulties almost innumerable. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the narrative which Mr. Burton gives of the circumstances attending the passing of the Act of Union; it is a calm and impartial statement of facts, the value of which will, we think, be fully appreciated by every thoughtful reader.

When we consider the state of public feeling, immediately prior, and even up to the time of the passing of the act which united England and Scotland,—when we remember, moreover, that the people of the latter country had really no great reason to be sanguine about the advantages which would accrue to them from the union, but a great deal of injustice in their recollection, and, moreover, that a large element of disaffection existed among them in the Jacobite partisans, whose object it was to keep alive the sense of that injustice, it is matter of surprise that the treaty passed so easily. The union was certainly not popular; addresses against it were presented from almost every public body of any importance; riots were frequent in Edinburgh during the time the parliament of Scotland was in its last session, discussing the articles of the treaty, and obnoxious statesmen frequently made a narrow escape from serious injury. Nor were these disturbances confined to the capital city; in Glasgow there were formidable riots; in Dumfries the articles of union were publicly burnt; and Mr. Burton informs us that a plan was actually concocted for a rising in the south, and a combination of the Cameronians with their old enemies the Highlanders; while both in and out of parliament strong opposition was manifested to it. The act, ratifying the union passed, however, by one hundred and ten to sixty-nine votes.

It is, and will ever be, perhaps, a matter of uncertainty whether the Scottish nobles were bribed, as has often been alleged, to forward the union. Certain it is that an advance was made by the English treasury to that of Scotland, but whether by way of loan, as arrear of salaries, or for the purpose alleged by Lockhart in his 'Memoirs,' has never been clearly ascertained. Mr. Burton doubts the evidence of corruption; but there is no question that *money was clandestinely transferred from*

England to Scotland, and kept out of the usual official channels—a fact calculated at the very least to excite suspicion. There was nothing either in the character of some of the men, or in the character of the age, to make the charge of corruption improbable; at the same time it seems pretty evident that Lockhart's minute and circumstantial statement of the sums for which each conscience was sold, is little to be relied on. Mr. Burton shows that some of the noblemen, who were said to have received these sums, gave the union a most uncompromising opposition; while others were not members of parliament at all, nor yet possessed of any great political influence.

We cannot but think that our author's general reflections on the union of the two kingdoms are such as will commend themselves to the approbation of every unprejudiced reader. To those who erroneously maintain that the interests of Scotland were sacrificed, or that she had not to a great extent, if not altogether, the making of her own terms, it is perhaps enough to say that she had the framing and adjusting of the treaty on the very terms in which it was finally adopted. Upon the whole, the great event was consummated in circumstances calculated to afford the hope of good results, notwithstanding the storms by which it was attended. At the same time, as Mr. Burton well remarks (p. 522), 'it was too little remembered in Scotland, and wholly overlooked in England, that in the Highland tribes, the Scotch brought with them into the new empire a people separated from themselves by a shadowy line, yet as different from all other inhabitants of the island in habits, opinions, language, costume, and almost every other emblem of national character, as if they had been found on the African shores of the Mediterranean, or on the slopes of the Himalayas.' How much the United Kingdom suffered from ignorant neglect of this peculiar people we shall hereafter see; but the reference to them naturally introduces the remark that many of the calamities following the union had much encouragement, if they did not spring, from that haughty English nature, which would not condescend to sympathize with, or even know, the peculiarities of their new fellow countrymen. There is no doubt that the Scotch had much to complain of in the mode in which the changes incident to the union were effected. On this subject, Mr. Burton remarks—

'In all secondary matters, it should have been the policy of Britain to have done as little as possible to remind Scotland that she was now in the hands of strangers. The great service which a central government, uniting several interests and conflicting elements, can accomplish for its various parts, is to save them from the tyranny of local majorities and the selfishness of provincial interests. In these shapes the central government has, in later times, ever exercised a beneficial

influence over Scotland, and has begun to extend this beneficent function to Ireland. It is a function, however, which is best exercised when it appears least conspicuously to emanate from the stranger. It might have been accomplished by quiet checks and skilful adjustments of the balance of parties, while, save in this beneficent, but unobtrusive influence over them, the management of affairs should have borne as close a resemblance as possible to what it would have been had Scotland retained her own legislature. Unfortunately, whether from want of true statesmanship or the trying influence of a time when men were occupied in throwing desperate stakes for large prizes, the policy adopted towards Scotland was far different from this soothing and correcting character. In almost every one of the changes enumerated, the offensive act was offensively done, and the country was ever reminded that she was in the hands of ungenial and uninterested, if not hostile strangers.'—pp. 80, 81.

Having thus far followed Mr. Burton in his narrative, remarking on his treatment of the more important subjects embodied in it, we should give but a very imperfect account of a book professing to be a history of so eventful a period, did we not touch upon its religious and ecclesiastical features. It is in this department that we should most readily expect to find the author's general moral conceptions of his subject: for the ecclesiastical history of the period immediately following the Revolution settlement is both curious and instructive. The religious struggles of the time, however, are here regarded only externally, as mere matters of history, things in which the writer has no personal interest whatever. It has cost him little effort, we believe, to write about them with an appearance of impartiality; nevertheless, it is not difficult to guess what his own ideas are. In order to get at them we have only to turn to his first chapter, in which the position taken by the Western Covenanters is clearly defined. The characteristics and doings of the Cameronians are brought very amply before us—in fact they are almost the only class of profoundly religious men in whom Mr. Burton recognises any superior qualities, and these he finds to have been chiefly developed in their mode of dealing with civil matters. Their defence of Dunkeld is one of the most animated episodes in his book; and he refers in touching terms to their heroism at Steinkirk; but their intolerance is an insuperable barrier to his considering them as entitled to admiration, and their religious zeal is, in his eyes, nothing but fanaticism. His descriptions of the revivals in subsequent years have as strong a dash of the ridiculous as he could well give them; and, generally speaking, he leads us to infer that the several secessions from the church were caused more by a rigid adherence to an impracticable theory, and to a hatred of toleration, than by a desire to preserve purity of discipline and to avoid the evils of State-Churchism. With his plain

narrative of ecclesiastical events we have little or no fault to find; but the *tone* of his deductions is often objectionable. We are quite at one with him as to the impracticable character of the opinions held by those who could tolerate nothing either in the government of the state, or the settlement of the church, unless it came under the auspices of the covenant. It is obvious to us that the antipathy to toleration manifested by the more rigid of the Presbyterians tended often to bitterness and strife: but we have yet to learn that it did not also tend to check the growth of a latitudinarian spirit, and to preserve a large portion of the church from the evils of state control. Even though we might be prepared to admit that the adherence to the covenant proved as great a stumbling block as its first imposition in the form of a binding force, Mr. Burton ought to have considered the position in which the secessions from the church were placed, and the character of the church at the time when those secessions occurred. Instead of this, however, he seems to be of opinion that dissent in Scotland arose from little else than a disposition to lag behind the age; and he even goes out of his way to institute a comparison between it and English nonconformity, which certainly does not impress us with a very favourable opinion of his information on this branch of the subject. There can be little doubt that the seceders, properly so called, fell into a good many mistakes. These resulted in a great measure from the circumstances in which they were placed, and from the strong opinions they held relative to the duties of the state; but they were also the result of a high idea of the Christian ministry, and, as Mr. Burton has shown in the following passage, of their unworldly simplicity:—

‘They evidently acted from the beginning on simple, honest impulse, without guile or reliance on the arm of the flesh. They made no arrangement for their own maintenance as a clerical body. And, what seems more remarkable, they organized no system, and made no serious effort to bring forth the great body in the church who certainly thought with them. The numbers on their side were shown, not only by the continued increase of their own body, but by the formation, a few years afterwards, of the Relief Church, for receiving those members of the establishment who, like them, felt aggrieved by the policy then ruling its conduct. Peculiar circumstances prevent the dissentient element from spontaneously separating from the establishment in a compact mass. In the southern counties, touching the abode of the Cameronians, there was a preponderance of clergy who always approached their primitive covenanting spirit. But it was exactly their preponderance that prevented them, by having matters in their local courts their own way, from feeling the grievances of those who in the middle and northern districts held the same views. Thus the secession came out from that part of the church where locally its principles were weakest.’—pp. 337, 338.

Our space does not permit our entering on the chapter which Mr. Burton devotes to the consideration of the elements of discord in the episcopal church in Scotland. He shows very plainly the difference, in a political aspect, between *nonjurancy* among the Scottish episcopalians and those in England, and enters minutely into the circumstances connected with the intrigues of the former—for such they must be called—in favour of Jacobitism.

We now turn to glance at what may be considered, next to the narrative of the negotiations respecting the Union, the most important part of the work before us,—the history of the struggles made by the Jacobites to overturn the work of the Revolution, and accomplish the restoration of the Stuarts. We have seen that the union of the two kingdoms was not effected without considerable difficulty; and that while popular feeling, strong rather than enlightened, perhaps, had manifested itself repeatedly in direct opposition to that event, there was still a large party in Scotland who regarded it in a different light from that in which it was viewed by those who opposed it on the ground of national feeling. Although the death of Viscount Dundee on the field of Killiecrankie, and the subsequent destruction, for the time, at least, of the military resources of Jacobitism, had shattered the hopes of those who adhered to the exiled Stuarts, the expectations of a favourable turn of events still held them together, not only as a political party, but as a powerful element of disaffection. A correspondence with the royal family in France was regularly kept up; plots were frequently brought to light, and still more frequently suspected; while the Highlanders, maintaining their attachment to the old dynasty, as well as to the customs and habits of life which the government had to some extent interfered with, constituted a compact and reliable force, to which the Jacobites could at all times look. When the question of the Union was brought directly before the Scottish Parliament, the partisans of the Stuarts saw that the time for energetic measures had come. When Scotland ceased to have separate objects keeping her in dispute with England, one of the best chances of a restoration was gone, and accordingly every effort was made to excite public feeling, by reviving the recollection of past grievances, and magnifying those which were still felt, by showing that an incorporating union with England was simply submission, and by strong appeals to self-interest, founded on the exclusive character of the English laws of commerce. In parliament the Jacobites were but poorly represented by the Duke of Hamilton; but their objects were very directly favoured by the strong opposition of the national party, led on by Fletcher of Saltoun and Breadalbane. The Act of Union had passed, however; and although manifestations of disaffection were frequent during the

few years after the changes incident to it had come into operation, Jacobitism became gradually more feeble. At the accession of George I. matters took a sudden and unexpected turn. The Earl of Mar, notwithstanding his protestations of loyalty, was dismissed from the office of Secretary of State for Scotland, and it was very soon obvious that the new king was not likely to pursue a conciliatory policy. The great gathering of the clans at Mar's invitation, ostensibly for a hunting match, but evidently for a pre-arranged political purpose, revived the spirit of Jacobitism, and, a few days after, the standard of insurrection was raised at Braemar. While matters had suddenly proceeded thus far in the north, the presbyterian spirit in the south was aroused, and the Duke of Argyle—one whose memory will long be honoured in Scotland—was appointed general of the army to be embodied against the insurgents. Mar's army, though it certainly contained the strength of the Highlands, and was reinforced by large contributions from the Lowlands, and from England, where the Jacobite feeling had also been aroused, was never in a thoroughly efficient condition. It was 'divided by the variety of counsels,' and the signal defeat sustained from Argyle in the battle of Sheriffmuir gave a strong impulse to the incipient discontents and divisions in the rebel camp. The clans were beginning to disperse, when the Chevalier, with only six followers, landed on the northern shores of Scotland. This event, which was expected to revive the drooping cause, had a totally opposite effect. The rebellion may be said to have ended with the battle of Sheriffmuir.

Mr. Burton's narrative of the incidents connected with this important part of the history is full of interest, and often very spirited. He has little sympathy with Jacobitism, and his picture of the Chevalier, as he appeared in the camp of the Earl of Mar at Perth, is written in his most felicitous style. He says—

'He graciously desired to see the little kings of the Highlands, with their armies; and on their exhibiting some portions of the Highland exercise and discipline, he was pleased to bestow on them his royal commendation. But the approval was by no means reciprocal. The Highlanders were strangers to those subtle principles of apostolic or divine right, of which the theoretical purity was held rather to be confirmed than weakened by the wretchedness of the physical medium through which it might happen to pass. They had ever been accustomed to associate greatness and authority with the immediate means of employing them, and especially with physical strength and the indications of courage and determination. Their legends reminded them of instances where decrepit or timid chiefs had to be deposed, and to be replaced by hardy, daring kingsmen, who could effectually lead the clan. And when they saw in the great chief of all their chiefs, the never robust frame shaken by dissipation, the feeble lazy eye, the sallow

cheek, the imbecile smile, and the listless movements, the vision of such a descendant of the heroic race of Stewart fell upon them with the coldness of despair.'—pp. 198, 199.

It could scarcely be expected that the personal influence of so contemptible a being as is here described could have any effect in repairing a broken enterprise. The Rebellion of 1715 was from the very first in bad hands. The treachery of Mar to the interests of the Stuarts, as well as to the Hanoverian family, cannot be doubted; and if we except a few of those—such as Derwentwater, Kenmure, and Nithsdale—who expiated their fault on the scaffold or in exile, there was no moral strength among the Jacobite leaders. This insurrection, however, led very directly to that of 'the '45;' for the severities exercised on those implicated in it had little effect in crushing the Jacobite spirit, if they did not, indeed, foster it. The Highland families were reduced, in many instances, to the most abject poverty; but still retaining their pride, they were in the position of men who had all to gain in a desperate adventure, and nothing but their lives to lose. Nor were disturbing elements wanting in the Lowlands, where the new revenue system gave rise to incessant jarrings between the government and the people; while the extensive smuggling, which resulted from the strong antipathy to it, encouraged a lawless and reckless mode of life. The social state of Scotland just before the last Jacobite outbreak was extremely deplorable. The good effects of the Union had scarcely begun to be developed: for the changes which it brought into operation were then far from being agreeable to the majority of the people. Beneficial as most of them ultimately proved, they were regarded in the light of unwarrantable interferences with the established usages of the nation, and, as such, they were frequently opposed. So strongly were they felt, indeed, that, not long before Mar's rebellion, a motion was actually made in parliament for the repeal of the Union, and lost by a majority of only three, on the proxies. The power exercised by the Lords of Regality, a feudal jurisdiction unfortunately reserved by the treaty of Union, was another fruitful source of grievances in many parts of the country; and the reader, unacquainted with the social history of the period, may be surprised to learn that *slavery, even as absolute as that which we deplore among our transatlantic cousins, existed in many parts of Scotland at the time of which we write.* Some classes of workmen were actually predial slaves; while the law, as regarded engagements between masters and servants, was so absolute and tyrannical, that the only recourse of the latter was in flight. Advertisements, offering rewards for runaway servants, were nearly as common in Scotland at that age as those respecting fugitive slaves are in America.

now. The kidnapping of slaves for the plantations, extensively practised by the Highland chiefs and others, was a still worse feature of the social state of the country. Mr. Burton informs us—and our own reading enables us to corroborate his statement—that ‘a foul combination was sometimes made between the feudal landlord, judges, and the corporate authorities in seaport towns for the kidnapping of healthy, strong young peasants, to be sent as slaves to the plantations.’ This infamous traffic terminated when the hereditary jurisdictions were abolished. Had these been put an end to at the Union, such a traffic would never have existed.

Fostered alike by the irritation arising from the changes incident to the Union, and by the relics of the old social system which it had left, Jacobitism, either in sentiment or in principle, was still powerful in Scotland. In England it may be said to have animated only a parliamentary party. When the rebels marched to Derby, in 1745, the English Jacobites were effectually intimidated by the formidable thing they had helped to call into existence.

‘In Scotland,’ says Mr. Burton, ‘it was very different. The Union had failed in accomplishing a complete fusion of the two peoples. The predictions of those who anticipated tyranny and insult from the strong country toward the weak had too much the appearance of fulfilment. . . While smarting under such inflictions, the people gave themselves to sentiment and romance, and bethought them if their old line of sovereigns, whom they had so relentlessly discarded, might not have stood by them in these their trials? The persecution of the Covenanters, and the inquisitorial tyranny of the Privy Council, had migrated with an indistinct back ground of past history, and were overshadowed by the grievances of heavy taxation and national insults present and palpable. Much had been heard of the high spirit and gallant bearing of that youth on whom would have descended a crown fondly believed to be the most ancient in Europe, and to have passed through a line of monarchs unexampled in length and continuity. The few gallant and devoted men of the first blood in the land, who had already sacrificed themselves for his cause in self-imposed exile, called out the respectful sympathy of a people who love rank and admire generosity. They knew not the petty trickery and caballing in that court where people acted the game of king and ministers; and the thought of the exiles who had cast in their lot with him whom they deemed their rightful sovereign, exhibited a single-hearted purity of devotion well contrasted with the selfish and often false dependents of the Hanoverian Court. Popular literature had long befriended the cause. All these attributes calling forth pity, sympathy, and admiration, were directed by this potent agency towards illustrious birth, high rank, endurance, generosity, and heroism, and took a hold on the imagination, with which the utilitarian principles that dictated the parliamentary settlement could in vain compete. The finest of these old airs, simple, but sweet

and plaintive, which called forth the admiration of Dryden, became allied with 'The Auld Stuarts back again,' and the restoration on the legitimate head of Scotland's independent crown. It will yet be some time ere the race die out in Scotland, who have felt a little of the romance of Jacobitism—who remember from the nursery the sweet sadness of the ballads that spoke of the young prince's heroism and his royal line, embodied the wailings of those who had left their best and bravest on fatal Drummoissie Muir, and swelled in triumphant prophecy that for all that had passed a brilliant day was coming, and his adorers would behold their idol again.'—pp. 416, 417.

We must pass over Mr. Burton's account of the last Jacobite rebellion, which is written with great perspicuity and vigour. Suffice it to say that, dearly as the deliverance was purchased, Scotland, freed in a great measure from the irritation kept up by the intriguing partisans of the exiled Stuarts, began to make considerable progress in realizing the benefits of her union with the sister country. The course of legislation, adopted after the rebellion, contributed in some measure to remove the barriers to social progress; but the marked improvement in the condition of the people must be mainly attributed to the springing up of a new generation, among whom new tendencies prevailed, and by whom national prejudices were, to some extent, forgotten.

Mr. Burton closes his history of the eventful period, to which we have briefly referred, with a succinct summary of the legislative changes effected in 1746, 7, and 8, and a chapter on the Condition of Literature and Art in Scotland during the Century following the Revolution. These it is scarcely necessary to examine: they afford but little that can be of interest, after the events we have been reviewing.

ART. II.—*A Naturalist's Rambles on the Devonshire Coast.* By Philip Henry Gosse, A.L.S., &c. Post 8vo. pp. 451. London: J. Van Voorst.

THIS is a delightful specimen of a very charming class of books which are becoming every year more and more common amongst us. The increasing popularity of illustrated works on natural history is a cheering sign of the healthy tone of the public mind, and of the strong love for pure and simple intellectual enjoyment which, we believe, in spite of all the utilitarianism of the age, is growing up around us. We look on these works as doing much more than merely extending the bounds of natural science, and giving delight to the present race of naturalists.

We consider them as preparing, for that vast field of intelligence which national education is on the point of breaking up and bringing into cultivation, the seed-corn with which the new soil will, we trust, be largely sown, to grow up and fructify in the minds of millions into harvests of pure and rational delight. If the increased national intelligence for which we are so earnestly looking is only to find an outlet in municipal disputes, or in the details of a hard, political, or mechanical philosophy, our gain, we suspect, will be a very questionable one, for we cannot agree with Mr. Cobden that the newspaper (at least as newspapers are now) is the best working man's encyclopædia. And yet in what else can the awakened intellect of our working millions exert itself save in such questions, hitherto too often conducted in the dram-shop, and leading to disaffection?

Besides taking his share in the discussion of the great social and political questions of the day, the working man wants some other occupation for his hours of recreation, and nowhere is there for him so suitable a field, or one in which he can expatiate so freely as in the ample and delightful domain of natural science. The occupation he requires is one which, while it satisfies the mental appetite, should conduce to the bodily health; it should be cheap, accessible, and as much as possible out of doors.

Among our working men, once possessed of a good elementary education, will probably by-and-by arise some of our best naturalists. Look at that extraordinary book, 'The Old Red Sandstone,' and see what a Scottish quarryman can do! Truly a wonderful book, elevating its author, in our judgment, to the rank among Scottish geologists which Robert Burns bears in Scottish song. Give our English artizans an education such as is secured for the Scottish peasant, and we shall soon see the boundaries of natural knowledge immensely extended,—not only from the increased number of observers of nature which we shall thus obtain, but partly, too, from the *superior* character and training of some of these observers. By the discipline of his daily toil the intelligent working man is educated to habits of patience, and has learned to be content with accumulating results by slow degrees. These are invaluable qualities for the minute observer of nature; and it is probable that the want of these qualities has, more than any other circumstance, kept back inquiring and active minds from the study of natural science. Impatience of detail, and of steady, patient, plodding attention, is fatal to the success of a student in any of the sciences based on observation; and we cannot but think that the training of an intelligent artizan is at least as well fitted for a field naturalist as that of a student of literature or philosophy.

For the purpose in view, such branches of natural science as

the working man and tradesman can pursue will have to be more and more popularised. Not that their facts are to be less elaborately recorded or severely classified,—not by any means that we would wish to see an educated artizan class ‘playing at science,’ but that by making the terms intelligible, by giving English names to things now too often clothed in pedantic gibberish, and by furnishing elementary treatises amply illustrated (which the calotype and progress of engraving bid fair to enable us to do), we should remove out of the way of the working man most of the obstacles which obstruct the paths of science, and smooth the way for him to its higher elevations.

When such men as Dr. Lindley and Professor Airey can advocate the popularizing of the sciences in which they are so distinguished, to urge it for the sake of the working man cannot be ascribed to any want of reverence for the ‘dignity’ or ‘learning’ with which science has been hitherto invested. We have not, however, space here to dwell further upon this idea; but we believe a mighty change will be wrought, by the general education of the people, in the depositaries of scientific knowledge,—that the number of readers and of students of such works as this of Mr. Gosse (divested of a few technicalities), will be very greatly enlarged,—that a new and ample field for enterprize among the publishers of similar works will be opened up, and that in the illimitable domain of natural history are provided for an educated nation, in endless scope and variety, fields adapted to the tastes of each, and the faculties and powers of all, wherein, while extending the bounds of science, and furnishing fresh illustrations of the infinite goodness of the Creator, they may be cultivating for themselves health, virtue, and happiness.

This book is the record of the thoughts and feelings which occupied the author during a nine months’ residence on the charming shores of North and South Devon. Though an excellent guide to the sea-shore naturalist, it is by no means a book of systematic zoology, a fault which the unbounded love most readers feel for Gilbert White’s ‘Natural History of Selbourne’ would seem to prove to be to the mass of readers one of the highest possible recommendations. Along with many elaborate and admirable descriptions of the anatomy and physiology of creatures little known to the naturalist who has not made this specialty his study, and some curious and novel views respecting ‘the alternation of generations, the embryology and development of the zoophytes, and the nature and function of their special organs,’ along with these we have, to use the author’s words, ‘personal narrative, local anecdote, and traditionary legend, and, in short, anything and everything that having conveyed pleasure and interest to myself, I thought might entertain and please my reader.’

The reader is not desired to stand incessantly over the microscope, or watch continually the 'sea-change' which comes over the objects of his scientific inquiry.

'I venture to ask your companionship,' the author says, 'courteous reader, in my rambles over field and down in the fresh dewy morning; I ask you to listen with me to the carol of the lark and the hum of the wild bee; I ask you to stand with me at the edge of the precipice, and mark the glories of the setting sun; to watch with me the mantling tide as it rolls inward, and roars among the hollow caves; I ask you to share with me the delightful emotions which the contemplation of unbounded beauty and beneficence ever calls up in the cultivated mind.'—p. 6.

And so with 'a heart that watches and receives' we trust many a reader will set forth with our author, and return from his pleasant companionship a confirmed enthusiast in natural history. We wish our most constant reader no more agreeable and well-informed guide than Mr. Gosse in his rambles along the sea-shore. For he is one of that order of naturalists, largely, we believe (notwithstanding the asserted scepticism of the age), increasing in this country, 'who look through Nature up to Nature's God,' one of those who is not content with the mere dilettantism of science, who does not rest satisfied with a delicate dissection, or research into the physiology, or familiarity with the habits and contrivances of the creatures which are the object of his study, but who feels through all—

'A sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.'

Mr. Gosse has a happy faculty of finding apt comparisons, in homely and familiar objects, to things that are rare, or perhaps observed by himself for the first time, a faculty exceedingly valuable to a naturalist, and especially to a littoral and microscopic observer of nature.

For example, after an elaborate and beautiful description of our native madrepora, he says, in a note, 'A singularly good representation of a highly-coloured specimen of our madrepora may be obtained by cutting across a ripe strawberry of moderate size. The mouth, with its painted margin, the Vandyke circle of flesh colour, and even the radiating white plates, are all there with felicitous *vraisemblance*.' (p. 114, note.)

And again, in describing the painted scallop (*Pecten oper-*

cularis), and speaking of the row of brilliant gemmules supposed to be the eyes, 'a row of minute circular points, of high refractive power, possessing all the brilliancy of precious stones, looking, indeed, like diamonds of the first water, each set in a ring or socket of black substance, which greatly enhances their beauty,' he takes the following homely and happy illustration:—'Those who are familiar with the pincushions so frequently made between the valves of those very scallop shells can hardly fail to be struck with the resemblance by the living animal to its homely but useful substitute; and the beautiful eyes themselves might be readily mistaken for two rows of diamond-headed pins, carefully and regularly stuck along the two edges of the pincushion.' (p. 49)

So, also, describing the lovely daisy anemone (*actinia bellis*), he paints in a very graphic way the distinction between this and other anemones of the sea-shore (of which latter the disk is merely the end of a short thick columnar body), by saying, of *bellis*, 'Its form, viewed externally, is that of a shallow cup, but its surface is in general almost flat, or a very little depressed to the centre. *The whole bears a likeness closer than usual to a flower with a footstalk.*' (p. 28.)

And again, after a portrait of our smallest native pipe-fish (*Syngnathus lumbriciformis*), painted with all the delicacy, accuracy, and finish of an exquisite miniature, he concludes thus: 'In captivity the manners of this pretty little fish are amusing and engaging. Its beautiful eyes move independently of each other, which gives a most curious effect as you watch its little face through a lens; one eye being directed towards your face, with a quick glance of apparent intelligence, while the other is either at rest, or thrown hither and thither at various other objects. *I was strongly reminded of that strange reptile, the chameleon.*' (p. 180.)

And to conclude the examples of the graphic comparisons of our author, than which for the purpose of popularizing natural science none is more valuable to a writer, we quote the following laughable and forcible illustration of 'the spiral polypidoms of *Cellularia avicularia*, one of the most curious of our native zoophytes. 'The specimens are particularly fine; the cells tenanted with healthy polypes in great numbers, protruding their crystal stars of tentacles, and covered with scores of birds' heads, nodding to and fro their bald heads like so many old men sleeping at church, and opening and shutting their frightfully gaping jaws like snapping turtles.' (p. 205.) Lest any timid reader may be deterred from making acquaintance with these monsters, we may reassure him or her by remarking that all these sleeping old men and snapping turtles, besides a vast variety of sponges, corals, sea-weeds, and myriads of other plants and plant animals,

were contained on a small fragment of rock, 'scarcely bigger than a penny piece,' whose multitudinous inhabitants and wide domain of vegetable life are revealed by the microscope.

We cannot refrain from quoting a sentence or two (quite as characteristic of our author, as the happy power of illustration referred to) with which he concludes his cursory survey of the world contained in the surface of his fragment of rock:—

“What a vast amount of happiness we here get a glimpse of! For life, the mere exercise of functions in health, and in suitable circumstances and conditions,—the circumstances and conditions, I mean, for which the creatures themselves are fitted,—is undoubtedly enjoyment, probably of as high a nature as the inferior animals are capable of receiving. We need not, then, ask for what purpose God has made so great a variety of creatures of no apparent benefit to man. Is it not an end worthy of a Being infinitely wise and good, that he has stocked every nook and corner of his world, even to overflowing, with sentient existences, capable of pleasure, and actually enjoying it to the full, hour by hour, and day by day?”—p. 207.

Whether we can follow our author as cordially in the boundless benevolence of his hopes respecting the future destiny of pipe fishes and medusæ, as in the above reply to that conceit and almost inconceivable narrowness of soul which is continually wondering why God created things of no apparent use *to man*, we cannot very well say; infinitely better, however, is his kindly creed, than others, which in some ears sound more orthodox. ‘We may suppose that at least the invertebrate portions of the animal creation suffer their share of the fall rather corporately than individually, rather nominally, in dignity, than consciously, in pain and want,’ and ‘when creation shall be more than reinstated in primal honour’ Mr. Gosse hopes that ‘even these low-born atoms of almost unseen and unsuspected life, shall in some way or other get an augmentation of happiness, and thus take their humble share in the blessing of the redeemed inheritance.’

Thus even the microscopic naturalist finds his sympathies extend through the creatures with whom he becomes familiar, to what we call the verge of creation, and he embraces all animate nature, with a sentiment such as that we call superstition in the Indian—

‘Who thinks, translated to his native sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company.’

We are sorry not to be able to quote some of the artistic anatomical sketches which Mr. Gosse gives, especially of the *actiniæ* and other zoophytes; his remarks on the embryology of a medusoid (p. 89), and his views and observations on the special organs of this obscure class of creatures. One or two of his sea views, too, painted with a Turner’s effect and a Turner’s eye for light in

the points of the scene, we should have liked to give, but can only refer our reader to the work itself, and content ourselves with a quotation or two about Rock-pools.

That Mr. Gosse is an enthusiastic workman the following paragraphs testify. 'What a delight it is to scramble among the rough rocks that gird this stern iron-bound coast (Ilfracombe), and peer into one after another of the thousand tide-pools that lie in their cavities!' (p. 186.) In these rock-pools our author luxuriates beyond measure:—

'Leaving the shell collectors, I strolled down the long narrow inlet, of which the shell beach was the head, towards the tide-pools at the water's edge. It was a long way down the cove, which resembles a narrow lane, bounded by high walls of sharp and rugged rock; and as I walked down, I perceived that the accumulated shells were found only at high-water mark; below this there was nothing but soft yellow sand to the edge of the sea.

'The black and rough bounding rocks, however, enclosed in their hollows many pools, some of which were of large dimensions. Those near the water's edge were generally deep, narrow, wall-sided, and dark; all of which qualities made them excellent exploring ground for a naturalist. Their steepness and depth rendering them difficult of examination from without, *I stripped and jumped in*, the weather being warm, and worked away with my hammer and chisel, as long as I dared, in water breast-high.'

Recollecting that Mr. Gosse was an invalid, one must congratulate him on being out of sight of the doctor in such predicaments as the preceding and the following:—

'I searched some time without success for the coral, and had begun to despair of finding it, for the tide was almost at its lowest, when suddenly I caught sight of one' (it is the madrepora he is in search of) 'projecting from the under surface of one of the slanting ridges of rock. The water would not allow me to reach it with any hope of detaching it uninjured, but presently I peeped into a small cavern formed by large masses of the rock piled one against another, in which there were nearly a score of them. By a little manœuvring I managed to squeeze my body between the stones, so as to work with the chisel, disregardful of the water that covered my feet below, and of the coating of mud, the slimy zoophytes and sponges that adhered to the overhanging rock above me.'—p. 186.

We have looked through his numerous descriptions of 'rock-pools,' in order to lay the most pleasing before the reader, and choose that of 'Oddicombe Rock Pool' (p. 54.)

'I took another look at my pretty little rock basin at Oddicombe. It is a deep oval cup-like cavity, about a yard wide in its longest diameter, and of the same depth, hewn out, as it were, from the solid limestone, with as clear a surface as if a stone-mason had been at work there. It is always, of course, full of water, and except when a heavy

sea is rolling in, of brilliant clearness. All round the margin are growing tufts of the common coralline, forming a whitish bushy fringe, reaching from the edge to about six inches down; a few plants of the bladder *fucus* are scattered around and above the brim; and the arching fronds of the sweet *laminaria* hang down nearly to the bottom, closely resembling, except in their deep brown hue, the hartstongue fern, that so profusely adorns the sides of our green lanes. Below the coralline level are a few small red sea-weeds, as *rhodymenia palmata*, and the black purple *chondrus crispus*, growing in fine tufts, reflecting a rich steel blue iridescence. But all the lower parts of the sides and the bottom are almost free from sea-weeds, with the exception of a small *ulva* or two, and a few incrusting patches of the coralline-base not yet shot up into branches, but resembling smooth pink lichens. The smooth surface of the rock in these lower parts is quite clean, so that there is nothing to intercept the sight of the *actiniae*, that project from the hollows, and spread out their broad circular disks like flat blossoms, adhering to the face of the interior. There are many of them, all of the species *actinia bellis*, and all of the dark chocolate variety, streaked with scarlet; and they are fine in the ratio of the depth at which they live; one at the very bottom is fully three inches in diameter.

‘There is something exceedingly charming in such a natural *vivarium* as this. When I go down on my knees upon the rocky margin, and bring my face nearly close to the water, the whole interior is distinctly visible. The various forms and beautiful tints of the sea-weeds, especially the purple flush of the *chondrus*, are well worthy of admiration, and I can see the little shrimps and other crustacea busily swimming from weed to weed, or pursuing their instinctive occupations among the fronds and branches, an ample forest of them. Tiny fishes, of the Blenny genus, are also hiding under the shadow of the tufts, and occasionally darting out with quivering tail; and one or two brittlestars are deliberately crawling about, by means of their five long and flexible arms, in a manner that seems a ludicrous caricature of a man climbing up by his hands and feet—only you must suppose an additional arm growing from the top of his head. The variety of their colours, and the singular but always elegant patterns in which they are arranged, render these little star-fishes attractive.

‘Such a calm, clear little well as this among the rugged rocks, stored with animal and vegetable life, is an object well calculated to attract a poet’s fancy.’—p. 56.

The following description must have been drawn from just such a rock-pool, and most true to nature it is:—

‘In hollows of the tide worn reef,
Left at low water glistening in the sun,
Pellucid pools and rocks in miniature,
With their small fry of fishes, crusted shells,
Rich mosses, tree like sea-weed, sparkling pebbles,
Enchant the eye, and tempt the eager hand
To violate the fairy paradise.’ JAMES MONTGOMERY.

In another larger rock-pool, 'about twenty-five feet long and eight or ten wide, quite over-shadowed by the rock; in a sort of cavern of which it lies,' in this rock-pool, all fringed with seaweeds, and furnished with the rich brown fronds of the great oar weeds and tangles, swinging slowly, or lying motionless, in the glassy wave,—in this large pool,

'Large prawns swim at freedom, and a very pleasing sight it is to watch them as they glide gracefully and equally along. The tail-fans are widely dilated, rendering conspicuous the contrasted colours with which they are painted; the jaws are expanded, the feet hanging loosely beneath. Now one rises to the surface almost perpendicularly, then glides down towards the bottom, sweeping up again in a graceful curve. Now he examines the weeds, then shoots under the dark angles of the rock: as he comes up towards me, I stretch out my hand over the water; in an instant he shoots backwards a foot or so; then catching hold of a weed with his feet, and straddling its vertical edge, he remains motionless, gazing up at me with his large prominent eyes, as if in the utmost astonishment.'—p. 39.

Then follows a graphic and elaborate description of the prawn, which, pretty as he is on a plate of white china at the tea table, is, as Mr. Gosse says, 'far more beautiful when just netted from the bottom, or from the overhanging weed-grown side of some dark pool.'

With a reference to a plan for marine *vivaria*, respecting which Mr. Gosse has had much experience, we shall cut short our quotations from this delightful book. The plates, of which there are twenty-eight, twelve of them printed in colours, comprise two hundred and forty figures of animals or parts of animals,—many of them drawn from microscopic observation: the whole, as well as the letter-press and general aspect of the volume, presenting the usual creditable appearance of the volumes which issue from the press of Mr. Van Voorst.

'The following facts may be considered as established:—Marine animals and plants may be kept in health in glass vases of sea-water for a period of greater or less time, according to circumstances, provided they be exposed to the influence of light. The oxygen given off by healthy vegetation under this stimulus is sufficient for the support of a moderate amount of animal life, and this amount can be readily ascertained by experiment. . . . Should any of my readers wish to see these experiments in operation, or to cultivate a personal acquaintance with many of the *individual specimens* whose history has been recorded in the preceding pages, they may do both by visiting the Zoological Gardens in the Regent's-park. The able and zealous Secretary, D. W. Mitchell, Esq., has already set up one large glass tank, filled with sea-water, stocked with marine plants and animals, so as to resemble one of those charming tide pools so often mentioned in these pages, with the advantage of having its sides formed of plate glass, and

its whole contents therefore clearly visible. . . . All who have seen this aquarium concur in considering it a most attractive exhibition; and it is fairly anticipated that, when seven other tanks of equal dimensions are added to the one already stocked, and containing some of the numerous tribes of marine creatures (a result which we hope to accomplish in the course of a few months), the whole will form one of the most unique and interesting features of these gardens.

‘But my attention has been directed to the realization of a marine aquarium for the parlour or conservatory. An apparatus for this purpose has been for some time in the manufacturer’s hands; and though there are some minor difficulties attendant on the mechanical part of the execution, they are not such as to throw any doubt on my confident expectation, that in a short time an elegant vase, stocked with algæ and sea-anemones, and comprising within itself the elements of its constant self-purification, will be before the world.’

And now, the reader who may, for the first time, have had his attention drawn to the world of wonder, contrivance, and beauty, which lies along the hitherto undiscovered shores of the ocean of England, will find an additional reason to love and to haunt the bays and beaches, gemmed with clear rock pools, and fringed with foam-bells, which girdle his native land. He will feel as we all feel on discovering a new virtue in an old friend. He will perceive that a new charm is added to the old poetic ocean in this wonder world, over which his tides trample twice with every revolution of the sun; and the charm will be the more delightful from the infinite delicacy, fragility, and beauty of the tiny creatures which thus play securely beneath his awful feet. Ideas of the vast and the minute, of the irresistible and the helpless, the sense of the sublime which springs from the unity and grandeur of the great sea and that which arises from the infinitely little and countless multitudinous creatures that people every weed and stone, are all, he feels, present on the shores of his native ocean, which is thus endeared to him the more. In an additional sense to that of the poet, he feels that the sea is ‘a glorious mirror, where the Almighty’s form glasses itself,’ and a new meaning is given to the magnificent stanza whence that expression is drawn:—

‘Thou glorious mirror! where the Almighty’s form
Glasses itself in tempests; in all time
Calm or convulsed—in breeze, or gale, or storm,
Icing the pole, or in the torrid clime
Dark-heaving; boundless, endless, and sublime—
The image of Eternity—the throne
Of the Invisible; even from out thy slime
The monsters of the deep are made; each zone
Obeys thee; thou goest forth, dread, fathomless, alone.’

- ART III.—*Theologischer Commentar zum Alten Testament.* Von M. Baumgarten, Ph. D. Theol. Lic. Privatdocenten zu Kiel. *Erster Theil: Allgemeine Einleiteng, Pentateuch.* Kiel 1842, 1844. (Theological Commentary on the Old Testament. By Dr. M. Baumgarten. First Part: General Introduction, Pentateuch. Two volumes. Kiel, 1842 and 1844. pp. xcix.—1091.)
2. *Die Apostelgeschichte, oder der Entwicklungsgang der Kirche von Jerusalem bis Rom. Ein biblisch-historischer Versuch.* Von M. Baumgarten, Doctor der Philosophie und Theologie, der letzteren ordentlichen Professor an der Universität Rostock. Halle, 1852. (The Acts of the Apostles, or the Church's Course of Development from Jerusalem to Rome. A Biblico-historical Essay by Dr. M. Baumgarten, Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Rostock. Halle, 1852. pp. 1176.)
3. *Die Nachtgesichte Sacharias. Eine Prophetenstimme an die Gegenwart.* Von M. Baumgarten Doctor und Professor der Theologie in Rostock. Erste Hälfte. Braunschweig, 1854. (The Night-visions of Zechariah. The voice of a Prophet to the Present Generation. By Dr. M. Baumgarten, Professor of Theology in Rostock. First half, pp. 386. Brunswick, 1854.) London Agents: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden.

IN a recent article,* we called attention to the deadly attacks made of late by the so-called Tübingen school of destructive criticism, of which Dr. Ferdinand Baur—the Marcion of our days—is now, as Strauss was formerly, the acknowledged chief, upon the historical records of apostolic Christianity. We there briefly sketched the hypothesis—highly novel certainly, but a masterpiece of absurdity—by which these rationalist theologians profess to explain the genesis of the primitive church, and of its earliest documents. To that article we must refer such of our readers as wish to refresh their memories upon the subject.†

* Recent German Works on the Apostolic Church. 'Eclectic Review' for June, 1853.

† We content ourselves here with repeating, on account of our present design, that so far as the indictment against the genuineness and historicity of the Acts is concerned, its gravamen may be summed up in three counts. It is alleged that the purely subjective and unhistorical character of the piece is evident from this, that the author, in order to serve an irenic interest in bringing together the Judaic and Anti-judaic parties in the church of the second century, to which date they refer in composition, (1) Paulinizes Peter in the former half; (2) Petrinizes Paul in the latter half; and (3) draws a

Our chief interest in the portent arose, not from any dread of its becoming naturalized here—the practical sense of Englishmen is quite safeguard enough against any such contingency—but from the powerful impulse which its warm discussion throughout Germany has happily given to the thorough investigation of the New Testament church, and in particular to the comprehensive study of that shamefully neglected portion of the Word of God, which enshrines its primeval history, the Acts of the Apostles. For it is precisely around this insulted book of Scripture, whose sense the great mass of Christians in their haughty and headstrong contempt of its divine claims to determine for them their ecclesiastical polity and institutions, have all along, almost from the day when it was penned, scarcely cared to learn, that this battle of the critics, with four-fifths of the New Testament canon as the stake, now fairly glows. It is a painful reflection that a life and death struggle for the very possession of this glorious muniment, with men who pronounce it only an ingenious fiction from beginning to end, and even contrive to make it their *point d'appui*, whence to reason away all historical Christianity, should have been needed to scatter the accusing dust of more than fifty generations. But at whatever cost attained, the result is one for which every Christian who sighs after the emancipation of Christendom from its doubly debasing thralldom to hierarchical imposture within, and to Byzantine despotism without, may give God hearty thanks.

In our former notice of several of the principal works written with an apologetic tendency, which have been called forth more or less palpably by the pressure of the Baurian controversy, we purposely reserved one for separate consideration. We thus singled out Dr. Baumgarten's elaborate exposition of the Acts of the Apostles, on account of its pre-eminent merits, which quite entitle it to a place by itself. For of all the numerous literary productions, many of them of a high order, which have been occasioned by this fresh Tübingen ferment, we know not of one at all approaching either in present interest or permanent value this admirable book. We have thought, as we have perused and re-perused it with ever growing delight, that we could now divine the reason why such a perverse view as the Baurian of that book of Scripture, on which Dr. Baumgarten comments, has been permitted to vex the peace of the church; and we are quite disposed to augur the speedy consignment of this new figment to the limbo of vanity, whither Eichhorn's 'Protevangelium,' Paulus's naturalisms, and Strauss's myths have already flown, now that its

most suspicious parallelism between the two rival Apostles throughout the whole of the book.

work has been done. We have felt devoutly thankful to the great head of the church, who, at the critical hour, has raised up a champion able to meet, by an exposition of the Acts at once so profoundly scientific and so sublimely Christian as that before us, what all enlightened Christians must own to be one of the most pressing wants of our times. We have not the smallest hesitation in expressing our modest conviction, that in no previous uninspired period of her history, has the church of Christ possessed such a means as is here afforded her of gaining a true insight into the meaning of her own glorious archives. How little she has understood them hitherto, we have a pregnant proof at hand in the title with which she has inscribed them. For most assuredly Luke never styled them '*The Acts of the Apostles*.' Nor could the church have ever foisted upon them so fatal a misnomer, had she not already in her slavish bondage to sense forgotten to follow with the loving eye of faith her ascended Lord, and so missed the only point of view whence they can be rightly scanned. The sacred historian himself, in the very first verse of his first chapter, characterizes his work as a resumption of his narrative of '*all that JESUS began, both to do and teach*;' whilst on the other hand, nothing can be plainer than the fact that a book which barely gives the names of more than two or three of the Twelve, and abruptly drops the history even of Peter, so soon as Paul enters upon the scene, is singularly defective, if considered as an account of the *apostles*. It is only when we regard Him who was exalted to God's right hand as a Prince and a Saviour, and not His servants, however sublime their rank, as the subject of the book, that this sequel to Luke's Gospel is found to be informed with an aim and guided by a principle and a plan such as, till Schneckenburgher's sinister ingenuity furnished it with one utterly destructive of its historical contents, the nodding critics never dreamt that it embodied. On this cardinal point, however, of the real agent, and so to say, hero of the piece, we cannot do better than quote Dr. Baumgarten himself, who has concentrated in a focus the rays of evidence upon the question scattered throughout the book. After showing at considerable length that the opening section (i. 1—11) which he entitles by way of a heading '*The Prospect*,'—and which he contends is similarly related to the body of Luke's later work, as the celebrated preface is to his Gospel,—leaves no doubt as to the Evangelist's intention to make CHRIST the leading figure in his picture, he proceeds as follows to demonstrate that he has never lost sight of this purpose in the execution of his task:—

'We have now only to show in addition, by a rapid survey of the book itself, that we have formed the right conception of the prospect here afforded, and to prove out of the book itself that Jesus exalted to

n is, properly speaking, the acting subject in the subsequent y. In point of fact, Jesus established and inaugurated as Lord King does appear in all corresponding moments of the narrative us, as the person who acts and decides in the last and highest ice, as even Schneckenburgher has already hinted thus much. He, for example, who again fills up the place of the twelfth witness, k.); who pours down from his lofty sphere the spirit upon his h, after having himself received the same (ii. 33); who multiplies urch in Jerusalem (ii. 47). He it is who in the days of the first h is nigh unto the people of Israel with His blessing, in order to conversion from their sins (iii. 26). It is He who works miracles timonies to the apostolic preaching, both for salvation and for action (iii. 6; iv. 10, 30; ix. 34; xiii. 11; xiv. 3; xix. 13); He shews elf to the dying martyr, Stephen, as standing at the right hand of (vii. 55, 56); His angel gives command to Philip (viii. 26); his catches him away (viii. 39). He appears to Saul of Tarsus (ix. xxii. 8; xxvi. 15). His hand founds the first church amongst the les (xi. 21); His angel delivers Peter (xii. 7, 11, 17); His angel s the enemy Herod (xii. 23). It is He who appears to Paul in the e, and commits to him the conversion of the Gentiles (xxii. 17— with Him rests the decision in reference to the first mission (xiii. np. 47); to Him the young churches, gathered from amongst the les, were commended (xiv. 23); His spirit hinders the apostolic onaries from preaching in Bithynia (xvi. 7); He calls them across rophe with the voice of the man of Macedonia (xvi. 10); He opens eart of Lydia, and works the first conversion in Europe (xvi. 14); mforts and encourages Paul in Corinth (xviii. 9, 10); He strengthens n his imprisonment, and points him forward to Rome (xxiii. 11). express, frequent, and decided prominence given to Jesus, is to us equate guarantee that we are to regard his ascension as His actual real enthronization. Hence, in those instances also in which, ut the mention of the Lord's name, we are introduced into the ble world, we are perfectly justified in referring all to His inter- e. In this light must we regard the conversion of the Samaritans eans of miracles (viii. 6—12); the resuscitation of Tabitha (ix. 42), and the vision of Peter (x. 10—16). In like manner we are l to mind the presence of the Lord in those cases also where the Ghost is mentioned as the agent in any transaction (e.g. xiii. 2); ie Holy Ghost is the Spirit of Jesus (comp. xvi. 6, 7): and even God is named we have to supply in thought the personality of (e.g. xxvii. 23), for we know from i. 22, iv. 30, that God works gh Him. As respects the conclusion of the book, the sequel of our igation into its contents will of itself bring us to the point how conclusion, when judged of by the standard given us in the open- rospect, is shown to be one founded in the nature of the case. For resent, it may suffice to remind the reader of the fact that the on has already been here and there broached, that if Jerusalem is ed out as the starting-point of the Christian preaching, Rome can, propriety, be represented as its goal.'—Vol. i. pp. 24, 25.

aving firmly planted himself upon this vantage ground indi-

cated by the Evangelist himself, Dr. Baumgarten does not shrink from holding out to his readers such high hopes of the result of his labours as are given us in the following passage :—

‘As the fruit of my toil, the conclusion is reached that the book of Acts embraces that portion of the history of the Church, which contains its canonical *origines*, whose continuations and developments in the Church run on to the present day; and that it exhibits those canonical *origines* in so authentic a manner, that not only can their inner course be clearly discerned, but also their normative value, with reference to all relations and circumstances of the Church throughout the whole stream of time into which these beginnings flowed, can be determined with certainty.

‘It is easy to foresee that this view will be met with the objection that it falls into the extreme of the usual historical idea of the Acts, in that it seeks to discover far more plan and aim than the book can, or actually does, contain. I have nothing further to reply to this beforehand, save an analogy. He who contemplates nature from without, sees nothing but the life and motion of anarchical activity; but he who penetrates with his view into the interior of nature, discovers order and regularity without end. We perceive the same thing in cases in which the human spirit develops its creative powers in an original manner. The first impression which the poems of Homer and Shakespere make is that of the wild luxuriance of nature, and yet expositors have never been able to reach any end of their labours, in finding out the thoughts that permeate the whole. Now, ought we to think less of the Holy Spirit, who Himself prepared and sanctified His human organs, for the creation of those writings, which were meant to furnish the stay of divine certainty, to holy thoughts and stirrings of spirit for all the times of the Church?’—*Ib.* p. 4.

These exciting expectations, we are bound to say, the work in nowise disappoints. Unreservedly resigning himself to a hal-
lowed sympathy with the inspired narrator, Dr. Baumgarten finds it easy to detect the law which has determined him under the guidance of the Holy Ghost in the selection of the historical materials which must have been so richly at his command. For, if Christ be the one subject of the book, then, of course, it follows that the apostles will come into view only in so far as their glorified Lord makes them His organs in laying the foundations of His universal dominion; and that, on the other hand, when, as in the instances of Stephen, Philip, and the founders of the mother-church of gentile christianity at Antioch, he deigns to employ meaner instrumentality, then deacons and even private Christians will occupy the place in the page which at first sight we might imagine ought to have been assigned to the Twelve. In short, *the law of progress* in the development of Christ’s kingdom has left the exact transcript of itself upon the earliest account of the church, which narrative thus establishes its right

regarded as the lofty and unapproachable ideal of all astical history. It is, as all good history ever is, but to a only to be met with in the sacred writers, of an *objective* ter. Nowhere do we see Luke, the painter, but only the picture, daguerreotyped by the scene as it passed, of Christ right hand of God making His enemies His footstool. That spired writer has been guided solely by the march of , not considered as biographical facts and anecdotes in the of even the two leading apostles, but as epochs in the chant advance of the Gospel, is nowhere more apparent n what to most readers has always seemed the strangely-close of the book. We there find Paul's history dropped suddenness which startles us even more than the oblivion which Peter, after making at first so prominent a figure, at once suffered to drop. Nothing can be more unsatisfying when regarded as a winding-up of the personal history of that Apostle of the Gentiles than the bare mention of his ears' imprisonment at Rome, without even a hint being as to the final issue of the proceedings taken against him. On the other hand, it was precisely at this epoch with his plant-the standard of the cross and preaching the gospel of the mission in the metropolis of the world-power that his 's claim to the allegiance of all nations was for the first ractically asserted. Here, therefore, on the accomplishment of the work to which Christ had called him, the workman wed to withdraw. For Luke writes the life of infant anity, not that of Peter or Paul. To treat his work as tion of biographical notices, is as unjust as it would be to e an Ascension of Raffaele to be a mere medley of por- or rather fragments of such, flung together by chance.

Baumgarten's fine analysis of the Acts convinces us that in the hands of a master. We must not withhold it from der, who will see from it at a glance, with what admirable y that important aspect of the book, according to which garded as the *origines* of the Christian church, has been upon and presented to view. Some of our clerical readers perhaps, with advantage, treat the topics consecutively in e of expository lectures upon the Acts.

r a brief introduction comes the first book, entitled, 'The amongst the Jews.' It is subdivided into twelve sections § 1. 'The Prospect,' i. 1-11; § 2. 'The Last Preparatory 12-26; § 3. 'The Foundation and Exhibition of the , ii. 1-13; § 4. 'The First Apostolic Sermon,' ii. 14-36; 'The First Increase of the Church,' ii. 37-47; § 6. 'The Miracle,' iii.; § 7. 'The First Opposition,' iv. 23-37; § 8. 'Victorious Power of the Church,' iv. 23-37; § 9. 'The

First Peril from within,' v. 1-16; § 10. 'The First Sufferings of the Apostles,' v. 17-42; § 11. 'The First Contention in the Church,' vi. 1-7; § 12. 'Stephen the First Martyr,' vi. 8.—vii. 60. The Second Book is inscribed, 'The Church in its Transition from the Jews to the Gentiles.' It comprises eight sections, as follow: § 13. 'Spread of the Gospel without the Apostles,' viii. 1-4; § 14. 'Philip the Deacon in Samaria,' viii. 5-24; § 15. 'Philip the Deacon baptizes the Ethiopian Eunuch,' viii. 25-40; § 16. 'Conversion and Call of Saul of Tarsus,' ix. 1-30; § 17. 'The Condition of the Church in Judea,' ix. 31-43; § 18. 'The First-fruits of the Gentiles,' x. 1—xi. 18; § 19. 'Formation of the first Gentile Christian Church,' xi. 19-30; § 20. 'The Opposition in Judea at its height, and its punishment,' xii. 1-24. The Third Book, entitled 'The Church amongst the Gentiles,' is divided into two halves. The former half consists of eight sections—viz., § 21. 'Rise of Missions in the Church at Antioch,' xii. 25—xiii. 3; § 22. 'The First-fruits of the Apostle Paul,' xiii. 4-12; § 23. 'First Missionary Journey through Asia Minor,' xiii. 13—xiv. 28; § 24. 'The Preservation of the Church in its most Dangerous Crisis,' xv. 1-35; § 25. 'The Apostle Paul on his First Missionary Journey in Europe,' xv. 36, xvi. 10; § 26. 'The First Church in Europe,' xvi. 11-40; § 27. 'Paul in European Greece,' xvii. 1—xviii. 17; § 28. 'Apollon the Representative of Paul in European Greece,' xviii. 17-28. The latter half of the Third Book likewise consists of eight sections. § 29. 'Ephesus the Station of Paul in Asiatic Greece,' xix.; § 30. 'Withdrawal of the Apostle Paul from the sphere of action in which he had hitherto been engaged,' xx.; § 31. 'Paul, at Jerusalem, saved from death by the Roman Tribune,' xxi.; § 32. 'Not Paul's Defence before the Jews, but Roman Law secures his Protection,' xxii., xxiii.; § 33. 'Neither Felix, nor Festus, but only Roman Law, continues to protect Paul,' xxiv. xxv. 12; § 34. 'Triumphant Apology of the Apostle before King Agrippa,' xxv. 13, xxvi. 32; § 35. 'Voyage of the Apostle Paul from Cesarea to Rome,' xxvii. 1, xxviii. 15. § 36. 'Paul preaching at Rome, the Goal,' xxviii. 15-31.

The recognition of the purely *objective* character which the book evinces in its entire structure and contents affords, as Dr. Baumgarten shows, the best explanation of those phenomena on which the Tübingen doctors have laid so much stress, to the prejudice of its historical claims. For instance, the *parallelism* between Peter and Paul, which they represent as so suspicious, is, so far as it really extends, to be set down to the account, not of the writer, but of Jesus, who thereby attested, in the only conceivable way in which it could be done, the perfect equality of the apostle called in a *hidden* manner by Himself after His

sion, with the original twelve. The very first example of parallelism to which Schneckenburgher refers is strikinglyATORY of this view. Previous to Saul's rebuke of Elymas the name of Barnabas uniformly takes precedence of that of his missionary; but after this matter-of-fact proof of his leadership, by which Peter's similar rebuke of Ananias and Sapphira was indeed brought to mind, the rule is reversed, and, indeed, it is precisely at this point that the name of Saul is most significantly changed for that of the first-fruits of his apostolic ministry, the proconsul Sergius Paulus. We wish we could make for the whole of Dr. Baumgarten's most ingenious, beautiful and instructive remarks upon this section of the history, but must be very chary of extracts. He is never more himself than in meeting the objections of the Baurian school; and indeed candidly admits that their blunders, gross as they are, are more suggestive of truth, if only from force of contrast, than the pointless platitudes of many an orthodox expositor. We must mention, for instance, that in this very place the antagonism of the Tübingen critics has led him on to the fruitful insight that in the conversion of the Gentile proconsul by means of the judgment inflicted upon the degenerate Jew, Bar-Jesus, we have the historical basis and first germ of the entire eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans:—

It was to the Gentiles and their kings that Paul was directed more especially to consecrate his apostolic labours. The Gentile world, in its organic shaping, was appointed as the field of his apostolic work. The Gentiles and their kings are here represented by the Roman proconsul, who is the deputy, as far as regards this island, of the emperor of Rome, the king of kings amongst the Gentiles. The miracle performed on the Jew, Elymas, is thus invested with that universal character which was assigned from the first to the Pauline mission. But if the conversion of the proconsul possessed such great importance in reference to the apostolic work of Paul, must not the manner also in which the gospel subdued the heart of the proconsul, seem to the apostle a presage of Israel's entire future in relation to the gospel? In point of fact, we find that Paul has laid down and developed the doctrine, that the hardening of Israel is the means whereby the gospel becomes accessible to the Gentiles (see Rom. xi. 11, 12, 15.) Now Elymas is plunged into his pitiable condition by occasion of the advancement of the gospel, just as Israel into theirs, it is natural to compare Elymas, upon whom the "mist and the darkness of night have come so that he cannot see the sun," as the palpable picture and representation of the Jews, upon whom the spirit of slumber and blindness has come to the spiritual eye, have come (see Rom. xi. 8, 2, Cor. xiv. 16.) However, by placing the matter in this point of view, a bright ray of light falls upon the most obscure point in the story about Elymas, viz.,

upon the words *ἄχρι καιροῦ* (v. 11.) For in that same connexion in which Paul speaks of the hardening of Israel, he expresses his undoubted conviction that this condition of the nation will not be permanent, but is to last only for a time, the limits of which are perfectly defined (see Rom. xi. 25.) Thus, as the blindness of Elymas is a figure of the blinding and hardening of Israel, so we are to recognise in the limit set to this blindness from the beginning, the hope of the final conversion of Israel. Nor can we doubt that this incident, which occurred in connexion with Paul's first demonstration of his apostolic power, furnished him with the historical starting point of his entire doctrine concerning Israel's attitude towards the gospel. Besides, in the history of Paul's own calling a point of connexion was already presented for the words *ἄχρι καιροῦ* taken in this wider relation. For when Israel is named *last* in the series of those to whom Paul has to carry the name of Jesus (see ix. 15), this can only be understood of an *effectual* announcement of the gospel, which falls to the lot of Israel, after the Gentiles have heard and believed in it; and so the gospel, proceeding from the Gentiles, finds its way back to the centre of all divine revelation. The case before us, in the passage under consideration, strikingly illustrates this remarkable reversal of the original order. The Jew Elymas, the man enlightened by the law, and equipped with heathen art and wisdom, boasts of being a guide and teacher of the blind and of those who sit in darkness (comp. Rom. ii. 19, 20); the word of Paul strikes this master with blindness, and, on the other hand, causes the blind Gentile to see, just as the Lord also had spoken concerning the effect of his work upon men (see John ix. 39.) Now this is the very crisis which even Moses speaks of as the ultimate and most effectual means of leading the perverted and perplexed mind of Israel back again to its great original and fountain (see Deut. xxxii. 21; comp. Rom. xi. 14.)'

The happy manner in which, in this instance, the tables are turned upon the Tübingen critics, will not have escaped the observation of the reader. The most complete harmony is made out between the narrative on which they have shed the gall of their scepticism, and an epistle, whose genuineness they themselves hold to be altogether unimpeachable. Paul's teaching in his letter to the Romans is found to be deeply rooted in the identical transaction recorded by Luke in the Acts, in which they affect to see nothing but a barefaced plagiarism of a miracle of Peter. They point with triumph to a glaring case of parallelism between the two great apostles. The parallelism itself is admitted; but whilst it is referred, not as they would have it, to the subjectivity of the author of the book (than which none ever written is marked by less of that quality), but to the wise will of the great Author of the events it records, they are presented in return with another parallelism, with which they will find it by no means easy to deal. In short, the history furnished by Luke, is found to have left its footprints in the doctrinal system of Paul.

Very many similar illustrations of the admirable boldness and skill with which Dr. Baumgarten turns the favourite positions of the subtle enemy whose bravadoes have summoned him to the field, might easily be adduced. But we must content ourselves with mentioning but one other.

It was to have been expected that the Baurian party would make the most of the Nazarite vow, from which Paul is stated in the Acts to have released himself at Cenchrea (Acts xviii. 18); as well as of the fresh vow of the kind, in which he is said to have participated at the instance of James and the elders at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 22—26). According to them, both these instances are of course clear cases in which Paul has been Petrized by his pretended biographer at the expense of historical truth, and in deference to the prejudices of the Judaizing party in the church of the second century. The real Paul, such as he is known to us from the Epistle to the Galatians for example, could never, even to please James and the church at Jerusalem, much less, quite of his own accord, as in the other instance, have paid any such deference to the ceremonial law. For it is not simply an act of compliance with the ordinary Judaism that is here in question, but a veritable work of supererogation—the pietism of a Jewish devotee. Is it possible that he who warned the Galatians that if they submitted to circumcision Christ would profit them nothing, could have edified the Corinthians by a voluntary submission to the vow of a Nazarite?

Such is the objection brought by the critics against the credibility of these accounts, and it must be granted that it looks not a little formidable at first sight. But the difficulty after all is soon discovered to be one of their own creating. For Dr. Baumgarten's clever rejoinder to the cavillers in his remarks upon the latter of the two passages we cannot find room; and when the reader is informed that his commentary upon the words of the other text, 'having shorn his head in Cenchrea, for he had a vow,' run to the prodigious length of five-and-twenty pages, it will be seen that we shall be required to tax somewhat severely our powers of compression, if we are to furnish only the substance within the small space at our command. After all, however, the task is less arduous than it would have been had conciseness been amongst the most conspicuous of our author's many literary virtues; which, with all our veneration for his rare excellencies in other respects, we are not such unscrupulous eulogists as to assert. We fear we must confess (and it is not without reluctance that we do so), that a certain tendency to prolixity blemishes to some extent a work, which otherwise is as nearly faultless as falls within the powers of uninspired men to produce. But whilst we are upon this topic, we

cannot forbear remarking in arrest of judgment upon what is rightly regarded as no slight offence, especially in these days in which books are so many and leisure hours so few, that the book is by no means so chargeable with this sin as its formidable bulk of about twelve hundred pages would at first sight seem to imply. Not many of its ample folds and swelling episodes are mere surplusage. Few genial readers, we imagine, would wish a line dropped from the author's amazingly bold but not less reverential analysis of Paul's mysterious conversion, and of the connexion of this great crisis in the apostle's history with his entire doctrinal system, to which it furnishes the master-key; or from the able discussion of the deliberations and ultimate decision of the apostolic assembly at Jerusalem (Acts xv.), and of their immense influence (which, however, has been for the most part all but wholly overlooked) in determining the direction taken by the entire stream of church-events down to the present hour; or lastly, to mention but one instance more, from his elaborate exposition of Paul's Athenian sermon. In the course of his observations on this celebrated oration, he shows, for one thing, by a comprehensive review of the various methods of treating history adopted both in ancient and modern times, that the apostle has summed up in a couple of verses (Acts xvii. 26, 27) the very quintessence of science, and has indicated the goal towards which it has been incessantly pressing forward, without however reaching it even as yet. We may observe that Neander, with his usual depth of insight, had already to some extent recognised the great significance of these words of Paul, as laying down the only point of view whence universal history can be at all understood, and as enunciating its fundamental axiom. But there was still wanting such a calm and patient demonstration as Dr. Baumgarten has supplied, which none who know what they are talking about will ever grudge the paper and type it has cost to print, or the time it takes to read. Our own feeling is, that very little could have been well spared from any one of his fine analyses of the speeches in the Acts, and least of all should we have been grateful for any shabby stinting of his spirited exegesis of Paul's Areopagitica.

But we fear lest our readers should begin to suspect that we are stickling for the liberty of unlicensed printing for ourselves; and that under cover of extenuating our author's prolixity, we are making his fault our own. *Revenons à nos moutons.* We were speaking of Dr. Baumgarten's adroitness in meeting the objection to the historical truth of the Acts drawn from Paul's vow (xviii. 18). That vow has often proved a stumbling-block to interpreters, and several have preferred cutting the knot to patiently untying it. One favourite method of evading the dif-

ficulty is to refer the words, 'having shorn his head at Cenchrea, for he had a vow,' to Aquila instead of Paul. This however is very forced, since, as our author remarks, the introduction of any such notice relative to Aquila is quite irrelevant to the narrative. Petitus proposes a still more violent expedient; he is for separating the words, 'having shorn his head in Cenchrea,' from those which immediately follow, 'for he had a vow,' which latter clause he regards as giving the reason for Paul's journey to 'Syria,' explaining the shaving of the head as a simple expression of mourning. But since the evangelist does not say a syllable as to the occasion of this mourning, and would certainly have mentioned 'Jerusalem,' instead of the general name 'Syria' as Paul's destination, had he meant to connect the journey with the vow, this interpretation is utterly untenable. Hence, there is no escaping the plain meaning of the passage; and to clear up the obscurity which rests upon it, recourse must be had to the context. The circumstances of the apostle alone can throw light upon the matter. Of these, therefore, Dr. Baumgarten takes a thoroughly comprehensive view.

He admits that the vow was that of the Nazarite. But how ill adapted it was to parade the apostle's legalism before the Jews, as the Baurians allege is the interpretation which alone it admits of, is obvious from the consideration that its *form*, which was all in all with the Jews, was anything but legal. No priest was called in, as the law required in the case of the dissolution of a Nazarite's vow, and the ceremony was performed, not at Jerusalem, but at Cenchrea, which was equally in contradiction to the letter of the law. Hence, there is no ground to assume any reference to the Jews in the case. Yet, if there were no outward constraint of this sort operating upon the apostle's mind, the question seems to return with all the more force—How came the free-minded Paul to perform this votive ceremonial of his own accord? Now what if Paul apprehended the Old Testament Nazariteship according to its idea, and as divested of all that, which, in consequence of the true realization of the priesthood and the sanctuary in Christianity, had become antiquated? Could he not in that case appropriate this idea in a form, which, without being entirely stripped of the religious symbolism of his nation, was not strictly legal, as a fitting expression of a certain condition of his inner life? Some conceive of Paul's freedom as though he were under a sort of compulsion to give up everything that reminded him of his nationality. But in point of fact, his freedom was far more free. His nationality he regarded as a good given him by God, and he felt himself at liberty to manifest his inner life in the forms of the hallowed past, just as Luther upon occasion was wont to resume the forms of Catholic devo-

tion. Hence, in order fully to explain this act of Paul at Cenchrea, we have only to discover the true Biblical idea of the Nazariteship, and the circumstances which impressed Paul with the propriety of the adoption of this form of Israelitish piety at this precise juncture of his history.

The outward obligations of the Nazarite consisted in his abstinence from wine and strong drink, and from the use of the razor. The former, to which we have a parallel in the prohibition of the use of wine by the priests when serving in the Temple, indicated freedom from lust, in order to communion with God. In like manner, the name 'Nazarite' was expressive of separation to God. The long hair, Bähr explains as a symbol of the flourishing condition of the man who is thus truly devoted to God, and refers to several Oriental analogies in proof. But, as Dr. Baumgarten justly observes, it will be far better if we can light upon some trace of the *Israelitish* consciousness, as to what shorn and unshorn hair respectively symbolized, and especially if we can thereby obtain such an interpretation of the latter as shall bring it into connexion with the abstinence and self-restraint of the Nazarite. And this trace we actually find in the writings of Paul himself; and that in an epistle addressed to the very city, Corinth, where he subjected himself to the Nazarite's vow. The passage is that mysterious one which has given the interpreters so much trouble, viz. 1 Cor. xi. 3—16. Here Paul treats the long hair worn by woman as a symbol of her weakness, dependence, need of protection, and subjection to man. Why then should we doubt that Paul by letting his hair grow at Corinth, after the manner of the Nazarites, intended thereby to express his sense of his own feebleness and absolute dependence upon the Almighty? What was this but his rendering into the form of symbolical action the very language which he addresses in a written form to the church of the same city? (2 Cor. iii. 5.) Accordingly, not only the abstinence from wine, but the long hair also of the Nazarite, were symbolical of his renunciation of self, in order to cling the more confidently to God. As wine was created to rejoice the heart of man (Ps. civ. 15,) so man was constituted ruler of the world. But sin subverted man's relations to both God and the world. Hence he who is deeply conscious of sin may, in order to make his present condition palpable on both sides, renounce his power over the most glorious growth of nature, and lay his dignity as man at the feet of his Creator. The necessity of this renunciation of lordship on the part of fallen man, and of this acknowledgment of dependence and weakness, is brought home to human consciousness by God's first word to man after the fall. For it is the **WOMAN** who receives the promise, and He who is to realize afresh man's full dominion over nature, is to be the

WOMAN'S SEED. And to what savethis can Paul allude, when, in the passage relative to shorn and unshorn hair, he says (1 Cor. xi. 12,) "As the woman is of the man, so also the man through the woman." After man had employed his free-will against God, he could find nothing but sin and death as the result of perseverance in this course, and in order to salvation he must sink his *active* will in the *passive* or *feminine* side of his personality. Now, in whose history is this position of man with respect to salvation so prominent as in Paul's? Never in any other instance did self-will so predominate at first, or self-denial and submission afterwards. And again, is not the Pauline *doctrine* the true reflex of this experience, and an adequate expression of this fundamental relation? Since the *εργα* are nothing but the acts of this wrongly used sovereignty of man, they are under sin and death: *πιστις*, on the other hand, as the *receptive* faculty, conducts to life and salvation. Can we then wonder that Paul, whose whole career in word and work was a practical realization of the profound idea embodied in the Nazariteship, could, when a fitting occasion presented itself, express *outwardly* the close connexion of his own life as a Christian, no less than as an Apostle, with that significant Israelitish custom? The principal Old Testament personage who is brought forward as a Nazarite is Samson, who was set apart as such by the Divine word from his mother's womb. His debauchery does not detract from, but heightens the significance of his singular history. For it points to the fact that the Divine idea of the Nazariteship was not realized under the Old Testament, and accordingly leads to the conclusion that Samson was a type. The unfulfilled idea is perfectly realized only in Christ himself. But in a subordinate sense Paul is the New Testament Samson, who could say, 'When I am weak then am I strong.' Thus there is no *à priori* probability against Paul's subjecting himself to the Nazarite's vow, supposing circumstances to arise which might give Christian significance to such an act of outward, and not merely inward humiliation.

But, it may be said, he might have contented himself with a spiritual fulfilment of the Old Testament type as Jesus did, and as he himself for the most part is actually seen to have done. Hence, since the considerations already referred to were of general and permanent, and not merely occasional force, it must be shown that some special reasons existed for his acting as he did at Corinth. Accordingly, a careful review of his stay there is necessary. The sources of information are, besides the Acts, the Epistles to the Thessalonians, which were written there, and those to the Corinthians themselves. They give us such an insight into Paul's position at Corinth as fully explains all.

The first impression made by Paul's ministry in Europe quite

corresponded to the hopes excited by the vision at Troas. At Philippi a great readiness to receive the word of God was manifested, and a hopeful church was founded. Yet there were not wanting unmistakable signs also of the rooted enmity of the heathen heart to God, and the divine messengers were thrown into prison, although the subsequent conversion of the jailor and his house, as well as the ultimate triumph of Roman order over the rage of the heathen, spanned the dark cloud with the bow of promise. In Thessalonica, Paul's cup was a much bitterer one. Even here a receptivity for the Gospel was not wanting on the part of the Gentiles, and a flourishing church was planted. Moreover, the persecution raised by the Jews did not, properly speaking, light upon the Apostle and his companion, so much as upon the new converts; but the sufferings of his soul were, we may be sure, none the less poignant on that account. The Jews, to whom Paul had preached for three sabbaths, stirred up the people, and again betrayed Christ to the Gentiles, in which wild hatred of theirs Paul rightly sees the repetition of their crime at Jerusalem (1 Thess. ii. 15.) And just as these events recalled the past, so did they suggest to him the future. He saw that the alliance of Jewish unbelief with Gentile wickedness was paving the way for the culmination of evil and ungodliness. Would not the second grand crime to be committed against the mystical body of Christ assume the same features as the first? Daniel predicts that the last world-power will make a covenant with *apostates*. Thus was it that Antiochus Epiphanes, the forerunner of Antichrist, accomplished his blasphemous designs. Thus also was it in the persecution of Herod against Peter and James. Paul had learned that notwithstanding the receptivity for the word of God which had been shown by the Gentiles at Philippi, yet the heathen enmity was far from being subdued. And when the Jews betrayed Jesus once more to the Gentiles as an anti-Cæsar, he saw in the fact the apparition of that peculiarly malignant form of evil which consists in the alliance of power with suotle wickedness and hypocrisy. From his Epistles to the Thessalonians we see that he had spoken at large upon eschatology whilst among them; and Dr. Baumgarten here pours a flood of light upon the difficult passages relative to Antichrist contained in this portion of the Apostle's writings. Want of space however forbids our following him here, and we must content ourselves with reminding the reader that when Paul penned these Epistles from Corinth, the gloomy future was still pressing heavily upon his heart.

The refreshing experience which Paul had of the candour of the Jews at Berea was counterbalanced by the enmity with which their countrymen from Thessalonica hunted him out of this harbour of refuge, and he sees himself again driven back

upon the Gentiles. He turns towards the Attic self-consciousness—that clear star in the black night of heathenism—and adapts himself to it with a might of self-denying love in which he surpasses himself. The result is disappointment and derision. His heart is well nigh broken when he comes to Corinth ; and now first we understand his words (1 Cor. ii. 3 :) ‘I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling.’ This weakness even exposed him to the contempt of his adversaries in Corinth (2 Cor. x. 1—10.) Yet, as we see from many passages (*e. g.* 1 Cor. ix. 22 ; iv. 10 ; 2 Cor. x. 1—11,) it was a weakness to which he had condescended of his own accord. Now what could be more adapted to produce the impression of weakness than the weeds of the Nazarite, who deprives himself of the enjoyments of life, and continually lays all his power at the feet of his God ? It is truly, as Paul himself says (1 Cor. xi. 14), a shame unto a man if he have long hair, since he thereby yields up his independence to another. But this does not keep Paul from taking upon himself this vow, since he regards shame endured in the service of the Lord as belonging to his calling (1 Cor. iv. 10) ; and knows that although every man is free and independent, in relation to every other in the world, yet that, in relation to the Lord, he stands in the same relation as woman does to man (1 Cor. xi. 3) ; and, consequently, that one who is ever animated by a living consciousness of this his relation to the Lord, may wear the long hair of shame with honour (2 Cor. xii. 9, 10.)

We fear that we have after all conveyed but an imperfect impression of Dr. Baumgarten’s extraordinary work. Each of its thirty-six sections must in common justice be pronounced a gem of exposition.

We frankly avow that we know of no commentary in any language like that which meets us here. Even the author’s fine work on the Pentateuch, (*‘Theologische Commentar zum Alten Testament,’*) highly meritorious as it is, alike for childlike simplicity and profound philosophic insight, scarcely warranted the hope of anything like this. The book before us reads like a new revelation rather than a mere exposition of an old one, and seems to transport us bodily into the midst of the apostolic age. That holy spring-time of the church is reproduced in these pages with a freshness and a verdure, a vividness and a power, scarcely conceivable before. The general impression seems hitherto to have been that Luke has everywhere omitted circumstances without the knowledge of which the events he speaks of can at the best be but imperfectly understood. Even Neander and Olshausen have to a painful extent sanctioned this notion by their high authority. Dr. Baumgarten’s view of the book, as bearing entirely the stamp of *objectivity*, of course leaves no room for any such supposition,

and it is not too much to affirm that he has demonstrated in the most practical way the utter needlessness of this makeshift hypothesis of the critics. He has shown, in innumerable instances, that Luke must be entirely exonerated at the expense of his often patronizing interpreters, who have gone altogether wrong by bringing to the document an ideal widely different from, and immeasurably inferior to the writer's own. Luke pens not a word too little for those who will only read his narrative with open and loving eyes. To such, the problem of adequately transferring to our age the image which the Evangelist beheld of his own times, is a feasible one, and we think that in the pages before us it has been actually solved. This has been accomplished, too, neither by putting more into the text than is really to be found there, nor by dint of a painfully minute dissection of its words and phrases, at the expense of the last spark of life they contained, but by dint of close, severe, and comprehensive thought, and above all by virtue of an intense sympathy with the lofty aim of the author. Illustrations, chiefly Biblical, are furnished in rich profusion, but at the same time with the skill and circumspection of an exegetical adept. Difficulties are not shunned, but fairly and honestly grappled with, or rather we may say that they seem to be welcomed with the heartiness of one who knows that to surmount them will be to reach the hill-top, the prospect whence will amply repay all the toil of the ascent. Of course, as the reader will have already surmised, there is here no tampering in any rationalistic interest with the supernatural facts recorded in the sacred narrative. Indeed, we could not wish to refer those who are wont so fiercely to denounce all German theology in the lump to any other work than this as a proof of the rampant injustice and suicidal folly of their indiscriminate censures. Nor could a better illustration be given of the immense advantage in the controversy with infidelity of taking up at once a high and uncompromising position in reference to the miracles of Scripture. It is particularly on account of Dr. Baumgarten's entire and genial harmony in this respect with the tone of Christian sentiment current in this country, that we venture to express an opinion, that if we are ever to have an English school of Biblical exegesis, alike orthodox and scientific, such works as his, and those of his sympathizer, Hofmann, (author of 'Der Schriftbeweis,' 'Weissagung und Erfüllung,' &c.) are far more suitable as models than those of even Hengstenberg and Olshausen, valuable as on many accounts we deem these latter to be. We rejoice, therefore, that a beginning will soon be made with the presentation to the English public, by the Messrs. Clark, of this marvellous 'Commentary on the Acts.' Meanwhile we feel that we have discharged a sacred

duty in commending it to notice, as one not merely of rare excellence, but as being, in our judgment, perfectly unique.

Just as this article was leaving our hands, Dr. Baumgarten's new work on 'Zechariah' reached us. We can do no more now than call earnest attention to it as a worthy sequel to his 'Commentary on the Acts.' The cursory perusal we have been able to give to it disappointed us for the first score or so of pages, but afterwards made our heart burn within us as this master in Israel opened to us the Scripture. We hear the voice of a prophet to the present time—the same voice which was once heard in still more majestic tones in Pilate's judgment hall, and which must be echoed until it finds a response in every Christian conscience, testifying that Christ's kingdom is not of this world!

ART. IV.—*A Visit to Europe in 1851.* By Professor Benjamin Silliman, of Yale College. With Illustrations. New York. 2 vols. 8vo. 1854.

'A NEW phase in American Life' is presenting itself in very striking characters to the English reading public; and it occurs at a time when that public is exceedingly well disposed to look with favour upon the best results of transatlantic experience. It consists of the Americans' foreign travel, and of their residence in foreign countries for the sake of the fine arts, of literature, of science, of self-culture, of professional occupation, and of amusement, to a degree quite unprecedented. To these several motives for visiting foreign countries must be added the calls of a rapidly improving trade, and the impulse of religious missions; together with the extensive employment of eminently intellectual men in the American diplomacy, in their consular service, and in their expeditions of discovery. The evidence of numerous good books, published in the United States within a few years, proves that the American people are turning their various relations with foreign countries to an excellent account; and it is probable that, by persevering in this right way, they will materially advance their own intellectual and social progress; to say nothing of the decisive influence which these good fruits of democracy must have upon the great political question of the day—whether the nations shall or shall not be less and less subject to despotic rule. The books referred to are so numerous, and so replete with various excellencies, that they really constitute a most important contribution to our common literature; and it is satisfactory to know, that by far the greater portion of them are written in a friendly spirit towards England, without shrinking from suitable freedom in

their notices of what the fairest minds among ourselves wish to alter.

This is a condition of things of which it is difficult to exaggerate the general advantage. The interchange of the results of high intelligence and correct taste between the old world and the new, is full of substantial present good, and of infinite promise. We are mutual instructors on a gigantic scale. After too often wasting our common strength at the cannon's mouth, and returning mutual outrage with stern defiance, we seem to be agreed in collecting out of the wayward past, warnings that may help to make the future truly glorious. With admitted imperfections enough on both sides of the Atlantic, improvements may be hastened by the abandonment, on our part, of the ancient British boast, of our being the solitary 'teachers of the nations how to live.' Our brethren in the United States are not only capable of doing their share of the great work of the world's progress, but they are naturally pleased to have their capacity for it appreciated in the fair way which our recent literature exhibits.

This good feeling between us did not always prevail. On the contrary, the time is not remote when every mail from Europe threw New York readers into a fever of excitement, rapidly spread south and west, at the rash speculations of our prejudiced travellers concerning the threatened convulsions of the States, or some exaggerated American deformity;—imputations eagerly transferred from the travellers' books to more mischievous political reviews. Then came the offensive gossip of party newspapers, in the less elaborate correspondence of our sojourners in America. Even diplomatists, with all their prudence, were tainted and disturbed by the bad spirit prevalent in those days in regard to the relations of the two nations to each other. Our most brilliant statesman, George Canning, was indiscreet enough to sneer at the 'bits of bunting' that wave over the heads of our western cousins; and the wittiest of reviewers, Sydney Smith, did not see that it merely betrayed his own intellectual poverty to ask '*who reads an American book?*' when already Hamilton had written a political volume, not less classical in style than wise in principle; when Chief Justice Marshall had written a life of Washington, with which whole generations of us are familiar; and Brockden Brown had written romances, not even now forgotten, after the times of Scott and Cooper. Such taunts were repaid, of course, with interest, in hearty hatred of the "Britishers."*

* One of the recent American travellers in England says he never saw the soubriquet 'Britisher,' except in an English book, nor did he ever hear the

A better day is arrived. American books are now read eagerly by all classes; and our common literature is likely to run the stronger and the clearer as its double current takes a broader direction. Our most estimable people now visit the United States, to foster a spirit of friendship with their citizens, as well as to study their extraordinary progress. It is almost a common incident, that the Carlises, the Stanleys, the Ellesmeres, the Lyells, and the Chamberses, should be hospitably received in the Far West, to bring back useful lessons, to *lecture*, and to write upon at home. At the same time, visitors from the United States among us discover with Mr. Tappan,* 'that the prejudices of the English against the Americans are not only wearing away, but they are becoming supplanted by good will, according as a better acquaintance advances,'—testimony that is the more valuable, since recent circumstances attending the visit of Kossuth to America had excited some conflicting sentiments respecting England.

On both sides diplomacy lends its aid to cement this concord. Mr. *Consul* James, besides writing popular books on America, supports the young *attaché*, Bulwer, at a patriotic dinner in New York, in responding to American eulogies so well merited by both of these worthy British names; whilst the reproaches, opportunely and eloquently expressed by the late Mr. Rushton before a numerous assembly of both nations in Liverpool, against negro slavery, were received with infinite good humour by Mr. Abbot Lawrence, who admitted, that warm friends of America, such as Mr. Rushton was known to be, were entitled to give to her counsel that might wound, but in wounding will help to cure.

Offences will come; but they now come with quick compensations. Steam and the electric telegraph pass us rapidly over grave international difficulties; and a slip of the pen is so soon rebuked, that the correction of it is a practical lesson to offenders, as well as an amends to the offended. Mr. Thackeray will, hereafter, study the 'Annual Register' more critically, upon finding his blunder about a 'better cause' than the Americans fought for in '76, returns to himself from half the book stores of the Union in the unpleasing form of orders for his writings cancelled; or in that of their being prohibited by the town crier. The loss of so many *buyers* of one's book is something to care for. But that is the least of the punishment. The chief is the loss of *reading*,

term till he came to England.—'An American Farmer in England,' p. 219. We venture, nevertheless, to retain it as a genuine Americanism of the bad time.

* H. P. Tappan's 'Step from the New World to the Old, with Thoughts on the Good and the Evil in both.' New York. 2 vols. 8vo. 1853.

and of the fair fame which millions of readers confer on the popular author. Mr. Thackeray's disagreeable palinodia of penitence would not have been needed, had he but thought of the natural sensitiveness which bygone events have left lingering among tens of thousands of American readers of British books. This incident deserves to be recorded.

In 'The Newcomes,' Mr. Thackeray says, 'When Mr. Washington was heading the American rebels with a courage, it must be confessed, worthy of a better cause' —

This was published in London in October last, and on the 22nd of November, the 'Times,' from its New York correspondent, gave the news of the unlucky wit having, by this passage, 'lost a great many friends in America.' *Hæ nugas seria ducunt in mala!*

The citizens of the United States, however, are now taking a noble revenge of such escapades. Instead of retorting upon them with worse abuse, they show how they can rival our best writers; and their visitors to the old east often tell the tale to the west so well as to secure our willing admiration.

Such friendly relations would always prevail, if not broken off by false policy. Before the war of 1776, though Washington and a large majority of the leading men of the colonies, habitually grew up, and lived at home, a considerable number came to Europe. Of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence, fourteen had already been in England, and several of them were educated at Eton and Westminster.* Dr. Rush, who afterwards earned an European reputation, took his medical degree in Edinburgh. Franklin had previously gained fame among us as a philosopher; and for twenty years he laboured in London as earnestly to remove the occasions of discontent, as he afterwards boldly and sagaciously aided the cause of resistance. Poor Otis, an eloquent Boston patriot, had already come to London to appeal against the wrongs of his colony and his own, to a colonial secretary deaf to all reason. The correspondence of these eminent *colonists* from Europe must never be omitted in a survey of this valuable department of American literature. If the British colonial ministers of that day had adopted the advice then given by Baron Mazeres, and so had followed our old constitutional principle of making representation in parliament commensurate with the territorial limits of government, not only were all the elements of good legislators at their command in British America, but the consequences of such political amalgamation must have been most beneficial, in regard to

* Dwight's Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. New York. 1851.

the arts, to science, and to literature. West, the president of the Royal Academy, carried on an active correspondence with his home across the Atlantic; and the American Ledyard, a great traveller, whose name belongs to both worlds, brought among us, at that period, the best spirit of American enterprize, and he was duly appreciated.

Of seventeen distinguished Americans, named in the volume published at New York under the title of 'Homes of American Authors,' fourteen have visited Europe; and nine out of the nineteen eminent individuals selected for a similar work, entitled 'Homes of American Statesmen,' have lived among us. Of late, the Americans have published their opinions profusely upon the men and things which they have closely examined in Europe.

Washington Irving, like his own Columbus, almost belongs to both worlds. He might even have been once called a denizen of Europe; and his works, although largely and thoroughly American, are deeply imbued with all that we possess of the graceful in style and of the delightful in research. His familiarity with the south from early youth; his long-continued residence in England after the Peace of 1814; and later in Germany, France, and Spain; with his last honoured reception among us by the great, the learned, and the *universal public in the success of his writings*, have been not less merited by his great intellectual qualities than by the peculiar effect he has produced as a conciliator of the people of his own world to the scenes and feelings of our old one.* In the language of the happy American eulogy, his is

'A choice nature, not wholly deserving

A name either English, or Yankee—just Irving.'

It is the more urgent to recognise Washington Irving as the head of *American* literature, since his place is rashly given to another, Fenimore Cooper, who would himself have been the most earnest to refuse the false pre-eminence. In the 'Living Authors of America,' published in New York by an English writer, Washington Irving is set aside 'as more of an English than an American classic.' The author of 'Salmagundi' (1807), of 'Knickerbocker's History of New York' (1809), with other works on American topics, popular in America years before the London publishers appreciated his merits, and one of whose last productions in 'Knickerbocker's Magazine' is redolent of the

* Washington Irving was born in 1783. He travelled in the south of Europe from 1804 to 1806. He lived, for the most part, in England from 1815 to 1832, passing several years of this period in Germany and Spain. In 1842 he was minister in Spain. He received one of George IV.'s gold medals for eminence in historical composition, and the degree of LL.D. from the University of Oxford.

traditions and peculiar beauties of the American Hudson, is rashly said by the English critic, not to 'have produced a single passage that an Englishman might not have thought or written!'

On the contrary, it was Mr. Irving's American reputation that gave the peculiar value to his charming *English* works; and he has returned home with his brilliant European reputation only to enhance the excellence of his late *American* works, to which he is said to be, at this moment, adding a *Life of Washington* to crown the labours of his pen, that is not less patriotic for being truly cosmopolitan.

The Americans surely do not need to be cautioned against a writer who sets out with this extraordinary blunder,—which, indeed, is sufficiently exposed by their own graceful works upon the 'Homes of American Authors,' among whom Washington Irving stands pre-eminent. Mr. Powell, however, interlards this, his *first* series of the 'Living Authors of America,' with a notoriously unfounded depreciation of Queen Victoria's literary taste, and with apocryphal anecdotes of distinguished men with whom he claims intimacy. He must not, therefore, complain at our protest against the 'views expressed in his book being the result of the deliberations of the most distinguished critics in England—not his own individual opinions.' He may be safely challenged to produce a single eminent Englishman who has ever denationalized Washington Irving.

Mr. Thomas Powell, the author of the tissue of libels called 'Living Authors of England,' as well as of the 'Living Authors of America,' has no title to the pretensions thus put forth of representing any section of British literature but its most worthless lodgers in Grub-street. It is, indeed, highly probable that he is the individual of whom Miss Sedgwick, in her 'Letters,' tells a lively story. A young author was one of a party at which that lady was present, and Sidney Smith was another of the guests. The dramas of the young author had been treated with some indulgence, and his indiscretion led him, on that capital, to launch out with extreme folly upon some topic of the day, when the veteran critic dealt with him summarily in a way to make any but the incorrigible penman of the 'Living Authors of America' repent and be for ever silent.

Fenimore Cooper has a more extensive European fame than even Washington Irving. A thorough sailor, and a daring one, his rougher spirit naturally gave a less indulgent view of the old world's doings, when he reported them with a master's hand to his countrymen. His experience of England, from his first visit in a 'round jacket and tarpaulin' in a merchantman, to his being a welcome guest of 'Rogers and at Holland House,' in the decline of his honoured life, was extensive.

In his 'ten volumes' on Europe, England has a prominent share; and if he had never written a line more about us than his brief notice of the pitiable state of our 'maid of allwork,' seen at Southampton, we ought to be grateful for the honesty and right-heartedness of the reproach. It justifies our rebuke of American brutality towards the negro and the Indian, and has stimulated the reform of an abuse too long tolerated in England.

Space is wanting for a full display of what has been done in this way by similar minds; but a slight glance at some recent works by Americans, will show that they visit Europe with profit, by producing for the improvement of their country memoirs of what we possess to reward their spirit of enterprise and observation, besides giving us the lessons of acute, impartial critics.

Miss Sedgwick writes with rare purity of style; and her 'Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home' are models of familiar composition as well as excellent guides for all who travel from the Isle of Wight through Germany to Naples. Margaret Fuller, who perished so sadly with her husband and infant, within sight of home, and Mrs. Kirkland, and Mrs. Sigourney, have left traces of their visits to England which make it a source of regret that so few American *women* come among us. Of the eighty-nine whose verses grace Mr. Read's splendid collection of 'Specimens of the American Poetesses;' and Griswold's abler collection, not more than half a dozen seem to have crossed the ocean.

The literary merits of Willis are too well known to require more than the mention of his name in a catalogue *raisonné* of American travelling beyond sea. But he has won another sort of laurel by giving the kindly *imprimatur* of his eminent name to the 'Views Afoot; or, Europe seen with Knapsack and Staff,' of Mr. Bayard Taylor, a work which has new and peculiar merits. Its success is an additional guarantee of those merits. Seven editions were sold in a year and a half from its first publication in 1847. The copy we write from is one of the fourteenth edition of New York; and the work has been re-published and well received in England. It is the simple record of the author's travels on foot from the north of Ireland, Scotland and England, through France and Germany, to Rome; and back, including his voyage from New York, and a characteristic return to his home in the state of Maryland.

The book was 'written during his wanderings—partly by the way-side, when resting at mid-day, and partly on the rough tables of peasant inns, in the stillness of deserted ruins, or amid the solitude of the mountain-top.' Letters written thus were despatched from time to time to the judicious and friendly publishers of two

American newspapers, who by their liberality had enabled the noble adventurer to set out.

Mr. Bayard Taylor was in 1844 a printer's apprentice—a worthy scion of the printer class of Franklin, with two years of his time unexpired. The success of a volume of poems enabled him to realize a 'long-cherished desire to visit Europe.' From the proceeds he redeemed his articles of servitude, and made prudent arrangements for the continuance of his literary services to provide the modest resources he wanted for his object. If such reasonably-expected means of travel should fail him, he resolved to turn to 'his skill as a *compositor*; at the worst, to *work* his way through Europe.'

That all should turn out well to a man of this character will surprise none. He 'used strict economy, lived on pilgrim fare, and did penance in rain and cold.' He succeeded in looking upon the shrines of his youthful enthusiasm in our old world; and his story is told in his book so as to stimulate thousands of his countrymen to follow his example. It cost him 472 dollars (£112) for his voyages out and home and for his travels—with £7 7s. more for 'places of amusement, guides' fees, and other small expenses.' He closed his enterprise as he began it. His London letter ends with these words:—'Our whole tour from Liverpool hither, by way of Ireland and Scotland, cost us but 25 dollars (£6 5s.), although, *except in one or two cases*, we denied ourselves no necessary comfort. This shows that the glorious privilege of seeing the scenes of the old world need not be confined to people of wealth and leisure.'

This was the feeling that carried our Oliver Goldsmith, with the like resources, on foot over the same roads. Mr. Taylor has gathered experience of the best things among us to make himself a denizen of the school of genius, in which he is worthy to be placed on Goldsmith's level. He found American artists honourably esteemed—Willis at Frankfort, producing exercises that met with the warmest approval of Mendelssohn; and in Florence, Hiram Powers, the sculptor, at the head of a group of his countrymen, eminent in their several branches of art.

Mr. Olmsted's 'Walks and Talks of an American *Farmer* in England in 1850,' have furnished a characteristic volume. With some 'academic' training, and the experience of practical farming, the author has given a graceful miniature account of Chester, and the neighbouring villages extending to Eaton Hall and Chirk Castle. It is literally the visit of an intelligent American agriculturist to an English agricultural district for the purpose of profiting by our improvements; and the editor of the 'Royal Agricultural Society's Magazine' will do well to let his readers have

an abstract of this monograph on our 'hundreds of steam-engines for threshing,' our good draining, and our ploughing as straight as the lines on a printed page. Mr. Olmstead is in raptures with our village scenes in May; and his readers will be delighted with his pictures of them, and with his portraits of the individuals he met at village inns, and at the lodgings in Chester, where he studiously selected the most modest houses consistent with personal comfort, in order that he might the better study the common people. The castle had also its special attractions. To him this old thing is quite new; and its history tells him of matters that Americans claim a common property in with ourselves—above all, the Puritan struggles of the seventeenth century—the true source of American independence. His description of Chester, its antique streets and houses, and of its cathedral, with clever wood-cuts from his own sketches, are original and graphic. Mr. Olmstead carefully examines the question of English feeling towards the United States, and concludes that improvement is taking place in both. Only men of vulgar minds, or those who give up to party the sentiments that belong to mankind, any longer indulge in that 'love of hostility' which is too strong in all our natures.

Another American, Dr. Ware, has dealt with us lately to another purpose in his 'Sketches of European Capitals,' which should have been entitled 'Italy and London.' The book is an excellent guide to St. Peter's and the Vatican; and its keen estimate of our national faults which make us disliked in spite of the fine qualities that gain us, as Dr. Ware testifies, universal respect, may be turned to good account as a wholesome corrective. Its honest and eloquent denunciations of the abominable American practice of *spitting* everywhere, and before everybody, ought to be stereotyped, and distributed 'wherever men do congregate.'

Mr. Jarvis' very curious survey of 'Parisian Sights and French Principles, seen through American Spectacles,' is a combination of guide intelligence, political discussion, and social notices, showing what acute and able men America is sending to the old world to note European doings, and boldly lay them bare before the world.

These two last books, with Mr. Bayard Taylor's, have been reprinted in London in cheap forms.

The Anti-slavery Convention, held in London in 1840, brought many eloquent American philanthropists among us; and on their return some of them published their views on England. One of these, Mr. Edward Lester, has since been the American consul at Genoa for many years; and he has lately given his

'Consulship'* to the world. As was to be expected, the work contains something on the author's especial calling—the office of consul; and seeing the importance of that office, with the many analogies between the American and British consular service, Mr. Lester's elaborate chapter on the subject deserves to be read critically on this side of the Atlantic. But he has also expatiated in a desultory way on whatever may be supposed to have fallen under his notice during a residence of seven or eight years in Italy—Italian antiquities, Italian art, and Italian politics, whilst he diverges occasionally into other European scenes and interests. The work abounds in valuable biographical and personal incidents, of which one may be briefly told for the sake of its great moral lesson:—A British-born negro once made a murderous assault upon him without the slightest possible provocation, and followed up the attack with the rage of a wild beast. At the same time the negro committed a like assault on the police agents who interfered, and for the double offence was condemned to the galleys for life. Mr. Lester thinking that a worse use could be made of a criminal than even hanging him—namely, condemnation to the galleys—obtained the commutation of the sentence to penitentiary imprisonment. After reiterated displays of excessive obduracy, when Mr. Lester kindly visited him, the man at last relented. He was softened by the injured benefactor, and hung upon his knees with tears of grateful penitence, when a passage was found for him home, after his good conduct in prison had earned its reward. The case is a practical proof of the force of unwearied kindness, and it places Mr. Lester's character as a judicious and sincere philanthropist in a pleasing light.

Mr. Ditson's promised travels in every part of Europe, and in both the Indies, and his comparisons of the genius of the Scottish clans, of the Indian tribes of America, of the Hindoos and the Circassians, will be received with great interest. In the mean time, the fact which he states of the formidable character of the 'fortresses which protect the harbour of Sevastopol, one of the safest and finest in the world,' is not without value in our dearth of exact information as to the Russian ports in the Black Sea. He says there are 'strong commanding fortresses at the mouth of the port, as well as on its two sides, and on the southern angle of the inner harbour,' whilst 'each elevation has a long range of cannon mounted on it.'† Mr. Oliphant's report is less formidable, as our readers have had the opportunity of recently learning.

* My Consulship. By C. Edward Lester. Two vols. 12mo. New York.

† Circassia, or a Tour to the Caucasus. By G. Deighton Ditson, Esq. London and New York: T. C. Newby. 8vo. 1850. pp. 87.

It would not be difficult to multiply examples of writings which illustrate our general topic:—the list in the note below does scanty justice to them.*

But one class of literary visitants from America to Europe, not yet noticed, is at this moment peculiarly interesting to us. We are labouring hard to *educate* our people, reform our educational trusts, and multiply our educational institutions, schools, museums, lectures, and *public libraries*. In regard to the last, the associated schoolmasters, presided over by the late Lord Mayor, Challis, tell us truly, that their increase is the one thing needed to enable those masters to do their work. A public library in every parish of 1000 souls, and in much larger places more than one, is as much a necessity as the baker's shop. Instead of thinking of this unquestionable fact, the books in our old public libraries, in all parts of the country, are rotting on the shelves, or are sold for little better than waste paper. The Americans are not doing so. They are sending to England to buy our books. They have permanent agents here to make such purchases; and the last movement in this respect was that of a convention of librarians from all parts of the Union to consider how every little township can be best provided with a public library. In the true spirit of the republicanism of letters, delegates from the North American British Colonies attended this convention, which was held in New York, in September last; and its references to European experience respecting libraries were not the least interesting part of its proceedings.

The Americans have peculiar aptitude for foreign travel. They are excellent linguists. It is even said that they learn French more easily, and speak it better, than any foreigners in France. Their knowledge of Spanish and German surpasses ours; and numerous distinguished foreigners, not British, have long been naturalized among them—the Benezets, the Gallatins, the Agassiz, the Audubons, the Girards, and the Sillimans, the family of our author. The check-work of which all nations consist more or less—and of which ours is a famous example, as Defoe shows in his 'True Briton,'—is more visibly and more audibly social check-work in the United States than elsewhere. Whilst the great sub-

* Among statesmen who have published books on Europe and European States, are to be mentioned,—Rush; Wheaton; and Bancroft. Among literary writers,—Irving; Cooper; Jared Sparkes; Willis; Stephens; Bryant; Emerson; Margaret Fuller; Miss Sedgwick; Mrs. Sigourney; Mrs. Kirkland; Dana; Longfellow; Tappan; Gliddon; Prescott; Greely; Ditson; Ward; Freeman; Browne; Olmstead; Smyth; Flagg; Stiles; and Islam. Among artists,—Catlin. Among philanthropists,—Elihu Burritt; Lester; Calvin Colden, and the eloquent Wells Browne.

stratum is our 'Brito-Romo-Saxo-Dano-Norman-English,' there will be found superadded whole districts of pure German, and French, and Spanish, with strong Dutch and Swedish traditions. American translations of eminent foreign books of jurisprudence and philosophy ought to be better known in England; and if all their ambassadors cannot, like Mr. Everett, at Windsor, 'fluently converse with each member of the diplomatic corps in his own vernacular tongue,' those ambassadors, and their consuls too, are extensively acquainted with foreign languages. So, although Mrs. Putnam has, perhaps, no equal in any country in the world for critical knowledge of languages, for 'she converses readily in French, Italian, German, Polish, Swedish, and Hungarian, and is familiar with twenty modern dialects, besides Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Persian, and Arabic;—although this extent of linguistic acquirements, paralleled only by Cardinal Mezzofanti, and some half dozen great names of both worlds, and both sexes,—still the fact of one American woman being thus accomplished marks the studious tendency of her people.

These two remarkable examples, Mr. Everett and Mrs. Putnam, are taken from a charming work, 'The Homes of American Authors,' published last year in New York.

'The Visit to Europe in 1851' is the production of an American, who was well prepared to travel in the old world with advantage, by having conducted during many years 'The American Journal of Science and Art,' in which is recorded all that deserves notice in the progress of science everywhere. The author is himself an experienced traveller, having visited Europe in 1805, and his journal of that time was published with much success. In 1851, accompanied by his son, he again visited England, and extended his travels to France, Switzerland, Italy, Sicily, or rather to Mount Etna, and to a large part of Germany. His scientific reputation secured him everywhere friendly access to all that is interesting; whilst his great knowledge, his judgment, and extraordinary activity, have enabled him to produce accounts of the men and things he saw, which will render the 'Visit to Europe in 1851' a guide to future travellers.

The early naturalization of Professor Silliman's forefathers in America is here told incidentally in a valuable anecdote. One of his pleasantest excursions was from Iverdun to a village high up in the Jura mountains, to pass a day with a Protestant minister of his own name, with whom he had before corresponded. It appears that the Swiss branch of his family escaped from Lucca with the Italian Protestants of the sixteenth century, at the time of the forced emigration of the famous Olympia Fulvia Morata from Verona, and the founder of the American branch went to the new world with the English Puritans.

The objects of interest to the professor in his travels are unlimited; but his readers will be the more disposed to accompany him to the numerous *museums* and libraries, and the grand scenes of nature, all of which he examines with a master's eye. The letters open and end with elaborate displays of the merits of the steamers of 3200 tons, in which the author's two recent flights across the Atlantic agreeably contrast with the slow passage ship of his former visit. He landed at Liverpool, and at once began his comparisons of the present with the past of fifty years ago. The old slave mart is remembered, not to upbraid us, but to temper our severity against the slaveholders of the United States, where, Professor Silliman asserts in the word of the American song, 'Better times are a coming,' as they are come, he is happy to say, in Liverpool. But the wealth and great improvements of Liverpool are sadly contrasted, he alleges, with objects of squalid poverty, not surpassed by anything in Italy or Sicily—nor, Professor Silliman fairly adds, in *New York*, with arrivals of 1000 European emigrants daily. At a subsequent stage of his travels in Saxony, he makes a like appeal on behalf of the white slaves of Europe, women who are commonly employed in 'drawing wagons, sometimes aided by dogs, and in harness, *but never by men.*' At the school of mines of Freiberg, he saw 'a feeble old woman tottering under her load of wood—a spectacle that was a disgrace to humanity.' In regard to the children or girls of Liverpool, 'whose clothes were so tattered and scanty, that neither comfort nor decency could be consulted,' he justly observes, 'that if deserving of charity they should be provided for; and subjected to wholesome discipline if worthless.' The Liverpool Museum he found new, and rich in specimens of natural history, and the strange animated beings of the antediluvian world beginning to be familiar to us by the discoveries of Mantell and Buckland, and the ingenious lady of Lyme Regis. The impressions of *chirotheria*, or animals with hands, from the Storeton quarry of sandstone, near Liverpool, are here in great perfection. The geologists hold them to be frogs as large as oxen, which crawled on that sandstone when soft. The fine casts of the Elgin Marbles and other statues, the professor says, have lost their beauty from the *smoke* of Liverpool!

Excursions to certain points on the way form an interesting part of these travels. Before reaching London, visits were paid to Chester; Eaton Hall, with its fine park, gardens, and its genuine remains of Boadicea and the Romans; the Menai tubular bridge—'an achievement which must for ever place the name of Robert Stephenson above all praise;' Carnarvon and its castle; Llanberis and its famous slate quarries, and passes under Snowdon; Corwin and its Welsh harper; Llangollen, so long known for its beautiful

scenes, for the taste of its eccentric residents, whose house the professor terms 'a gem,' and for its magnificent viaducts, and aqueduct bridges; and the baronial castle of Chirk.

In Oxford and London, Professor Silliman received the first of those attentions due to his own eminence as a man of science, and which he records with proper care. Dr. Daubeny, of Oxford, he had entertained in America many years ago; Buckland and Kidd he had corresponded with; and on his first visit he had, in the company of Wilberforce, and other friends of popular improvement, had occasion to show how wastefully the enormous wealth of our universities is spent when compared with the American system of public institution. His remarks upon the meagre results of all that is at present done for science in Oxford, will help promised reforms. The ablest professors lecture to empty rooms! 'Dr. Buckland's noble spirit might well be discouraged by classes, which would have been meagre indeed in any of our infant colleges in the youngest States of the Union. He is said to have ended his last course in Oxford with *three* pupils' (vol. i. p. 87). The Ashmolean Museum of 1667, the Bodleian Library of 1602, and the Radcliffe Library of 1750, were all visited with satisfaction, but with some grudging at the number of shillings exacted by respectable-looking gentlemen in black for their courtesies.

In London, Professor Silliman was at home. He is an honorary member of the Geological Society, and had been the host in America of the most distinguished members of that body. To the objects and management of the Museum of Economical Geology in Jermyn-street, where the science is taught in its application to the business of life, he gives warm and unqualified praise; and appeals strongly to the government of the United States to follow our example. His visit to the British Museum in 1851, offered a curious and most satisfactory contrast to what had been experienced in 1805. At that time it was very troublesome to get inside the walls at all; and when in 'you were hurried through the rooms with inconvenient haste, ten minutes being allowed in a room—you were not allowed, except by special favour, to linger where you found most to instruct you.' Now 'all the treasures are thrown open wide to all, whether British or strangers, and all come and go as they please.' With this accomplished, it is reasonably to be expected, that the very few changes still wanted in the reading-room will soon be granted.

After a brief stay in London the party hastened to Italy, through France and Switzerland. In Paris, objects of science chiefly attracted them. At the Artesian well of Grenelle, which has thrown so much light on the question of the internal heat of the earth, first asserted by the venerable M.

Cordier, they learnt to appreciate the ease with which *warm water*, for general use, might be raised in every great city, at a moderate price. The museum at the Garden of Plants, the medical museum, the museum of pottery of all nations and ages at Sèvres, the museum of coins, the museum of the school of mines, were evidences to him of the scientific riches of the French.

At Lyons again, museums of the arts and of natural history are established by the side of the famous silk manufactories. At Nismes, the famous Maison Carré, a Corinthian temple of Adrian's time, is well filled with Roman antiquities abounding in the neighbourhood. At Nismes, and the next city, Arles, which also has its museum, there are two remarkable Roman amphitheatres.

The way taken into Italy was from Marseilles and Nice to Savona and Genoa, by the 'Reveira road, or the Cornice,' a fearful pass of the Alps by the sea, a thousand feet headlong down to the shore, and with two thousand feet of perpendicular mountain height above. Here 'you are suspended in mid-air, between heaven, and earth, and ocean, and are equally impressed with the sublimity of nature and the daring of man.' 'You travel within a few feet, or yards, of a tremendous precipice, beyond the edge of which there is nothing between you and death. In general there is a parapet, but not always. Sometimes road materials, or rubbish, form an imperfect barrier. There is, however, no danger, and the traveller proceeds with full confidence, and is quite at ease to enjoy that magnificent scenery.'

The gigantic sections made on the mountain side overhead, by the blasting of the rocks when this slip of a road was made, enabled our philosophic professor to take an interesting lesson in geology at this giddy height.

In Genoa, 'the City of Palaces,' two objects were sufficient to interest the travellers in their brief stay. The first, as was natural to an American, was a monument to Columbus, now in progress, 'worthy of his merits and achievements, and of her magnificence.' A Genoese, a pupil of Canova, is intrusted with the work, which represents great scenes in the life of the discoverer of the new world; his demonstration of his views of the western voyage to India before the monks; and his ignominious arrest in Cuba upon the charge of treason. These groups have thirteen figures of the size of life, and the whole is to be surmounted by a colossal statue of Columbus himself. The other object was the Palavicini villa, near Genoa, visited through the accidental opportunity afforded by the delay of the vessel in which the party was to proceed to Civita Vecchia. This visit gave the

travellers a proof of the sumptuous habits and the fine taste of the rich Italians of our time. Whatever sculpture, and architecture, and the art of laying out grounds can produce, is here effected; and from all parts of the world rare plants and fruits are collected, the cultivation of which is facilitated by the Italian climate.

In Rome, Professor Silliman passed ten days, and that short space of time never, surely, was so fully nor so worthily employed by the most enlightened explorers of the sublime and beautiful. In the museum of the Capitol the party saw the original bust of Cicero, which represents him as a large man, with a full face and round head, the very reverse of the Earl of Pembroke's statue, which makes his features lean, muscular, and sharp, with a wart on the right cheek. The authenticity of the bust in the Capitol is undoubted. The 'Dying Gladiator' is here, 'embalmed,' says Professor Silliman, 'by Lord Byron,' whose descriptions, he adds, are not only most wonderfully faithful, but 'all other language seems poverty-stricken and unmeaning when compared with the masterly touches by which he has painted the monuments of antiquity that adorn his pictured page.'

The catacombs, with their memorials of early Christianity, were of course visited—those places of refuge and prayer for the persecuted, the secret chapels of which combined the traces of ancient art with the changes adapted to the wants of the new religion, from which combination most of the architecture of more modern cathedrals and churches arose. The vastness of these ancient tombs of great Rome may be inferred from the fact that they extend thirty miles under ground.

Details of the Appian Way and its tombs; of the Mamertine Prison and its victims, and of many other monuments of ancient Rome, close with brief notices of the palaces of modern Roman princes; but perhaps the most attractive memorial of the visit is the excursion to Tivoli. The beauties of the fine little antique temple of Vesta, and the Falls, were found to merit 'the admiration of 2000 years.' In going to Tivoli they passed through Hadrian's Villa, 'once including a circuit of eight to ten miles, with a lyceum, an academy, a vale of Tempe, a Serapeon of Canopus (Egyptian), a library, barracks for guards, a Tartarus, Elysian fields, numerous temples, and a Greek theatre, whose outlines are still visible. . . . Hadrian collected here an astonishing number of works of art to illustrate his own travels. The Venus de Medici now at Florence was taken from a niche still shown in the Temple of Venus.' 'Tivoli was the favourite resort of the Romans. Horace has left a record of his earnest wish that he might here pass the evening of his life. Syphax, the

Numidian king, died here after two years' captivity, 202 B.C., and Zenobia also died at Tivoli, after gracing the triumph of Aurelian. She was allowed a beautiful villa surrounded by all the pomp of an Eastern princess.'

The next halt of the party was at Naples, where 'of course the objects of great attraction and greater interest were Vesuvius, Herculaneum, Pompeii, and the Bay of Baia.' The details of this visit are minute, and well explain the whole catastrophe, of which the Crystal Palace is to have a perfect model.

The party now went to Sicily for a fortnight, of which three days and three nights were spent upon Mount Etna. At Catania, a city of 50,000 souls, was found a fine museum of the mineralogy and geology of the island, with a well-arranged anatomical collection, and a department of chemistry; physics under the care of Professor Gemmelaro, one of the authors of a valuable pictured chart of Etna.

On the way north, Pisa was visited, with its leaning tower, 'one of the most beautiful objects in Italy,' rendered the more attractive by having been the spot where Galileo made his decisive experiments upon the law of the descent of falling bodies, and upon the vibration of the pendulum. Here also was seen an admirably-arranged rich museum of natural history, for the population of only 28,000 souls.

Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Brescia, Milan, and Como formed the next glorious circuit of travel. Of the wonders seen at Florence, 'the city of the fine arts,' the tombs of Dante, Machiavel, Michael Angelo, the Medici, Galileo, and Alfieri in the noble church of Santa Croce, the Cathedral, the Campanile, the Medicean Museum, the Museum of Natural History, the models in wax, and the Tribune of Galileo,—the two last are perhaps the least known.

At Bologna, besides the finest picture-gallery in Europe, richer than any other in the works of the Caracci, Guido, Guercino, and Domenichino, the University was visited with great interest for the sake of its remarkably-distinguished *female* professors. In the fourteenth century Novella de Andrea, daughter of a celebrated canonist, frequently occupied her father's chair. Laura Bassi was professor of mathematics. Her lectures were attended by learned ladies of France and Germany, and she was made LL.D. Recently, Madonna Manzolina was professor of anatomy. The wax models of human anatomy were made by her. Matilda Tambroni, at one time the friend of Cardinal Mezzofanti, has been the professor of Greek, and a lady is at present librarian.

Ferrara, the seat of early protestantism in Italy, the place of refuge of Olympia Morata, 'the most distinguished woman of

her age,' the burial-place of Ariosto, and the prison of Tasso, was found remarkable for the library of the *Studio Publico*, with the MSS. of both poets.

Padua offered its reminiscence of another woman of universal learning, Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, who died in 1648, mistress of all the languages, a poetess, a musician, and a mathematician.

With a notice of its frightful prisons, and Lord Byron's exact description of them, Venice was only glanced at, as well as a notice of the glass manufacture; but an excursion was made to Monte Bolca, 'a celebrated locality of fossil fishes,' near Verona.

Milan is described with care; the splendid improvements by Napoleon when making it his capital of the kingdom of Italy, the Cathedral, the tomb of the worthy saint, Carlo Borromeo, with its costly adornments and exposed revolting skeleton, the Ambrosian library, the picture-galleries, the museum of natural history, and lastly the best hotel in Europe, kept by an English-woman in a palace!

Como was visited, the birth-place of the Plinys, and of 'Volta, whose discovery of the pile, which bears his name, opened the way to wonderful results in science and art, and is still in successful progress.' His countrymen have done justice to his memory by erecting a suitable statue of him in a public square.

Upon the beautiful Lago Maggiore, was visited Isola Bella, the beautiful island. It was converted, in 1671, from a barren rock into a residence now replete with all that art can do to create a paradise. The palace is a museum of science; the gardens are filled with the rarest exotics naturalized under an Italian sun.

The party entered the Alps by a great valley, in which was procured the Baveno feldspar, well known to collectors. They passed over the Simplon in a day, near fifty miles from Domo d'Ossola, to the banks of the Rhone. 'The dark awful cliffs of the pass, sometimes impending over head, menaced destruction; whilst the vast masses that had fallen, and lay in huge piles below, told of dangers past, liable at any moment to recur.' More than 30,000 men were employed in the work. Terraces of solid masonry were constructed for many miles. The road is twenty-five feet broad, in some places thirty. The average slope is less than an inch to a foot. The cost was £5000 a mile—five times the average of English roads. The highest part of the road is 6578 feet above the sea. On the way over the Simplon, towards Geneva, a visit was paid to the salt-mines of Bex, under the management of a distinguished geologist, M. Charpentier. It is here that the anhydrous gypsum is found, which is regarded with great interest by mineralogists.

At Geneva, Professor Silliman saw Merle d'Aubigné, of

when he speaks in the highest terms of respect. He also met a galaxy of brilliant men of science, its natives—with whom and whose fathers he had for many years corresponded in his own and their scientific journals. In the museum of the University, he saw the collections of Haller, Brongniart, and Decandolle, with reminiscences of De Saussure, who first ascended Mont Blanc. Here his excursions were for objects of science in nature's grand museum—the Alps. The Botanic Garden, the scene of Decandolle's lectures, produced an exceedingly interesting anecdote. In 1815, when Decandolle wished for a botanic garden, the labouring men of Geneva offered voluntarily to build a hot-house, and glaze it at their own expence. A model of this glass work of the poor man should be secured for our Sydenham Palace. A visit to the grave of Davy, who died at Geneva, in 1829, recalls to the traveller's recollection his visit of 1805 to Pannone, the birth-place of 'the humble apothecary's boy, destined to become a distinguished philosopher, and then an interesting interview with him in the same year at the Royal Institution.' In Geneva, a great number of Calvin's letters are preserved; and a selection on miscellaneous topics, not controversial, may be looked for shortly. Those written on the occasion of the death of his wife, are said to place the character of the stern reformer in the most amiable light.

An excursion to Mont Blanc, the Sea of Ice, and the Glaciers, finished matter of high interest. It was begun by an incident, which Mr. Albert Smith may turn to account. The stupid guides took a wrong turn, and so carried the travellers forty miles out of their way—occasioning the loss of a day—no small trial of temper to men who were economizing their hours so well, as this book proves.

At Louanna, an interesting personal reminiscence occurred. Here valuable collections were obtained forty years before, by an American, for Yale College Museum; and Professor Silliman now saw the scenes whence the minerals came which he himself had then unpacked.

The travellers proceeded to Germany, by Neuchâtel, Bern, Basle, Freyburg, and Strasburg. In Neuchâtel, with only 7000 inhabitants, they found provisions made for public education, beyond those of very large cities even in America. In Bern, the Museum has its peculiarities. The bear is the armorial ensign of the state; and living bears have for ages been kept in honour. When, in 1798, the French took Bern, they carried off the collection to Paris. There, one of them, Martin, became a great favorite at the Garden of Plants; and gained European celebrity from his numerous visitors. He was, however, restored

to Berne after the battle of Waterloo; and is now immortalized in his stuffed skin in the museum. But a still greater attraction than Martin is the noble dog of St. Bernard—Barry—which in the course of its life saved fifteen human beings. Its portrait is sold, with an historical inscription to its honour. The collection of Alpine minerals and fossils in the Berne Museum is also very interesting. The public library, like that of Basle, is rich in local celebrities and reminiscences of the great reformers.

At Freyburgh, the first German city visited, the travellers began their series of visits to museums and public libraries, superior even to those they had seen in France, Italy, and Switzerland—the population and wealth of the inhabitants considered.

Passing rapidly, by railroad, through Strasburg, the party halted at Heidelberg, but only to see the two eminent professors of geology and mineralogy—Leonhard and Sturm, whose houses are museums; and the famous castle, now a museum, with superb public gardens. An excursion was made to Geissen, to see Liebig, who received Professor Silliman and his friend at the chemical lecture. The room was crowded with at least 100 students. Liebig's 'manner of lecturing is calm and quiet: his voice is musical, and his fine dark deep-set eye, sparkle with a depth of intellectual fire, indicative of high genius The expression in the published prints of him is very different from that of his speaking face. The print is true to the form of his features, but it does not give the suavity and mildness which he wears in conversation.' At Hesse Darmstadt, there is a public library of 200,000 volumes, besides that of 200,000 in Geissen, its university. Here the chief object of interest was the museum of Dr. Kaup, who discovered the fossil bones of Eppelsheim and the Rhine—the *dinotherium*—the primeval elephant, and mastodon. Here are likewise the remains of paleotheria, like those of the Paris basins, and there are some that are peculiar—for example, a very large jaw of an animal nearly allied to the horse.

Passing rapidly down the Rhine, the party halted at Bonn; where the mineralogical and fossil collections of Dr. Krantz are either sold for money, or exchanged for other collections. A model, in plaster, of the head and paddle of the largest *ichthyosaurus* yet discovered, of perhaps sixty feet long, cost twenty-one dollars. The public museum of natural history is extensive in Bonn. A rapid journey to Berlin, Dresden, and Leipsic, and back to London by Brussels, Waterloo, Paris, and Boulogne, completed this continental tour. In Berlin, royal statues and palaces were seen and appreciated, but it was in 'the scien-

tific, and literary society, probably the first in Europe, and in the persons of such men as Humboldt, Ritter, Ehrenberg, Rosas, and others, that was seen the highest result of modern civilization,' justly says our American philosopher—a man so worthy to take his place with them. He and his young friend saw all that a few days could admit them to of the science of Berlin. Ritter at once received them at a meeting of the Geographical Society, and that evening opened everything to those who were scarcely strangers to a body of men, with which an active correspondence had already been carried on for years. Baron Von Humboldt received them with kindness; and crowned a long interview with a subsequent autograph letter, which will be consulted at a future day, not, it is to be feared, distant, by all who would duly estimate his character. 'He is the philosopher,' says Mr. Silliman, in an able eulogy of Humboldt, 'who, of all living men, belongs not so much to his country as to mankind, and who, when he departs, will leave none to fill his place.'

Near Dresden, the Saxon School of Mines, at Freiberg, was visited, and the deep mines. Forty-six years before, the professor had visited the Cornish mines, to which he refers with a becoming thankfulness for his prolonged and vigorous life. The value of these mines may be inferred from the fact, that in 640 years, down to 1828, they produced 82,000 cwt. of silver, equal to 5000 millions of pounds sterling. The produce of 1853 was £100,000. At this visit ample homage is paid to the great name of Werner, who drew to Freiberg 'students from all Europe, and both Americas.' The countless attractions of Dresden were rapidly looked at—Leipsic was merely passed through in the night, much as it was wished to survey the great battle field.

After a welcome day of rest at Cologne, our travellers reached Brussels, only to hasten to and linger at Waterloo, with its excellent Cotton *museum* of battle relics.

The return to London, in August, to study the Crystal Palace of 1851, also included other scenes of interest in London and the country, until the departure of the party for New York, where they arrived safely in September. They had been absent from home less than six months. The marvels of steam ships and railroads go far to account for the easy accomplishment of so much in so short a time; but the methodical mind, the high intelligence, and the elevated character of the chief of the party, the worthy and able professor of Yale College, must be taken largely into the account. The *mens sana in corpore sano* was never better displayed; and it is gratifying to know from the lite-

rary notices of the day, that professor Silliman is returned to his native land, to take his usual leading part with renewed vigour, in the important works, by which the new Americans are honourably rivalling the old world they love and respect with so just a discrimination.

The writers selected for this cursory notice are those who have studiously expatiated on what is *commendable* among us. There is another class to which attention must be given, though with reluctance. They are the works of men who habitually view things on the worst side. Such writers are born a little too late. They should have flourished thirty years ago. Even those writers have their redeeming quality of strongly sympathizing with the million, and Warren Islam, and Matthew Ward, the leaders of our vituperators, do not take their leave of us without expressing warmly the hope and conviction that England's race is not yet run,—but to keep her place among the nations, they implore her governors to be just to those out of the pale of her electoral institutions, and who have too small a share in her intellectual resources.

ART. V.—*Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*. Edited by the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P. Volumes V. and VI. London: Longman and Co. 1854.

OUR notice, of what might almost with propriety be designated the autobiography of the poet Moore, is continued in the volumes before us, through the most mature and satisfactory, if not the most eventful years of his life. They are solely occupied by his diary, commencing in his forty-seventh year, and closing in his fifty-sixth. Moore had now attained the zenith of his fame. Richly recompensed for his literary labours, and courted by the highest society of the age, he spent these years, in a career of intellectual and aristocratic luxuriation, which has already excited the envy of a thousand literary aspirants, who have no such glories foreshadowed in their horoscope. His days and evenings were passed in the selectest society which the civilized world can afford. His relish for such pleasures was unabated; and it certainly requires a very sober estimate of the advantages of the present life to repress a sense of envy at his remarkable lot. Though still a man of pleasure, which, in the highest sense of that phrase, he must ever have been, until the descending chills of age had abated the relish for sensuous, convivial, and æsthetical

pleasure, he enjoyed a perpetual communion with men the most distinguished by rank, intellectual power, literary attainments, and political eminence. A large portion of these volumes is occupied with the history of this brilliant intercourse. Many of the details reflect the more prominent features, and the instinctive bent of his own genius. No touch of wit or humour ever escapes his keen perception or his recording pen; though at the same time it must be admitted, that we glean in these far more richly than in the preceding volumes the political, philosophical, and critical observations, both of himself and of his distinguished associates.

In November, 1825, we find him visiting Sir Walter Scott, and here we meet with an entry, which calls for passing notice (the italics are our own):—

‘Sat with him sometime in his study; saw a copy of the ‘*Moniteur*’ there, which he said he meant to give to the advocate’s library when he *was done with it*. I said that what astonished foreigners most was the extent of his knowledge. “Ah, that sort of knowledge (he answered) is very superficial.” I remarked that the manual labour alone of copying out his works seemed enough to have occupied all the time he had taken in producing them. “I write,” he answered, “very *quick*; that comes of being brought up under an attorney.” Writes chiefly in the morning; from seven till breakfast time; told me the number of pages he could generally produce in the day, but I do not accurately remember how much it was.’—Vol. v. p. 3.

We do not mean to enter again into the question of the authorship of the Waverley Novels; but the reader will observe that Moore’s observation has reference only to the *copying* of manuscript, and that Scott in his reply makes no reference to the time occupied in composition. Our italics are intended to point out the ungrammatical style in which Mr. Moore not unfrequently writes, and which is remarkable in a man of so much scholarship and acquaintance with general literature. The expression, *I eung*, instead of *I sang*, which occurs a thousand times in his ‘*Diary*,’ may perhaps be defended by the authority of some other writers; but there are certain other mistakes, which do not admit of this doubtful justification, and which by their perpetual recurrence, reminds us of Horace’s supposed musician, ‘*Chordâ qui semper oberrat eâdem*.’ Indeed Moore seems always to have been distrustful of his accuracy in language, and expresses (oddly enough as it appears to us) in a conversation with Lord Lansdowne (vol. v. p. 305), his surprise that Lord John Russell never used an English dictionary, to which, he added, he himself was perpetually referring. This surely can only be accounted for by Moore having received his early education in Ireland. Yet when

we think of Burke, and a host of other names, we confess that this reason does not altogether remove the difficulty.* Moore's next notice of Scott is somewhat unsatisfactory. 'Sir Walter a different man (this in 1825) from what he was at Abbotsford; a good deal *more* inert, and when he did come into play, not near so engaging or amusing' (the reader will not fail to remark the bad English already noticed in the word *near*). A curious tale occurs in one of these volumes, of Sir Walter having thought that he saw Lord Byron standing in his study; and leaving the room hastily, said to his daughter, 'If ever you saw Lord Byron in your life, you will see him in that room.' The appearance was thought to have been produced by the accidental incidence of the light on a peculiar arrangement of drapery. A still more curious circumstance of the same kind occurred to a man of far less excitable temperament (the late Sir Robert Peel), and was mentioned in a private conversation between him and Mr. Moore. 'The circumstance,' says Moore, 'was, that Peel in the year 1810 (I think) had met, as he thought, Lord Byron in the streets of London at a time when the latter was actually lying ill of a fever at Patras. The fact was, Peel said (though he did not like his name to be quoted seriously as an authority for a ghost story), he was really under the impression, and *still continued so*, that he had not only seen, but talked with Lord Byron at the time' (vol. vi. p. 14). In dismissing our notices of Sir Walter Scott, we quote the language of Lord John Russell, in whose views we see very little to dispute:—

'Scott with a good sound understanding, had an open hearty manner, and where his politics did not interfere, a cordial warmth towards his fellow men. His chief merits in society were a cheerful tone, an inexhaustible memory, and a fund of anecdotes and stories, which he told with strong Scottish humour aided by a strong accent. But in order to see Walter Scott at his ease, it was necessary to see him at the head of his own table, or at least in his own country. When he came to London, he was stiff and constrained, and seemed always apprehensive of remarks, which he should feel bound to resent. The consequence was, that his London acquaintance were equally constrained with him. But put him in his own house, surround him with friends, and there could not be a more jovial, a more agreeable, or a more unaffected member of society. Like Samuel Johnson, he pretended to no fine sentiment or divine inspiration, which made him an author. He did his work as a workman, knew the merits and defects of his writings, and was contented to reap

* In speaking of his 'Squibs on the Juries,' respecting which Lord John Russell had given him a caution, he says, 'This, I daresay, is in consequence of my last, which was not so good as my others. I made a mistake of idiom, too, throughout it, putting "all in *the* family way," instead of "*a* family way." '—Vol. v. p. 55.

the reward of a very popular talent, without overrating the intrinsic value of the article he produced.'—Preface to vol. vi. p. 14.

In December, 1825, Moore was summoned to Dublin on occasion of the fatal illness of his father, and in connexion with this event we find some indications of Moore's religious views (if, indeed, he can be said to have had any) which deserve notice.

'The subject of religion,' he says, 'was the only one, it seems, upon which his mind was not gone. When the priest was proceeding to take his confession, and put the necessary questions for that purpose to him, he called my mother, and said, "Anty, my dear, you can tell this gentleman all he requires to know quite as well as I." This was very true, as she knew his every action and thought. In recording circumstances, which occurred immediately after the death of his father, he says, "Our conversation naturally turned upon religion, and my sister Kate, who, the last time I saw her, was more than half inclined to declare herself a Protestant, told me she had since taken my advice and remained quietly a Catholic. (Here Lord John indicates an omission by three asterisks, at which we are not surprised.) For myself, my having married a Protestant wife, gave me an opportunity of choosing a religion, at least for my children; and if my marriage had no other advantage, I should think this quite sufficient to be grateful for. We then talked of the differences between the two faiths, and they who accuse all Catholics of being intolerantly attached to their own, would be either ashamed or surprised (according as they were sincere or not in the accusation) if they had heard the sentiments expressed both by my mother and sisters on the subject.'—Vol. v. pp. 22, 23.

Moore's own feelings with respect to the great change are shown in a conversation with Sidney Smith, in June, 1831. 'Walked with Sidney Smith; told me his age, turned sixty. Asked me how I felt about dying. Answered, that if my mind was but at ease about the comfort of those I left behind, I should leave the world without much regret, having passed a very happy life, and enjoyed (as much perhaps as ever man did yet) all that is enjoyable in it; the only single thing I have had to complain of being want of money. I could, therefore, die with the same words that Jortin died—"I have had enough of everything."' (Vol. vi. p. 207.)

All this we think must excite a pensive smile. Moore not only approves of a dying confession by proxy, but congratulates himself on having crossed the breed of religious orthodoxy, and thus having the curious privilege of *choosing* the religion of his successors. We might almost be excused for amusing ourselves with conjectures about Moore's theological arrangements.

In a word, Mr. Moore, at the time at which we are speaking, was possessed of *religiousness* without religion. He evidently regards it as a merely perfunctory matter, to be performed, in-

differently, by the party or the proxy. Of the strict individuality of man's relations to God, which constitutes the essence of all religion, he seems to have been profoundly ignorant; and while possessed of what a Christian might call a large amount of natural amiability and virtue, he seems to have taken a strange view of the estimate which the Great Judge must take of all such distinctions, in that account to which the subjects of the Christian dispensation will be finally amenable. In referring to the death of his father, he says, 'Felt my heart full of sadness when I got to my bedroom, but was relieved by a burst both of tears and prayer, and by a sort of *confidence*, that the great and pure spirit above us could not be otherwise than pleased with what he saw passing within my mind. This, perhaps, is not Christian humility, but let it be what it will, I felt consoled and elevated by it.' In fact, with regard to religion, as well as to politics, Mr. Moore oscillated through life between two opposing influences. In religion, he was attached to catholicism, through his parentage, and to protestantism, through his marriage and his social relations. In politics he was attached to the rights of Ireland through nationality, and to the Whigs through those personal associations, which, despite his theories and his hopes, constituted the charm and the glory of his life. The sentiments (to say nothing of the principles) of Moore exhaled rapidly among the *parterres* of Bowood, and in the dining-room of Holland House.

We will now follow him into society. After dinner at Bowood, on the 25th of January, 1826, we get the following amusing scraps of conversation. Lord Ellenborough being once met going out of the House of Lords while Lord —— was speaking, "What! are you going?" said the person to him. "Why, yes," answered Lord E.; "I am accountable to God Almighty for the use of my time." Talked of Sir David Baird; his roughness, &c. His mother said, when she heard of his being taken prisoner at Seringapatam, and of the prisoners being chained together two and two, "God help the mon that's tied to my Davie!"

At a breakfast at the house of the poet Rogers we are introduced to Sydney Smith, the power of whose wit and humour over Moore seems to have been well nigh unlimited:—

'Smith,' he says, 'full of comicality and fancy, kept us all in roars of laughter, in talking of the stories about dram drinkers catching fire, pursuing the idea in every possible shape. The inconvenience of a man coming too near the candle when he was speaking, "sir, your observation has caught fire." Then imagine a parson breaking into a blaze in the pulpit; the engines called to put him out; no water to be had, the man at the water works being an Unitarian or an Atheist. Said of some one, "He has no command over his understanding; it is

always getting between his legs and tripping him up." Left Rogers's with Smith, to go and assist him in choosing a grand pianoforte; found him (as I have often done before) change at once from the gay, uproarious wag, into as solemn, grave, and austere a person as any bench of judges or bishops could supply. This, I rather think, his natural character. Called with him at Newton's to see my picture. Said in his gravest manner to Newton, "Couldn't you contrive to throw into his face somewhat of a stronger expression of hostility to church establishments?"—*Ib.* p. 75.

Moore's observations on the natural gravity of Smith seem to indicate a remarkable knowledge of human nature. The same thing is true of three of the greatest humorists of that day, neither of whom, of course, could be classed with Sydney Smith, except in this peculiarity of temperament. We refer to Hood, Matthews, and Liston. We have been assured that the favourite reading of the last of these was Dr. Young's 'Night Thoughts.'

Of Sydney Smith, as of other notabilities presented to us in these volumes, we will cluster together the principal notices they contain. On the 21st of May, 1828, we find them together at an evening party at Lady Davy's. In talking of the Irish church, and pronouncing it a nuisance, he said, 'I have always compared it to setting up butchers' shops in Hindostan, where they don't eat meat. "We don't want this," they say. "Ay, ay, true enough, but you must *support our shop*."'" It is remarkable that Moore should not have mentioned in his 'Diary,' so far as it has appeared, that this illustration supplied him with the materials for one of his admirable 'squibs,' which takes the form of the recital of a dream, and commences—

'The longer one lives the more one learns,
Said I, as off to sleep I went,
Being much bemused with tithe concerns,
And reading a book by the Bishop of Fearn's,
On the Irish Church Establishment.'

On the following day we get another characteristic touch. Mr. Rogers's excessive praises of the gentleness of Smith's horse elicited from him the explanation, 'Yes, a cross of the rocking horse.'

Another exhibition of Sydney Smith which is worthy of notice, is found in a note from him to Moore, dated the 15th of June, 1831, in answer to a playful remonstrance, on the part of Moore, for his having prematurely left a party at which he was singing. It is as follows:—

'My dear Moore,—By the beard of the prelate of Canterbury, by the cassock of the prelate of York, by the breakfasts of Rogers, by Luttrell's love of side dishes, I swear that I had rather hear you sing than any person I ever heard in my life, male or female. For what is your singing but beautiful poetry floating in fine music, and guided by

excellent feeling? Call me dissenter, say that my cassock is ill put on, that I know not the delicacies of decimation, and confound the greater and the smaller tithes, but do not think or say that I am insensible to your music. The truth is, that I took a solemn oath to Mrs. Beauclerk to be there by ten, and set off, to prevent perjury, at eleven, but was seized with a violent pain in the stomach by the way, and went to bed. Yours ever, my dear Moore, very sincerely, SYDNEY SMITH.'

We feel constrained to give one last notice of this irresistible man. Moore's memorandum of the 6th of April, 1832, is as follows:—

'Breakfasted at Lord John's; company, Lady Hardy and one of her daughters, Lord William, Sydney Smith, and Luttrell. Sydney delighted; when the horse guards were passing the window, said to Lord W., "I suppose now you must feel the same in looking at those that I do at looking at a congregation." Talking of the feelings people must have on going into battle, Lord William, appealed to, said it was at first always a very anxious and awful feeling, but soon went off. I mentioned my having been on board a frigate, when she was cleared for action, and Luttrell said he had been in the same situation aboard a post-office packet, and had a musket put into his hands. This set Sydney off on the ingloriousness of such a combat; drawing a penny post cutlass and crying, "Freeling for ever!" Spoke of the knowledge sailors have of ships at a great distance. Took them off, saying, with a telescope to the eye, "Damn her, she's the 'Delight,' laden with tallow."

'Sydney highly comical about Sir Henry Halford; his rout pill, to carry a lady over the night; his parliamentary pill, &c. Never shakes any one by the hand; seizes always the wrist.

'Told of Leslie, the Scotch philosopher, once complaining to him that Jeffrey had "damned the North Pole." Leslie had called upon Jeffrey, just as the latter was going out riding, to explain some point (in an article for the 'Edinburgh Review,' I believe) concerning the North Pole; and Jeffrey, who was in a hurry, exclaimed impatiently, as he rode off, "O, damn the North Pole!" This Leslie complained of to Sydney, who entered gravely into his feelings, and told him in confidence, that he himself had once heard Jeffrey "speak disrespectfully of the Equator." Left Lord John's with Sydney and Luttrell, and when we got to Cockspur-street (having laughed all the way), we were all three seized with such convulsions of cachinnation at something (I forget what) which Sydney said, that we were obliged to separate, and reel each his own way with the fit; I thought if any one that knew us happened to be looking, how it would amuse them. Lord John, by the bye, had asked me to meet them at dinner next Tuesday, but I shall then be at Sloperston. Turned back with Sydney to call at the Duke of Northumberland's; left our cards. Told me that he had been knocked down by a coach the other day in crossing the street, and was nearly run over; and that, knowing how much of Lord Grey's patronage had accrued from accidents happening to clergymen, he found

himself saying, as he came down, "There's a vacancy!"—Vol. vi. pp. 263-5.

It only remains, in dismissing Sydney Smith, to introduce the noble Editor's remarks on his conversation in his Preface to the sixth volume.

'If it is difficult,' he says, 'to convey any notion of the conversation of Sir James Mackintosh, it is hardly possible to describe that of Sydney Smith. There are two kinds of colloquial wit which equally contribute to fame, though not equally to agreeable conversation. The one is like a rocket in a dark air which shoots at once into the sky, and is the more surprising from the previous silence and gloom; the other is like that kind of firework which blazes and bursts out in every direction, exploding at one moment, and shining brightly at another, eccentric in its course, and changing its shape and colour to many forms and many hues. Or, as a dinner is set out with two kinds of champagne, so these two kinds of wit, the still and the sparkling, are to be found in good company. Sheridan and Talleyrand were among the best examples of the first. Hare (as I have heard) and Sydney Smith were brilliant instances of the second. Hare I knew only by tradition; but with Sydney Smith I long lived intimately. His great delight was to produce a succession of ludicrous images: these followed each other with a rapidity that scarcely left time to laugh; he himself laughing louder and with more enjoyment than any one. This electric contact of mirth came and went with the occasion; it cannot be repeated or reproduced. Anything would give occasion to it. For instance, having seen in the newspapers that Sir Æneas Mackintosh was come to town, he drew such a ludicrous caricature of Sir Æneas and Lady Dido, for the amusement of their namesake, that Sir James Mackintosh rolled on the floor in fits of laughter, and Sydney Smith, striding across him, exclaimed, "Ruat Justitia!" His powers of fun were, at the same time, united with the strongest and most practical common sense. So that, while he laughed away seriousness at one minute, he destroyed in the next some rooted prejudice which had braved for a thousand years the battle of reason, and the breeze of ridicule. The letters of Peter Plymley bear the greatest likeness to his conversation; the description of Mr. Isaac Hawkins Brown dancing at the court of Naples in a volcano coat with lava buttons, and the comparison of Mr. Canning to a large blue-bottle fly with its parasites, most resemble the pictures he raised up in social conversation. It may be averred for certain, that in this style he has never been equalled, and I do not suppose he will ever be surpassed.'—Preface to Vol. vi. pp. xii.-xiv.

Reverting to the course of the 'Diary,' we are arrested by the memorandum of a discussion at Bowood, as to whether a sentence, however forcible and well expressed, should be rejected because it happened to fall into blank verse. Moore quoted a passage from Milton's prose works, which, he says, closes with the words 'Prognosticate a time of strife and schism.' This is an instance

of Moore's inaccuracy in recording the more critical portions of the conversations in which he took part, which we might venture to say never pertains to the jokes. The words of Milton are—

——‘Prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.’

With respect to the occasional practice in question, which, no doubt, in most instances is unperceived by the author himself, numerous instances might be cited. Mr. Hall closes one of his paragraphs with the words ‘The shouts of battle and the shock of arms.’ The close of one of Dr. Johnson's Essays falls thus—

‘And when the morning calls again to labour,
Begin anew thy journey and thy life.’

Washington Irving has a whole paragraph which falls, no doubt intentionally into blank verse. And Mr. Dickens, in his sentimental passages, often adopts the same embellishment.

In the spring of this year (1827), Moore was chiefly engaged in the completion of his ‘Epicurean.’ It would be, of course, impossible to enter into anything like a critical estimate of this, or, indeed, of any other of Moore's prose productions. Perhaps it is not too much to say of the ‘Epicurean,’ that it is hardly possible to find, in any language, a prose work that contains so much poetry.

Moore's next work of any importance was his ‘Life of Byron,’ and at this we find him working for more than twelve months to come. It is surprising that so habitual a pleasure hunter, and so inveterate a diner out as Moore, should have found time or inclination to produce so large a mass of intellectual and entertaining composition. There is only one way of accounting for it,—namely, that in Moore's singular case, the most poignant pleasures, both social and sensuous, had, from perpetual repetition, lost the power to dissipate.

In July, 1827, we find a memorandum respecting Lord Castlereagh, whose singular obtuseness of expression was a favourite subject of fun, both with Byron and Moore. Some readers will recollect the merriment of the former about his confusion of metaphor. ‘The *feature* on which this question *hinges*.’ ‘The noble lord has turned his back on himself,’ &c.; while those who are acquainted with Moore's ‘Squibs,’ will not forget the rich conglomeration of blunders which occur in a satirical letter to Castlereagh, on the political condition of Paris.

‘Where still (to use your lordship's tropes)
The level of obedience slopes
Upwards and downwards, as the stream
Of hydra faction kicks the beam.’

The memorandum is as follows:—‘Somebody the other day in

talking of Castlereagh's ignorance (which appears to have been extensive to a degree hardly conceivable), said that he always mistook the phrase "joining issue" with a person to mean agreeing with him. This, however, I believe is no uncommon vulgarism.' We are inclined to think that Moore's last observation has some truth in it, and it reminds us of two very good men, of whom we have known something, the one of whom invariably applied the phrase 'Your humble servant' to the party addressed, and the other always subscribed himself in his letters 'Your esteemed friend.'

In the same vein Moore says, in recording the conversation at Bowood (vol. v. p. 223),—'Another passage of Hallam produced, exhibiting the same ambition of style: "Silent and sluggish in its fields, like the animal it has chosen for its type, the deep-rooted loyalty of the English people," &c. &c. The animal here, it is to be supposed, is the bull; but, by the construction of the sentence, it is the loyalty that is represented as "silent and sluggish in its fields," and in addition to these two unintelligible qualities, "deep-rooted" into the bargain. They talk of the metaphors of poets, but from the metaphors of *prose* men defend us!'

The conversation of this particular evening was enriched by the quotation of a classical pun of Lord Wellesley, which we think was never surpassed. "Fazakerley told me after dinner two or three puns of Lord Wellesley's, one addressed by him to Galley Knight, when they were on shipboard together, and Knight was looking very rueful with sickness and uncomfört. 'Come, come, cheer up; *you* of all people can't expect to be exempt from annoyances. You know what Horace says,—

"Neque
Decedit ærata triremi, et
Post equitem sedet atra cura."'

This allusion reminds us of a similar felicity cited by Sir James Mackintosh (vol. vi. p. 90):—'Mackintosh mentioned as one of the happiest applications of a classic quotation that he knew anywhere, that of Leibnitz, in his answer to Bayle's objections against theism in the 'Theodicée.' Bayle had died before Leibnitz published this work, and in speaking of this event the latter said that it was but natural to suppose one of the rewards of his candid spirit in its present state of bliss would be the happiness of seeing all his former doubts on divine subjects cleared away—

"Candidus *insuetum* miratur limen Olympi
Sub pedibusque videt *nubes* et sidera."'

Moore has favoured us hitherto with but scanty notices of two men with whose private habits and conversation the better part of the public desire to be acquainted. We refer to Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Macaulay, the former one of the first talkers and the latter one of the first writers of his age. Sir James, like the distinguished man to whose companionship in early life he mainly attributes in one of his letters his intellectual eminence (we refer to the late Mr. Hall), wrote far too little to satisfy the wishes either of his own or of succeeding generations. Hall had the excuse of incessant, painful, and almost congenital disease; Sir James could only plead the inadmissible excuse of habitual but contemplative indolence. His articles in the 'Edinburgh Review,' his reply to Burke in the 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ,' and his fragmentary constitutional 'History of England,' are mere provocatives of a desire for larger supplies of thought from his truly philosophical mind. Of his conversational powers Lord John Russell presents us with the following discriminating estimate:—

'Of all those whose conversation is referred to by Moore, Sir James Mackintosh was the ablest, the most brilliant, and the best informed. A most competent judge in this matter, Sydney Smith, has said, "Till subdued by age and illness, his conversation was more brilliant and instructive than that of any human being I ever had the good fortune to be acquainted with." His stores of learning were vast and of those kinds which, both in serious and light conversation, are most available. He was profoundly acquainted with the doctrines of the ancient sects of philosophy and the modern churches of Christianity, and he so tempered, assisted, and controlled his memory by his judgment, that, if he were referred to on any disputed point, his answer would give not merely the fact but a condensed argument on the controversy. So that not only was the hearer correctly informed of the exact nature of the tenet which he inquired about, but such light was thrown upon it that he could account for its rise, its prevalence, and its tendency, without further investigation. This information, too, which no book or number of books of reference would have given, was conveyed in the easy language of conversation, and with the unassuming tone of an equal and a companion. Indeed, his mind seemed to comprehend in distinct but harmonious method the whole history of human thought, from the earliest speculations of the friends of Job to the latest subtleties of the disciples of Kant. With rare impartiality of mind and a charity of disposition still more rare, he gave its full weight to every opinion, and made the fairest allowance for every error. Not less copious and instructive was his knowledge of civil and political history; the conduct of Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary; the projects of the Crusaders, the views of the leaders of party during the French Revolution, all found in him a searching inquirer and an impartial judge. On lighter subjects he was equally at home: epigrams, farces, and novels were not less familiar to him than the treatises of Grotius or the annuals of Hemans. Possessing a good share of wit and humour,

he took his part in political warfare, armed no less with the "tart reply" than with the "eloquent harangue." I remember sitting by him when a great lawyer, disclaiming from the Treasury Bench all participation in the opinions of the liberal party, said, "I could see nothing to tempt me in the views of the gentlemen opposite." "For views read prospects," whispered Mackintosh to me. Thus endowed, conversation was his favourite employment and his chief seduction. His style in writing was far from being clear and idiomatic, his manner of speaking in parliament was too elaborate, perhaps too didactic, and his voice harsh and hoarse, but in society his gentle bearing and his vigorous tone made him powerful and pleasing, victorious and delightful.—Preface to vol. vi., pp. xi. xii.

We find in February, 1829, a proposal made to him by Messrs. Longman to produce a History of England which might be accompanied by one of Scotland by Sir Walter Scott, and of Ireland by Moore. The terms proposed were £3000 for three small volumes, and to Scott and Moore £1000 each for a single volume. The result is well known. That of Mackintosh was never completed, while that of Moore extended to several volumes.

Of Mr. Macaulay the notices in the volume before us are unfortunately brief. In June, 1831, we find, in the 'Diary,' 'Breakfasted at Rogers's to meet Macaulay. Talking of Pascal's 'Lettres Provinciales,' Macaulay said it was almost the only book one never could get tired of.' (Vol. vi. p. 210.) A few days afterwards a similar memorandum occurs:—

'Went (Lord John and I together, in a hackney-coach) to breakfast with Rogers. The party, besides ourselves, Macaulay, Luttrell, and Campbell. Macaulay gave us an account of the state of the *Monothelite* controversy, as revived at present among some of the fanatics of the day. In the course of conversation, Campbell quoted a line, "Ye diners out, from whom we guard our spoons," and looking over at me, said significantly, "You ought to know that line." I pleaded not guilty; upon which he said, "It is a poem that appeared in the 'Times,' which every one attributes to you;" but I again declared that I did not even remember it. Macaulay then broke silence, and said, to our general surprise, "That is mine;" on which we all expressed a wish to have it recalled to our memories, and he repeated the whole of it. I then remembered having been much struck with it at the time, and said that there was another squib still better, on the subject of William Bankes's candidateship for Cambridge, which so amused me when it appeared, and showed such power in that kind of composition, that I wrote to Barnes about it, and advised him by all means to secure that hand as an ally. "That was mine also," said Macaulay; thus discovering to us a new power, in addition to that varied store of talent which we had already known him to possess. He is certainly one of the most remarkable men of the day.'—Ib. pp. 213, 214.

In another place Moore gives an example of the singular

powers of memory possessed by Mr. Macaulay, who, he says, remembers everything. A passage of some work, we think of the 'Provincial Letters,' having been referred to, he quoted it *in extenso*, and word for word. It is amusing to contrast his preference for the 'Provincial Letters' with that of Dr. Johnson, for the only three works which, when he had perused them, he wished were longer. These being, if we recollect rightly, 'Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress,' Miss Burney's 'Cecilia,' and Law's 'Serious Call to a Devout Life.'

Of the present Marquis of Lansdowne we have, of course, many notices, some of which constitute the strong points of interest in these volumes. Of these we extract one or two. On the 4th of November, 1827, Moore chronicles the conversation of a solitary dinner with Lord and Lady Lansdowne, at Bowood. 'On my asking him whether he thought Lord Althorp, Milton, &c. &c., were continuing stanch to the present state of things, he said, "Yes, he believed as far as they *ought*. That it was *right* they should keep, to a certain degree, a distrustful watch on the government."'" Another notice on the same conversation is curious:—

'In talking of the close *rapprochement* which long-lived individuals establish between distant periods of history, he said, as an instance, that he himself had been acquainted with Sir Edward Baynton, who knew Sir Stephen Fox, who had been on the scaffold with Charles the First. I mentioned, as another instance, William Spencer having, when a boy, played on the sofa with his grandfather, Lord Vere, who had done the same thing (played on a sofa) when a boy with Charles the Second. Lord L. remarked how curious it was to think that by this sort of *links* the number of *persons* necessary to carry tradition down from Adam to the present day, might all be contained with ease in the room we sat in, calculating them at a rough guess about seventy persons.'—Ib. p. 231.

Again on the 24th of December, 1827, we have a fine glimpse of Lord Lansdowne's political character:—"On my remarking that Barnes, I believed, as well as other of his (Lord L.'s friends) wished him well out of his present connexion, he said, "Yes, yes, but it would never do to give up at a moment like this, when there are such difficulties to be faced. So far from it, that were I even to be left alone in office, I would sooner hold all the seats of all the departments, if that were possible, then resign at a juncture so full of difficulty as the present."'" (Ib. p. 240).

Whatever the reader may think of the political principles and career of Lord Lansdowne, we believe that he will hardly catch these glimpses of his character without admiration. Moore's notices of the late truly estimable Lady Lansdowne, are equally interesting, and are alike creditable to her own singular excellence,

and to the moral feeling which could so warmly appreciate it. Of her cheerful tolerance of the apartments which to her benevolent feelings seemed sanctified by honourable poverty, and fatal disease, and of her almost pious attentions to the mortal remains of her humble beneficiaires, we find here repeated notices, and Moore's brief and general remark upon her character, is, to our taste, invested by the very ingenuity of its homeliness with a peculiar charm. 'Had a long conversation with her, and came away (as I always do) more and more impressed with the excellent qualities of her mind and heart; even her very faults are but the *selvage* of fine and sound virtues.' Mr. Shiel once said, in his place in parliament, when doing homage to her present Majesty on her accession, 'That too rude a panegyric is apt to rub off the enamel from a lady's fame;' the last change, however, that can pass upon female worth, transmutes that enamel to diamond, and Lord John Russell, with the boldness of a cordial appreciation, thus tastefully eulogizes the character of this noble lady:—

'There was another person whose society Moore frequented with a growing admiration of its excellence, and an increasing appreciation of the benefits he derived from it. I cannot properly expatiate upon the character of one whose virtues loved to retire even from the praise of loving retirement; who sought in works of charity and beneficence, among her poorer neighbours, a compensation for the worldly advantages which excited the envy of others; but among the good influences which surrounded Moore, and led him to revere a woman "unspotted from the world," I could not omit to allude to his intercourse with her who diffused an air of holiness, and peace, and purity, over the house of Bowood, which neither rich nor poor can ever forget.'—
Preface to Vol. vi. p. 18.

In March, 1828, Moore commenced his life of Lord Byron; a work which, whether we regard its pecuniary emolument, or the accession it occasioned to his fame, must be considered one of his most important productions. Perhaps the biography of Byron ought, on some grounds, to have been the work of a more judicial mind than that of Moore, of one who sympathized with that calm impartiality with which it is said that the ancient Egyptians sat in judgment on the dead. This could hardly be expected from Moore, either in his capacity of a man, or a friend. A man of pleasure himself, he could hardly be expected accurately to compute the aberrations, and to note the baneful influences of that eccentric luminary after it had passed away from the vision of this world. Without altogether sympathizing with the violent language which was fulminated from the indignation of Dr. Southey, we fear we are only expressing the estimate of the wisest and the best of men, when we affirm that the moral influence of the writings of Byron has been in an equal

degree extensive and depraving. The higher class of his admirers have pardoned far too much to the lawlessness of his genius; while the tastefulness of his very immorality has acted as poisoned wine upon multitudes who have been incapable of appreciating the mischievous magic which concocted the potion, and said 'Be wise and taste.'

In spite of all deductions, however, the 'Life of Byron' is a biography so fascinating, that even those who disapprove of its tone and tendency find it a hard sacrifice to lay down the book. The genius of the subject, and the sparkling vivacity and taste of the biographer, like a warp and woof of golden threads, form an elaborate tissue which, with its perpetual variety of device and design, will probably never cease to charm so long as that literature shall endure which preserves the poetry of Byron and Moore.

The spring of 1829 was saddened by the gradual decline and death of Mr. Moore's daughter Anastasia. Moore's character never shows to so great an advantage as when he is under that kind of adversity which afflicts the heart. No event of his life ever so completely subdued his habitual vivacity as this; and the soliloquies given in his 'Diary,' especially the details of the closing scene of this interesting girl's life, are irresistibly affecting, and have ere this, we doubt not, been read by thousands through their tears. Perhaps, indeed, the exuberant gaiety which constituted the normal condition of Moore's mind, renders more pathetic the spectacle of his susceptible heart, bursting with the sorrows of parental love. For a long time after the event, the large social circle which he enlivened were obliged to forego the unequalled charm of his singing, and on the first occasion on which he ventured to sit down to the piano he distressed his friends by a total failure of self-control, and left the room in hysterical convulsions of weeping. Nearly two years after the loss of his daughter, he concludes the diary of the year with the following words:—"Here ends the year 1830, and here most gladly do I take leave of this most melancholy book (meaning the manuscript volume in which the year was recorded), which I have never opened without a fear of lighting upon those pages of it that record the event to me the most saddening of my whole life—the only event that I can look back upon as a real irreparable misfortune; the loss of my sweet Anastasia.'

Though we have omitted nine-tenths of the pleasantries with which these volumes abound, we have left but little space for touching in conclusion upon those political references which are specially interesting at the present time. The first we have noted will probably excite some surprise. It bears date September, 1829. 'Lord Holland all for Russia, and says it has always been

the natural side of England.' If we were asked what his lordship meant by this, we should feel ourselves much in the condition of Mackintosh, who, when asked what Madame de Staël meant by saying that Napoleon was not a man but a system, rubbed his head, and replied, 'Mass, I can't tell.' Mr. Moore's opposition to O'Connell's agitation was most decided. In a conversation, in Dublin, in February, 1831, with Mr. —, the editor of the 'Freeman's Journal,' he observed—

'The church, for instance, which would be just now fought for, against any such attack as O'Connell's, with the whole Protestant force of the empire, would, if left to the natural operation of the revolution principle, be put aside, in due time, without any difficulty; England herself leading the way by getting rid of, or at least lowering her own establishment. This was the great struggle for which the energies of Ireland ought to have been reserved. In assailing the enormous abuses of the Irish establishment, Catholics would have been joined by dissenters, and in the pursuit of this common object, that amalgamation would have taken place between them, that *nationalized* feeling, without which (as O'Connell's failure has shown) it is in vain for Ireland to *think* of making head against England. In another way, too, they had done injury, by exposing the poverty of their cause in the way of talent and intellect; this ferment not having been able to throw up a single man of ability. . . . All this (coming from one who, he could not doubt, felt strongly, and even *greenly*, about Ireland) seemed to *astonish* Mr. — exceedingly.'—Ib. p. 175.

We extract one other passage, in which we find Lord John Russell and Mr. Moore joining issue on the probable effects of the Reform Act. In a conversation with two noble lords, at Brookes's, in May, 1831, on the subject of reform, Moore says—

'I ventured to put strongly to them my view of the matter; the tendency, I thought, there has long been in England to a change,—a revolution, in fact; that we have been in the *stream* of a revolution for some years; and that the only question is, whether the present measure of reform will hasten or retard the stream. They listened patiently, and as if they agreed with me, confessing that our friends the ministers *might* have satisfied the country by a far less dose of reform than the present. On my expressing my curiosity to know (what never, perhaps, will be thoroughly known) how such men as Lords Lansdowne, Holland, and Melbourne, to say nothing of the Canningites, came to let themselves be hustled into such a measure, Lord — said, that whatever might have been the steps of the process, it was certain that Lord Durham was at the bottom of it all; that, from his influence with Lord Grey, he got it fully into *his* mind; and then Lord Grey's weight with his colleagues, not a little backed by his representing to them that it must be either this measure or resignation, did all the rest. Lord Lansdowne, while at all times disposed to liberalise the *working* of our institutions, has invariably been for leaving their machinery as it is; and Lord Melbourne's view of Reform has always

been that which, in politics as well as religion, most defies conversion; and that is, the scoffer's view. How they all came to be, on the surface, at least, radical Reformers (for it is nothing less), I cannot comprehend. For myself, I have always been for *improvement*, thinking that everything, in the end, will be the better for it, though the process through which that *better* must be reached is, I own, rather trying; and, after all, it may but prove the truth of the French saying, that frequently "*Le mieux est l'ennemi du bien.*" Lord Lansdowne, at least, must know or guess what I now think of his Reform from a letter I wrote him last March, before any one knew what plan was to be proposed. He had, in writing to me, said that he had heard rumours of my being radical and anti-unionist; in reply to which, after some remarks on the latter charge, I said that, so far from being radical with respect to English affairs, it was my firm belief that the Reform which the country was at present forcing upon the ministry would give but an opening and impulse to the revolutionary feeling now abroad, and, though there might be a temporary satisfaction produced by it, it would be but like the calm described in those lines (borrowed by Campbell):

“—— ad præceps immane ruinæ,
Lævior, en, facies fit properantis aquæ.”*

[* ‘The lines of Campbell are,

“But mortal pleasure, what in sooth art thou?
The torrent's smoothness ere it dash below.”

‘It is not, perhaps, surprising, that in this and other passages Moore should express some fear of the consequences of the Reform Act; but those who drew it felt no such apprehensions. They knew the strong veneration which the people of England feel for Monarchy and its attendant institutions. Had the nation not been imbued with such feelings, the mock elections of the nomination boroughs would have been a spur and not a curb to their speed; as it is, a reformed Parliament is a far stronger barrier against wild innovation than the Parliaments chosen on the old model could have been. Lord Melbourne, in his speech in the House of Lords, truly said that the consent of the people formed the strength of the Parliament, and that when that consent was wanting, it was time to change the form of the governing body. On such principles, those of Lord Grey's cabinet who had been against reform, acted in unison with those who had been long its advocates. Lord Grey and his colleagues, in thus combining to bring in the Reform Bill, acted with true patriotism and true foresight. They knew the institutions which they amended; the people with whom and for whom they acted; the principles of sound policy, and the course required by honesty and wisdom.—ED.']—*Ib.* 191-193.

One brief extract on this subject must close the present notice. In a conversation with Lord John Russell, Mr. Moore declared that he was still of the same opinion as to the rashness of giving so much to the people at once by the Reform Bill. Lord John's reply appears to us not a little characteristic: ‘So far from its

being rash, he thought it the most prudent thing they could have done. It was a very different measure they had to take of the quantum of reform necessary when in, and when out. While in opposition they were obliged to take what they could get, but when in power, and called upon to originate a measure themselves, they were pledged, he thought, to give the amplest they could with safety.'

We shall revert to this subject on the publication of the two next and last volumes of Lord John's Memorials of his '*vatis amici*.'

ART. VI.—*The Ottoman Empire and its Resources.* With Statistical Tables of the Army, Navy, Trade, Navigation, Institutions, &c. &c., drawn from the Consular Reports, as given in the elaborate Returns of the Board of Trade, and various Foreign Documents of Official Character. Preceded by an Historical Sketch of the Events in Connexion with the Foreign and Domestic Relations of the Country during the last Twenty Years. By Edward H. Michelsen, Phil. D. 12mo. pp. 294. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THIS volume is well-timed. Such a book was much needed, and the labor with which it has been prepared, and the variety and minuteness of its details, go far to command confidence and to render it invaluable at the present moment. Without entering into the merits of the pending question between Turkey and Russia, Dr. Michelsen has endeavoured to give 'a full analysis of the various resources of the Ottoman Empire, and the manner in which those resources have been made available by the Turkish government in its laudable efforts within the last twenty years to improve the moral and physical condition of the people, and to give to the Porte a more dignified attitude in the rank she now occupies amongst the great powers of Europe.' This object has been sought with much singleness of purpose, and we are bound to say that the result is satisfactory and its trustworthiness conspicuous.

The revolution recently effected in the feeling of Europe towards Turkey requires to be carefully noted, lest it lead to great and pernicious errors. Until lately the Porte was regarded as a synonyme for Eastern despotism, partially veiled in some cases by the usages of European civilization. Haughtiness, cruelty, and oppression were deemed the attributes of its civil rule, and fierce hostility to the Christian religion, showing itself in every form of brutal violence and of legal chicanery, were held

to be identified with Mohammedanism. Nor was there much error in this. The popular impression pretty fairly represented the facts of the case. No candid student of history will fail to admit that the political and religious policy of the Turks has comprised many of the worst qualities of bad government. Our people know but little of what has happened during the last fifty years. Their estimate of the Turkish character and government is founded on the reports of history. We have grown up with a fearful idea of their enormity. The image present to our minds is that of a sanguinary power which knew no mercy in its transactions with unbelievers, and ground down its own subjects to the lowest point of serfdom. There was a time when the freedom of Europe was threatened by the Sultan of Turkey. Vienna trembled at the presence of the Saracens, and was only saved by the heroism of a monarch whose kingdom is now blotted from the map of Europe. The nations were alarmed at the imminency of the danger, and even reflecting men dreaded a return of the barbarism with which the hordes of the north had previously eclipsed the light of science, and erased the culture of an immature civilization. From the terror of that period modern impressions date, and our popular literature has consequently reflected, in a thousand forms, the fears and the bitter hostility prevalent amongst our people.

A revolution, however, has been proceeding for some years past. For the most part it has been silent and unrecognised. It was beneath the surface, and was not therefore noted. It has, however, gradually prevailed, and is now seen in its full intensity. It has arisen from various causes. We no longer apprehend danger from Turkey. This has long ceased, and the hatred engendered by fear is therefore unknown. Further than this, reports have reached us of the efforts of Sultans and their ministers to reform the institutions of their country. These reports, it is true, have been vague and undefined, but they have served to mitigate hostility and to show the prevalence, within the charmed circle of Mohammedanism, of elements common to ourselves. The immutability of Oriental forms has thus been broken in upon, and we have learned to sympathize somewhat with a people who were entering, however slowly, and with whatever hesitation, on a career of improvement similar to our own.

But a more potent cause has been found in the ambitious and intriguing policy of Russia. This has been increasingly visible for some years past, and has awakened apprehension in our most sagacious statesmen. Its general effect on our countrymen has been to induce an anti-Russian rather than a Turkish feeling. This, we apprehend, is the present condition of the public mind, though something more akin

to sympathy and admiration was induced by the noble stand recently made by the Sultan in the case of the Hungarian exiles. Still the prevalent feeling is opposition to Russian ambition, and unless appearances greatly mislead us, our rulers may rely on national support in any well-considered and adequate opposition to it. The policy of Russia has been growingly visible for the last half century, and the daring procedure of the Czar in occupying the Danubian principalities, and in appealing to the fanaticism of his subjects, has now thrown away all disguise. There is no longer any concealment. He may not at this precise moment contemplate the occupation of Constantinople, but he is clearly resolved on taking a step in advance, and of thus facilitating the ultimate absorption in his own vast empire, of some of the principalities of the Porte.

Such is the obvious design of Russia, and hence the strong and almost universal feeling which prevails in this country. We shall not now dwell on the dangers accruing to our own empire from the accomplishment of such a purpose. We do not estimate them lightly, but pass them over at present as beside our immediate object. War has broken out. The Turkish soldiery have evinced unlooked for bravery and discipline. The Russians have been defeated in various encounters; and preparations are being made for trying the issue of arms on a larger scale. All our sympathies are with Turkey. We rejoice in her victories, and mourn over her defeats. We must, however, be careful not to overrate her resources. There is danger of this. It would not be an unnatural reaction from the feeling recently prevalent. A few months since, and we were assured that she could not stand for an hour against a Russian army. Her inherent weakness, we were told, would be instantly apparent, and scarcely an effort would be required to supplant the Crescent by the Cross at Constantinople. We now know differently. But let us not run into an opposite extreme. It would be most foolish and most pernicious to do so. The best service we can render Turkey is to ascertain, with the utmost possible accuracy, the extent of her resources, and to publish them to our countrymen as widely as possible. For this purpose, we know no better book than the one before us. It is drawn up with care; the witnesses it quotes are beyond suspicion; and the range of evidence it adduces is sufficiently wide to warrant a general conclusion.

Dr. Michelsen has prefixed to his *statistics* a sketch, extending to one hundred and thirty-three pages, of the history of Turkey during the last twenty years. In this he has done wisely. Such an introduction was needful, to prepare his readers for the facts he had to exhibit; and we are greatly mistaken if some portions of the narrative do not surprize them by the novelty of its dis-

closures. In reviewing the history of such a people, we should carefully guard against estimating them by our own standard. The English mind is prone to this. Accustomed to an advanced state of political amelioration, we look with an evil eye on what falls below our own institutions. Forgetting the long period through which we have passed, we fix exclusive attention on the results obtained, and fail, consequently, to do justice to those who are yet in the initiatory stage of constitutional freedom. Now it is obvious to remark, without going back beyond the Norman Conquest, that precedents may be found in the early portions of our history for much that is exhibited in the recent doings of Turkey. We cannot turn from the lawlessness of Norman rule, and the helpless misery to which the Saxons were reduced, without feeling that a people far below our *present* state may possess claims on our sympathy, and hold out the prospect of a far more advanced constitutionalism than they have yet attained. If the element of progress has been once admitted, a glorious future may be destined to contrast with the gloomy misrule of the past. We must judge of Turkey, therefore, not by ourselves as we now are, but by ourselves as we were in former ages, when the sword was omnipotent, and legal security a mere fiction. Estimated by this rule, her recent history is full of promise; and every friend of humanity will desire for her an opportunity of prosecuting the career on which she has entered. Anything which deprives her of this is most seriously to be deprecated as fraught with evil, not only to the Turkish people, but to Europe at large.

The Ottoman Empire was shaken to its very foundation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its military organization remained stationary, while that of other nations rapidly progressed. In losing its early fanaticism, therefore, it lost its power. There was nothing to supply its place, while frequent revolts of the Janissaries exhibited at Constantinople the same vices and enacted the same wrongs as the Pretorian guards at Rome. Many attempts were made to reform the discipline of these turbulent soldiers, but the popular feeling was on their side. At length, Sultan Selim III. determined, at all hazards, to rid himself of so formidable a body, in order to which he established troops on an European model. A revolution, however, consigned him to a prison, and he was succeeded by his brother Mustapha. His assassination speedily followed, and Mustapha himself was slain by the partizans of Selim. Mahmud, son of Selim's predecessor, then ascended the throne, and though distinguished amongst the princes of his race for ability and enterprize, and earnestly desirous of rooting out the notorious abuses of the government, a variety of circumstances rendered his reign one of the most calamitous in the annals of Turkey. Amongst these

must be reckoned the Greek war of Independence, and a dreadful insurrection of the Janissaries, which lasted three days, and was ultimately suppressed with great difficulty. This revolt filled the measure of their misdeeds, and the Sultan resolved to annihilate a corps, from which his predecessors, as well as himself, had suffered so severely. His object was effected in June, 1825, by the slaughter of 25,000 of them, after which Mahmud proceeded to reorganize his army. Before this, however, was accomplished, a Russian war broke out, which was attended with most disastrous consequences to Turkey. Some rich provinces in Asia were ceded to Russia, which also secured considerable influence in the principalities bordering on the Danube. The death of Mahmud, in 1839, made way for the accession of his son, Abdul Medjid, the present Sultan. In his dying moments, the former is said to have recommended to his son 'his plan and principles of reform as worthy the adoption of a statesman, and to have advised the retention of those of his ministers who had hitherto given him their aid and adherence.' This advice was adopted, and hence has arisen much of the peculiarity of Turkish recent history. The policy of the Sultan being greatly in advance of the popular feeling, has involved important modifications of the customs and institutions which have long been deemed sacred by all good Mussulmen. One of the ministers recommended by the dying Sultan was Reschid Pashah, 'who was already looked upon as the real head of the reform party, and served at the same time as a sort of guarantee for the good understanding to be effected between the Porte and the European cabinets. Educated in Europe, he made no secret of his enlarged views, in contradistinction to Mehemet Ali, who was desirous of appearing, in public eye at least, as an orthodox Mussulman.' The name of this distinguished man frequently occurs in the subsequent history of the Porte, and is entitled to high rank amongst the most enlightened statesmen of his day.

The views of the new Sultan were set forth in a grand assembly, held November 2nd, 1839, to which all the officers of state, and most eminent members of the Turkish empire were summoned, together with the deputies of the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews; as well as the representatives of foreign powers. These views were embodied in a state document, known as the 'Hatti-sheriff of Gulhane,' and though somewhat inconsistent in its logic, this declaration was indicative of remarkable progress, and opened up to the Turkish people a far brighter future than their past history indicated. Speaking of the Hatti-sheriffs, Dr. Michelsen says:—

'The Sultan promised, in its preamble, to all his subjects without distinction, full protection of life, honour, and property; next, an equal distribution of taxes; and, to the Mahomedans, a regular levy of

recruits, limiting the military service to only five years. All confiscations were also abolished in that act, which, moreover, prohibited capital punishment without previous full inquiry, examination, conviction, and judgment, by the proper authorities. As regards capital punishment, it must be observed, that though even in the most despotic epochs of the Turkish monarchy, no private individual could be put to death without proper legal trial and judgment, yet there existed a tribunal (*Mechkemeh*) constituted and based upon the Koran, which, in certain cases, such as apostasy, blasphemy, &c., had the power not only of pronouncing sentence, but even of putting it into execution without further appeal or process. It may be supposed that such tribunals differed but little in character from the Spanish Inquisition of old, and as they existed in great numbers in all the larger towns of the realm, the lives of innocent persons were often sacrificed to the vengeance of powerful foes, or to the malice of false witnesses, who, in the East, are always procurable without difficulty in cases of litigation.

‘Although the abuses of these courts were generally known, great difficulty nevertheless attached to the abolition of tribunals which founded their claims on the authority of holy writ (the Koran) itself. The first step towards a reform in that direction had been already taken by Mahmud, who had not only deprived the *mechkemeh* of the executive power in sentences of death, but gradually constituted high criminal courts of appeal, in which the sentences of the *mechkemeh* were duly examined and investigated. The new constitution, however, totally abolished the *mechkemeh*, substituting in their place supreme courts of justice, more in conformity with natural laws and the dictates of reason than with the religious precepts of the Koran. Another important and significant step towards reform, was the surrender of the (new) Sultan’s right to dispose of the lives and property of his functionaries, without any legal form or process whatever; a right of which even the enlightened Mahmud had availed himself in the latter part of his life, in the case of his favourite Halet Effendi.’—pp. 28, 29.

The general impression on the assembly was favorable, but in the provinces it was otherwise. The less enlightened, and more fanatical portions of the empire were offended at the abrogation of their exclusive privileges, and proceeded in many cases to open violence against their Christian neighbors. The Foreign Ambassadors were slow in interfering, but in August, 1843, a case occurred which led them to insist on the abolition of capital punishment in the case of apostates from the established faith. The Porte yielded to their representations in the early part of the following year, and though the abrogation of the existing law led to some disturbances in the provinces, the reorganization of the military, enabled the government speedily to suppress them. The establishment of municipal councils, which followed, was another important step in the right direction. It resulted from a meeting in Constantinople of the leading men from all

the provinces. This assembly was convened 'to discuss the material necessities of the Empire, and to consult about the improvements to be effected in industry, commerce, and agriculture.'

'These consultations,' says Dr. Michelsen, 'were productive of no direct result, the assembly being composed of men who had but little knowledge of practical matters; it gave rise, however, to the establishment of a municipal council in each province, the advantages of which no one could question. The almost unlimited powers which the governors of the provinces had originally enjoyed, had already been greatly curtailed, first by Mahmud, who deprived them of the right to inflict capital punishment, and next by Abdul Medjid, who incorporated the administration of taxes with the general department of the minister of finance at Constantinople; and now, by the establishment of municipal councils, still further limited the powers of the governors or pashahs. It was now enacted that no business of importance, of any kind, should be undertaken or decided upon by the pashahs, without consulting the opinion of that council, which was to be composed of respectable Mahomedans, resident in the province, clergy, as well as laymen, and also of deputies from other classes of citizens professing different religions.'—p. 89.

The following extract is deeply interesting at the present moment, when the Czar affects to represent the Christianity of Turkey, and appeals to the religious fanaticism of his subjects to support his pretence. The recent conduct of Abdul Medjid in the case of Kossuth and his co-patriots, was, as every one knows, infinitely more lofty than that of the Christian Emperors of Russia and Austria; and here it is seen that in the matter of religious intolerance Turkey was far outdone by her northern neighbors. The American missionaries may have proceeded in their pious labors without hindrance, but for the interposition of Russia. Not content with the death-like stupor which prevailed in his own dominions, the head of the Greek Church was offended at the freedom allowed by his Mohammedan neighbor, and was content to employ the sword of the unbeliever against the disciples of the Cross. The influence of Reschid Pashah, it should be noted, was at this time greatly reduced, while a vivid recollection remained of the military superiority of Russia in the recent war. Our countrymen need scarcely be assured of the hollowness of the professions put forth by Nicholas, but the following extract will shew what truth would gain by the substitution of his rule for that of the Porte. Anything more insulting to Christianity than the proclamations issued from St. Petersburg has never been witnessed. If reduced to the necessity of choosing between the Czar and the Sultan, we should unhesitatingly prefer the latter. Both are personally alien from the mind of God; but the

government of Abdul Medjid is mild and tolerant compared to that of Nicholas.

‘ A Presbyterian mission from America had existed for a number of years in Constantinople, the original object of which had been the conversion of the Turkish Jews, but it had in the course of time turned its attention almost exclusively to the development of the Evangelical church in the East. With the Greeks these efforts had borne no fruit, but among the Armenians a considerable number had been converted. The Armenian patriarch at Constantinople, invested with temporal as well as ecclesiastical rule over the nation, did not witness these innovations with indifference ; but as the new proselytes were not guilty of any civil or moral wrong, there existed no grounds for persecution. Already, in 1845, the success of the new sect was so great as even to alarm the Russian government, which, considering itself as protector of the Eastern churches, had reason to behold, in the rise and increase of this sect, an element opposed to its own interests. Russia, therefore, directed the patriarch to use all means in his power to suppress Armenian protestantism. From that moment a series of persecutions took place in the metropolis, and the larger provincial towns, where such communities mostly prevailed. The neophytes were everywhere summoned before the Episcopal Synods, called upon to abjure their new creed, and in case of refusal were either delivered over to the Turkish authorities as prisoners, or declared insane, and sent, loaded with chains, to an Armenian asylum, or doomed to exile in some distant province, where they were exposed to every kind of misery and privation. As no assistance was to be obtained from the Porte, the victims very naturally addressed themselves to the two Protestant Ambassadors at Constantinople, who remonstrated seriously with the Porte ; but even the influence of Sir Stratford Canning was not powerful enough to outweigh the assistance given by the Armenian bankers, who, in their turn, were secretly supported by Russia. Although the greater part of the prisoners in the hands of the Turkish authorities were, after a while, set at liberty, the Porte would not assent to any measure which should have the effect of preventing these persecutions in future ; a fact that considerably increased the insolence of the aggressive party. The Armenian mobs broke into private houses, and plundered, insulted, and outraged the adherents of the new doctrine whenever they met them in the public streets. An old Nicomedian priest was grossly assaulted, and the first preacher of the community at Constantinople was even murdered.’—pp. 92-94.

Many of our readers will, perhaps, be surprised to learn that an attempt was made in 1848 to establish diplomatic relations between Rome and Constantinople. On the accession of Pius IX. a congratulatory message was sent to the Imperial city by the Divan, which was well received, and it was resolved by the Italian clergy to conclude a treaty of commerce and amity with the Porte. With this view the Archbishop of Ferrieri was deputed to Constantinople, ‘and no new minister was ever

received by the Turkish ministers with more sincere amity.' At this period Pius affected the character of a reformer, and the Divan hoped by means of the power that was apparently rising in Italy, to gain an ally which might counterbalance the influence of France and Austria. True to her hereditary policy, Rome sought the extension of her power over the churches of the East, and failed through her demand of exclusive privileges to the detriment of those Christian subjects of Turkey who did not belong to the Roman-catholic persuasion. A variety of negotiations followed, which have at length embroiled the relations of Turkey and Russia, and now threaten to disturb the peace of Europe. It is of importance that the origin of this dispute should be understood. Little is known by our countrymen respecting the 'holy places,' of which we hear so frequently; and the following brief statement will therefore be read with interest by all who are concerned to comprehend the merits of the pending quarrel. As in a thousand other cases, the intermeddling of politicians in ecclesiastical matters will be found to be productive of interminable mischiefs:—

'The dispute,' says our author, 'first originated in regard to what are called the "holy places," being certain chapels and sanctuaries in Jerusalem, to which, by the consent of the Porte, Christian pilgrims, both of the Romish and the Greek church, have for ages been accustomed to resort. The safe keeping of these holy places, and the safe conduct of the pilgrims resorting to them, have always been a matter of solicitude on the part of the French and Russian governments; the King of the French claiming a right to protect pilgrims of the Romish faith, by virtue of the rank and title long ago accorded to him by the Pontiff of Rome, of "most Christian king;" the Emperor of Russia claiming to protect the pilgrims of the Greek faith, by virtue of the rank and title arbitrarily assumed to himself by his ancestor, Peter the Great, of Patriarch of the Greek Church. The adjustment of the respective claims of these two protectorates, in all that relates to the management of the holy places, has, from time to time, led to no little jealousy and squabbling between the partisans of the two churches; but if there had been nothing else to deal with as between these parties and the Porte, the latter probably would have succeeded in satisfying them both, by the equity with which he has divided his concessions between them. The question between Russia and the Porte, however, does not end with the holy places, nor with the safe conduct of the pilgrims resorting thereto; it involves, on the part of Russia, the demand of a right of protection over the whole of the members of the Greek church, being subjects of the Porte, and residing within her dominions. This is the position which the Emperor of Russia demands to occupy in the Ottoman dominions, and demands it as a right. He claims from the Porte a new document acknowledging that right.'— pp. 130, 131.

From the recent history of Turkey, Dr. Michelsen proceeds to

the consideration of her present resources; and though the data supplied are imperfect, the large mass of facts which he has laboriously collected is greatly in advance of anything previously possessed in an available form. Until lately ‘an organized system of rapacity’ was the rule at Constantinople, but a period of transition has now intervened, the results of which cannot be predicted. ‘The task reserved for the present Sultan, Abdul Medjid, is to erect a new state—edifice after the European model. He is, however, surrounded with many difficulties, among which, not the least are foreign wars and popular prejudices,—obstacles by which the work of reform may be impeded for a considerable length of time.’ The Ottoman empire extends over a portion of Europe, Asia, and Africa, embracing an area of about 913,000 square miles. The population, including tributary provinces, is in Europe 15,500,000 in Asia 16,050,000, and in Africa 3,800,000, making a total of 35,350,000.

‘Taking the population according to religious creeds, the result is :—

Creeds.	In Europe.	In Asia.	In Africa.	Total.
Mahometan	3,800,000	12,950,000	3,800,000	20,550,000
Greeks and Armenians .	11,370,000	2,360,000	—	13,730,000
Roman Catholics . . .	260,000	640,000	—	900,000
Jews	70,000	100,000	—	170,000
	15,500,000	16,050,000	3,800,000	35,350,000

—p. 140.

In addition to these there are about 2000 Protestants divided into ten communities.

The government is an absolute monarchy; the *Koran* constitutes the supreme law, the ordinances of which may be modified by the decrees of the Sultan, which, however, are temporary, and may be abrogated at any time. Dr. Michelsen supplies extensive information respecting the several governmental bodies, as also concerning the districts into which the empire is divided. His statements on these points do not admit of extract, and we must refer such of our readers as desire to acquaint themselves with details to the volume itself.

The military force of the Turkish empire is said to be 448,860, and to consist of the following, though the last of the four items is given as conjectural only.

‘Regular active army	138,680 men
„ Reserve	138,680 „
Irregular troops	61,500 „
Contingencies	110,000 „

Total 448,860 men.’—p. 160.

The navy consists of 74 vessels, carrying about 4000 guns, and 25,000 men.

The department of public instruction was remodelled in 1847, and comprises at present *elementary instruction, middle or superior, schools, and colleges*. Attendance on the first is compulsory. The instruction is gratuitous, the schools in general possessing large funds; but, if deficiency occurs, the government supplies it. Of the second class, there are at present in Constantinople six, containing 870 pupils, but it is intended to increase the number to fourteen. 'The subjects of instruction in them are, Arabic, orthography, composition, religious history (Islam), Turkish and universal history, geography, arithmetic, and geometry. Here also the instruction is gratuitous, the schools being wholly maintained by government.' The colleges are divided into nine departments, and a university is in course of erection.

Such facts, though far from being equal to the requirements of the case, are probably in advance of what is generally imagined. It would be easy to descant on their insufficiency, but those who are inclined to adopt such a course will do well to reflect on what was the state of our own country a few years back. An intense zeal on behalf of popular education is now happily one of our national characteristics. But it was not always so. In the memory of many of the present generation, the education of the people was opposed as a great social evil. The earlier efforts of religious men in this direction were denounced as disorganizing and full of peril; and even yet, theories are prevalent on the subject which betoken strange misapprehension of the nature of education, and much mistrust of its tendency. In the view of such facts, we regard the condition of Turkey as hopeful, and rejoice to believe that her people may yet become a well-informed and intelligent community.

Of public libraries there are at Constantinople about forty; the usefulness of which, however, is greatly diminished by various bye-laws, impeding the admission of Christians. Printing establishments are daily on the increase, and thirty-four periodicals are published in Turkey, of which thirteen are issued in Constantinople, six in Smyrna, two in Cairo, one in Alexandria, eight in Servia, and four in Wallachia and Moldavia. A *State Almanack*, also in the Turkish language, appears annually in the capital, and several others are issued in different parts of the empire.

The revenue for 1852 is estimated, in English money, at £7,310,000, while the expenditure is reported to have been £7,314,000.

Of the commerce of Turkey it is difficult to obtain any satisfactory account. The Porte does not publish any official reports, and as smuggling extensively prevails, they would not furnish reliable information even if they existed. Nothing is known of

the *inland trade*, while the total imports, including those of Egypt and the Danubian principalities in 1852, is estimated at £11,823,300, and of exports at £10,644,450. 'Now, if we consider,' says Dr. Michelsen, 'that the commerce of Hamburg alone far exceeds that of Turkey, we may easily imagine in what a deplorable condition the commerce of the latter country must be, and to what an extent it might be developed under different auspices.'

The details we have furnished constitute only a small portion of the information supplied in this volume. We cannot too strongly recommend it to our readers. It is only the first part of it, however, which will prove generally interesting. Its array of figures wears a repulsive aspect, and those only should attempt to master them who are really concerned to understand the matter. Such will be amply repaid for their labour, but others should turn to some lighter and more attractive occupation.

ART. VII.—*Homiletics; or, the Theory of Preaching.* By A. Vinet, Professor of Theology at Lausanne. Translated from the French. pp. viii.—488. Edinburgh: Clark. London: Hamilton. 1853.

THE favourable reception given to M. Vinet's former publications will have prepared a large class of readers, especially among preachers and ministerial aspirants, to give a hearty welcome to these prelections. Few preachers, if any, enter on their appropriate functions without some specific training. Protests against past neglect in this matter have lately issued from high places. Numerous treatises on Homiletics and pastoral duties are well known to those more immediately concerned. Practical models, however, have more influence on learners than the best oral or written instructions; and after all the preparatory discipline the preacher may receive, it is chiefly by his own actual working out of the ideas set before him, or suggested by his personal experience, that he acquires any competent measure of efficiency; and no teaching and no experience will make a man an effective preacher, unless he possess the physical, intellectual, and spiritual aptitudes for this department of human labour. Still, a volume embodying such exquisite lessons as those which its eminent author was wont to inculcate on his privileged pupils, must be highly prized by every man who desires to excel in preaching.

The first twenty-nine pages of this volume are filled with introductory observations on preaching as a special branch of eloquence,

or 'the gift of making oneself master by language'—in the course of which the author expounds what is common to the preacher with all other orators, and what is peculiar to him in distinction from all others; afterwards he discusses the contrary opinions of those who in one extreme expect too much from Homiletics, or instruction in the theory of preaching, and of those who, in the other extreme, find nothing at all in it. With regard to the notion that nature is a sufficient guide, he shows, most conclusively, that here, as elsewhere, art is nature wisely developed, and that genius is never superior to wisdom. To those who say that study and art have no place in the spirit of Christianity, he replies, that, inspiration apart, it is more accordant with the spirit of Christianity to cultivate one's powers than to trust to chance; that the object of art in this case is not to add something to truth, but to remove one after another all the veils which conceal it from the view of man; and he examines with just elaboration and most convincing clearness, the actual institution of God as exhibited in Scripture, that the truth should be spoken not only in love, but with intelligence. On the other hand, he rebukes excessive reliance on rules of art by the reiteration of the plain fact, that, properly speaking, the professor does not impart science or bestow art, but gives directions by which each learner may acquire it for himself.

The treatise is divided, as was usual among ancient authorities, into three parts,—INVENTION, ARRANGEMENT, and ELOCUTION or STYLE.

The first part treats of INVENTION *in general*, as requiring knowledge, meditation, analysis, and exercise.

'The number of subjects is indefinite: each, according to the relation, and the combination which we imagine, multiplies itself,—it is like the five loaves and two fishes of the Gospel. No person, in this respect, is obliged to place his foot in the steps of his predecessors. We may be new without seeking after novelty. A simple impression received from our text, or a sketch furnished by life, is sometimes sufficient for this. But the surest instrument of invention, as to the subjects of our discourses, is a culture truly philosophical. In this relation we cannot too much recommend to the candidates for the pulpit, the study of philosophy, which will multiply for them the aspects of truth.' p. 34.

The *first* section, on the *subject* of *The Pulpit Discourse*, relates to the Unity of the Subject—its Interest—the Text—the Homily—the Paraphrase. The *second* section, on the matter of the Pulpit Discourse, relates to the Explanation, and to the Proof,—including reasons—motives—unction—and authority. The summary of the first part, which the author ingeniously compares to the osier band with which the reaper binds his sheaf, consists of

a lively and hortatory recapitulation of what he has been teaching, on what he calls the 'chemistry of oratorical discourse.'

The *second part*, on ARRANGEMENT, is divided into seven chapters, the contents of which will appear from their titles:—Of General Arrangement;—Of the Exordium;—Declaration of the Design and Enunciation of the Plan;—Of Transitions;—Of the Peroration;—General Consideration of the Form of the Pulpit Discourse;—Means of obtaining a good arrangement.

The *third part*, on ELOCUTION or STYLE, contains four chapters:—On Elocution in general:—Fundamental Qualities of Style, (such as clearness, purity, correctness, propriety, precision, order, naturalness, suitableness, simplicity, popularity, and familiarity; nobleness, gravity, scriptural colouring). Superior Qualities or Excellencies of Style:—Material part of Discourse or Sounds:—(imitative harmony, euphony, number, periodical style, and loose style.)

The Appendix contains a discourse delivered by M. Vinet at his installation as Professor of Practical Theology in the Academy of Lausanne, on the 1st of November, 1837.

From nearly every portion of this work we could multiply quotations of great originality, force, beauty, and practical sagacity, but this method would not do justice to the work:—besides, it is issued at a price which brings it within the reach of all who are likely to be interested in the subject.

We regret that the translation is not more worthy of the original, the meaning of which, indeed, it fairly represents, but the grace and spirit of the style are lost in a pertinacious profusion of those Scotticisms which are most offensive to a correct English taste. We observe in this volume the inaccuracy in printing Hebrew which we have so frequently noticed in the translations published by Messrs. Clark. There are, it is true, but *two* words in that language which have caught our eye, but they are *both* misprinted.

There is an impression abroad that the British pulpit has grievously fallen off. That to a large extent it is susceptible of improvement, is no more than the special application of a general truth regarding all things human, and is deeply felt, we understand, by large numbers of preachers in every church; but that the desired improvements are continuously advancing is, we doubt not, the prevailing conviction of nearly all persons who are likely to make a serious, intelligent, and fair comparison between what the pulpit has been, what it is, and what it promises to be. We were not a little startled, as probably many of our readers were, at reading on the last day of 1853, the following passage, introducing a criticism on a letter from 'John of Tuam,' to the rebellious Archbishop of Freiburg.

'It is a hard case for the world that clerical authors should enjoy a kind of prescriptive right to talk and write platitudes upon sacred subjects. Who dare give the world a slashing criticism upon a dreamy sermon? The preacher might have involved himself in irreverential assertions of every kind,—he might have reasoned without logic (!) and illustrated without discernment,—he might have produced a composition which, had it been delivered upon any other subject, would have covered its author with confusion and ridicule; but so long as it is a sermon he is safe. There is scarcely throughout the kingdom an able-bodied lady whose habit it is to doze complacently in her well-stuffed pew on Sunday afternoon, to the monotonous murmur of the 'dear man's' little *quantum* of nonsense, who would not rush to his rescue if his infallibility were questioned. We would leave it to the decision of any one of ordinary candour, intelligence, and education, to say whether men in any other profession or pursuit could carry on their business with success if they took no more pains about the matter than an ordinary preacher does in the composition and delivery of an average sermon? The truth is, that in England pulpit eloquence has fallen to a very low ebb indeed. With the finest theme in the world before them,—with all the hopes and anxieties which agitate the human breast during the brief interval which separates the cradle from the grave—as their subject, our preachers miss their opportunity. Are there extant in print, collections of sermons by twelve living divines, from the perusal of which any one would rise a more thoughtful or a better man? We think of the Taylors, Barrows, Souths, who have produced works of this kind which are still operative for good, although a couple of centuries may have passed away since their composition, and wonder what it can be in the constitution of modern society which has so completely dulled the capacities of our spiritual teachers. Let us not be understood as speaking of the Church of England alone; for, in fact, a kind of dull mediocrity presides over its pulpit effusions, which save it from criticism of the severest kind. In the Scotch Kirk, matters are still worse. We find the ravings of HABAKKUK MUCKLEWRATH, without his picturesque zeal—the tedious prolixity of the ancient Covenanters, without their daring enthusiasm and devotion. But, of all denominations of Christians, the Roman priests would seem to have fallen most completely—in these kingdoms, at least—into the limbo of Dulness.'—*'The Times,'* Dec. 31, 1853.

Passing over the amusing portion of the passage, and leaving all the preachers thus ridiculed to make their own use of the spicy truth it contains, it is perfectly obvious to us that the writer is not particularly conversant with either the older or the more recent collections of sermons. If he confined his views to the sermons of the State Church—as is not unlikely—he seems scarcely to have looked at the clerical office in the light of those instructions from which the preacher draws at once his authority, his theme, and his enthusiasm. Judging by this standard, we appeal confidently to those who are best informed on such questions, to say whether the 'average' sermons of English preachers do not

rise immeasurably above those which lulled ten thousand parishes to sleep a hundred years ago. Even when judging by a lower standard, we confess that our reading has not prepared us for the trenchant conclusion of the 'Times.' We flatter ourselves, it may be, in fancying that we are as well acquainted as this writer is with the composition and delivery of an average sermon by 'an ordinary preacher.' We venture to say that those of the present time equal those of any former time, in *adaptation to the true work of preaching*. The age in which we live is one of more action than contemplation—of earnestness rather than of ingenuity:—in place of the embroidery of erudite quotation, we are in the habit of looking for lucid teaching, strong argument, and practical exhortation. Neither the Spenserian poetry of Taylor, nor the exhausting analysis of Barrow, nor the arrogant and malicious levity of South, would be tolerated by members of the British Parliament, or the benchers of Inns of Court, or any other class of educated Englishmen, in the nineteenth century.—Then these famous preachers stood almost alone in their day. The solitary star owes its apparent brightness to the surrounding darkness; yet it does not lose its real splendour by ceasing to be singular, nor shed less genial influences when they are mingled in the calm radiance of equally beneficent companions. As for living divines, who would not 'rise a more thoughtful or a better man, from reading the published discourses of Wilberforce, Manning and Whewell, Sumner and Whately, Kingsley and Vaughan, Hardwicke and O'Sullivan, of Hare and Trench, and Maurice, of Blunt, Garbut, and Melville, in the Church of England; of Brown and Candlish, in Scotland; of Aldis, Binney, Ferguson, Hinton, Katterns, S. McAll, Parsons, and G. Smith, among English Nonconformists now living:—to say nothing of the preachers who have not published collections of their own sermons; or of Arnold, Richard Watson, and Chalmers, Wardlaw, McAll of Manchester, and Jay, the most famous of modern authors in this line who have lately left us—so lately that we can scarcely reckon them among the dead. We feel as though it were mere flippancy to speak, as this writer does, of 'wondering what it can be in modern society which has so completely dulled the capacities of our spiritual teachers.' The reference to the 'Scottish Kirk' would come most appropriately from a narrow-hearted Episcopalian, with his eyes shut and his ears stopped to any good thing among the Galileans of the north; who knows something of their fore-elders through the *picturesque* misrepresentations of the great Abbotsford romancer; and who sees 'more daring enthusiasm and devotion' in the psalm-singing swordsman of the hill-side than in the energy which has brought forth a Free Church, covering the land with her temples and schools. Even the Roman-Catholic pulpit, with all its faults,

is far from being the 'limbo of dulness' into which the priests are described as having fallen.

If we take clerical authors beyond the strictly professional region of 'collections of sermons,' we know not of any prescriptive right they have to platitudes. Their genius, erudition, wit, and intelligent humanity, are not unfelt, we believe, in any walk of science, any field of literature, or any enterprise of philanthropy. For anything we know or suspect to the contrary, the brightest coruscations of our proudest periodicals—possibly the 'Times' itself—may have flashed from the Thought of writers, who, however brilliant in an 'article,' have been wanting in the religious zeal, or the physical ability, without which no writer, however able, will rise above the inexpressible offence of dulness in the pulpit.

The pages of the 'Eclectic Review' have been open to writers who freely expressed their views of the points in which a portion of British preachers would do well to make improvement. With equal freedom we use such faculties as we possess, to vindicate the great body so indiscriminately assailed through the most public organ of the press. We hold the pulpit to be an institute consecrated to interests as much higher than those of secular professions as the things eternal are above those that perish. We have an inexpressibly deep conviction that it is for the honour of human nature, and for the well-being of all that elevates nations and adorns society, that the DIGNITY OF THE PULPIT should be maintained. Without sectarianism, without adulation, and without willingly approaching the confines of censoriousness, we purpose devoting the remainder of the present contribution to this sole object.

It is a matter for serious consideration, wherein consists the true dignity of the pulpit? Mere investiture with ministerial office is no security for this. Placed on a height which exposes him to general notice, the preacher's character becomes a species of public property: every man having a right—which some will use not sparingly—to make his proceedings the theme of their criticism, and the topic of their discourse. Now, when he reflects on the variety of men's opinions and tastes, he will be prepared for great diversities of judgment on him, and on his ministry. His being a minister of the gospel may command the reverence of the superstitious, and will procure a measure of kindness from all good men; but it cannot shield him from the scrutiny of the thoughtful, from the animadversions of the prejudiced, or from the attacks of the calumnious. Many eyes are on his path; and it would be sheer childishness to fancy that, whatever might be the feebleness of his character, or the inefficiency of his labours,

his office will screen him from contempt. So far is this from being likely, that the very sanctity conceded to this office raises men's expectations; and should he greatly disappoint those expectations—such, at least, as are reasonable—his confession will be weakened, he is sure to be despised. But the fault is to a great extent his own. Nothing is more true than that there are men as malicious as they are fallible; that those who love their errors and sins will hate the ministers of truth and holiness; and that even in the church, some of the most heavenly-minded ministers have suffered much evil from those who ought to have known better, and who were pledged, in all honour and principle, to a different course. Still, the admonition of both Scripture and experience assures the preacher that it depends upon himself whether men shall despise him or not. Some men's scorn is indeed praise: who would covet the applause of the proud and ignorant? they would have stoned the best of the prophets, or crucified the Son of God. It is, however, sufficiently plain that every preacher does well to protect himself against *deserving* to be despised, especially for the want of firmness, consistency, and dignified energy in the performance of his duties. Instead of attributing any failure in the weight of his character to the folly or malignity of others, to the enmity of Satan, or, as we fear is more common, to the mystery of Providence, let him guard against the *causes* of such failure in himself. It may not be in his power always to correct misconception; he may not be favoured with popularity; his may not be the reputation of what are called splendid talents, profound learning, or extraordinary zeal;—yet it is in his power to avoid being despised. He can—vast numbers do—leave in every man's mind the conviction that he is a sincere, devoted, and enlightened minister of Christ; and then, however men may stand aloof from him, or hate him, or even affect to condemn him, despise him in their hearts they cannot.

For a preacher of the gospel to be *despised*.—*what a fearful evil!* Suppose the man to know this, and that he is conscious of *deserving* it, what a wretched useless creature he must be; how poor and timid his instructions! how little adapted to excite interest, or produce impression! what a chill on the heart that ought to burn with love! what weakness in the arm that ought to wield the weapons of truth! what languor in the eye that ought to flash conviction on the conscience! what faltering in the tongue that ought to speak as touched by a seraph with the fire of heaven! what creeping in the demeanour that ought to bear the erectness of an honest man, and the frankness of a messenger of God! For a minister of the gospel to be this, how degrading! With what confidence can he anticipate success? with what

hope can he look onward to eternity? with what propriety or decency can he discharge the functions of an office for which he is utterly unfit? Better for him, more for his personal happiness a thousand times, to take the meanest station at the feet of the humblest teacher whose strength has not gone from him. Passing from this humiliating picture, let us mark the bad effects of a feeble ministry on others. The hearts of holy men are faint.

The ways of Zion do mourn, her gates are desolate, her tears are on her cheeks, she is in bitterness; the church is like the flock of a shepherd whose right arm is withered—enfeebled, scattered, cast down; the seasons of hallowed mirth become darkened and disturbed, and the office which was designed for their furtherance in the gospel, is their anguish and their burden. In such a melancholy state of things, there are not likely to be inquirers after salvation. And, alas! if any sinner should be awakened, to whom shall he repair for instruction and encouragement? Instead of alarming the impenitent, the ministry in the hands of such a man is like the *miasma* of the Pontine Marshes, lulling their souls to death; while the enemies of the truth are hardened in their impiety, and clothe Christianity herself in the garb of her unworthy messenger. It were a sore calamity indeed to follow the young preacher from the solemnities of ordination to those of hasty burial; deeply would it grieve all good men to see his mind clouded or broken by insanity, his body smitten with disease, or his peace destroyed by ecclesiastical tyranny, or by popular faction; yet such evils are, in the apprehension of every man of Christian dignity, less than nothing, when compared with that of having his testimony scorned, or his office treated with contempt. *‘The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity, but a wounded spirit who can bear?’*

We shall not, we trust, be suspected of forgetting that for all the honour of the Christian pulpit, men are dependent upon God; but the feeling of that dependence is not an indolent habit; it is understood by those only who are making their best efforts; and by them it is never felt so deeply as when their efforts are the greatest. Nor will any of our clerical readers think that while thus seeming to address them, we overlook the higher motives to fidelity which abound in Scripture, and which must be wrought into the very texture of their minds. He is an intruder on the ministry who is not moved *to* it, and moved *in* it, by the Holy Spirit—by the love of Christ—by the desire of saving souls—by concern for the glory of God; and had these sacred principles an unwavering ascendant in the minds even of preachers, to them *alone* it would be sufficient to appeal; but such is the imperfect-

ness of our common nature, that we are all assailed by a thousand temptations;—men pass through an endless variety of connexions and circumstances, that bring out weak points in their character which require to be watched and fortified, or they are sure to fail. With a view to this, we find in the Scriptures many inferior motives, auxiliary to those which are supreme. And if apostles deemed it right to call in the aid of such subordinate considerations, no minister can feel that *he* does not require them, unless he be assured of greater purity and elevation of character than the apostles claim for themselves, and concede to their associates. We may be permitted to say, further, that some ministers have greatly lessened their usefulness by affecting superiority to the opinions of men. The preacher can never be superior to men's opinions. *His usefulness depends, by the ordinance of God, on his acceptance with the people, on his estimation among his brethren, on his having 'a good report of them that are without;'* and since there is at least a possibility of his falling into contempt; since that would be his own fault; since the evil so incurred is one of most appalling magnitude; it is at once the dictate of sound reasoning, of right feeling, and of a healthy conscience, that each preacher should resolve that, so far as he is concerned, this shall not be.

To the thoughts of him who thus resolves, the ends for which the Christian ministry was instituted will be ever present. These are summed up in the striking language of Scripture:—'*To save souls from death—to turn sinners to righteousness—to glorify the Saviour—to build up the spiritual temple of God—to do the work of God's husbandry—to present every man perfect in Christ Jesus.*' Were he to aim at lower ends, he would sink the grandeur of his office, he would violate his solemn pledge, and he would subject himself, not to the contempt of men only, but to the scorn of angels and the curse of God. The earnest preacher will study them on the page of inspiration, within view of the Cross, and in the light of eternity. The thought will be familiar to him that he is dealing with *men*, dealing with them in the things that belong to their undying nature:—overlooking the distinctions of rank, of intelligence, or of property, he sees only the spirit that dies not, burdened with guilt, fettered with sin, hastening to perdition; he pants to guide that spirit, before it be too late, to the *Mighty One* who can take away the burden, break the fetters, arrest its downward flight, and bear it to the skies. Such thoughts and purposes will fill his soul with lowly dignity; he will feel his responsibility and his privilege too highly to soil his wing in the dust, or bathe it in the streams, of earth. He should rather resemble the apocalyptic angel flying through the midst of heaven, breathing the air of a purer

world, looking straight before him into eternity, and renewing his strength in the brightness of the smile of God.

The means by which these ends are to be attained will be well and frequently considered by the preacher, so that he may perceive their wise adaptation, and may use them in the spirit of calm reliance. It is no small part of his ministry, that he is so amply furnished with the means of accomplishing its sublimest objects, and that he has ever within reach so many illustrations of their fitness, and proofs so strong of their efficacy, to encourage him to employ them with the utmost freedom. He is called to labour in the midst of many and appalling evils—evils, he will remember, which have *never* yielded to the power of human agency *alone*. To have an enlightened view of these means, therefore, to perceive their suitableness, so as to wield them with the assurance of success, must contribute greatly to the moral power both of his character and of his work. His office is one of the many subordinate ministries in which the Supreme Lord asserts his own authority; and he is to discharge this particular ministry in a way which shall impress, first on his own conscience, and then on the consciences of all with whom he has to do, the sense of responsibility to God for every action and every thought. It belongs to his office to charge every one of his hearers with guilt. He has for this reason clearly to expound, and faithfully to apply, the requirements of God's laws: not, indeed, to guide men to happiness by rushing past the flaming cherubim to the tree of life; but to convince them of sin, and to make them see the ruin they deserve. The minister of grace has to unfold to sinners the facts and truths which show them that by grace alone they can be saved, and to proclaim that grace to them as the free and glorious dispensation of the gospel. As the grace which he proclaims is the grace of a **RIGHTEOUS GOD**,—the only ground of its exercise to the guilty being the righteousness of the Divine Saviour in the flesh,—he is to insist on faith in His sacrifice as the one method of salvation. As the heart of man is from his birth habitually averse to faith in Christ, the evangelic teacher has to honour the Holy Spirit, by imbuing his hearers with the vital doctrine as an objective truth, and with the indispensable necessity as a subjective experience, of being born of the Spirit, that they may become the sons of God, the heirs of eternal life. As the religion of the gospel is practical, he is to enforce its obligations, as well as inculcate its doctrines, holding forth the Saviour's perfect character as *the revelation* of God, exciting admiration and confidence, that it may stimulate men to vigilance, and prayer, and self-denial, and every Christian virtue. As preachers are passing, with all who hear them, to the tribunal of the judgment, and to the fixed condition of a life beyond the

grave, their addresses must be shaded with the awful gloom, as well as radiant with the glory, of these prospects. Providence is daily working out the confirmation of the truths His ministers are teaching. They will often have to point out these confirmations, that the sinner may be filled with terror, and the saint with consolation, by the thought—I am ever in the hand of God. By such means as these the preacher gains the achievements of his ministry. Thus he refutes pernicious errors, or—what is infinitely better—*prevents* them. Thus he batters down the pride of intellect, of station, of self-complacency, of spiritual egotism, or of moral laxity, by the artillery of truth. Thus will he startle the heedless by the thunders of heaven. Thus, by painting the bow of hope on the thick darkness, will he chase away despair.

Now, in the fitness of these means for their appointed ends lies the power of the preacher. They are themselves fitted to the ever-shifting aspects of the human mind. They are expressly ordained of God. They are connected with His gracious purposes, and with the actual vouchsafement of his blessing; and the whole history of the church is a continuous stream of light, revealing their efficiency under the higher dispensation of the Holy Ghost. The preacher's faith in applying these means will not be an overweening confidence; rather it will be an humble and devout reliance upon God, and a firm trust in the gospel, as the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. So ministering in holy things let those *who dare* despise him. No man despises the physician who arrests the diseases and improves the health of the community; or the merchant who diffuses the comforts of civilized life amid the families around him and in far-off places; or the farmer who covers the broad acres of his country with peaceful flocks, or with luxuriant olive groves, or vineyards, or smiling harvests. No man despises the patriot who, by his councils in the senate, or by his triumph in the field, or on the deep, has won the liberty or raised the glory of his nation. Then how can any man despise the preacher, who turns the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; who purifies the moral atmosphere; who spreads through the land the ornaments of virtue and the sweets of personal, domestic, and social happiness; who pours the balm of mercy on the pierced spirit; and who cheers the deathbed of the dying with the comforts of grace, and the anticipations of glory?

A large measure of the qualifications, and of the spirit demanded for the pulpit, will be sought. Very many are the preachers giving daily proofs that these qualifications and this spirit have not been withheld from them. They will respond to the exhortation that urges them to ask of God to give them, as

they advance, clearer indications of their call to this sacred work. This he will do for them, if they are not 'straitened in themselves'—Two qualifications for the ministry, susceptible of indefinite improvement, require their unwearied attention—**KNOWLEDGE, AND APTNESS TO TEACH.** There is scarcely any kind of knowledge of which the preacher may not avail himself in the work of his ministry; but some kinds of knowledge are indispensable. He *may* continue to explore the fields of science; to ransack the archives of history; to gather the flowers of poetry, and the fruit of literature, as his taste inclines or his opportunities allow; and from every quarter he may enrich his general current of associations, and augment his power of thinking, while new and varied illustrations of the truth will flow upon him to increase the charm of his instructions. But the *staple* of his mental furniture must be more special and more sacred. As a teacher of religion, he must be mighty in the Scriptures. Happy he who dedicates a portion of every day to the critical investigation of the mind of the Spirit in the beautiful languages which he has chosen as the vehicles of inspiration. These studies will need to be hallowed by prayer for spiritual discernment and a heart-felt impression of the truth he is teaching.—In subservience to this great *central* study of a minister, it is greatly to his advantage if he spend much of his retirement in communion with the holy dead:—with the simple believingness of the early teachers of the church;—with the cultured gentleness of Melancthon;—with the spiritualness of Owen, and the ethereal piety of Leighton; learning sublimity from Howe, and energy from Charnock; and melting his soul by the pathos of Flavel;—delighting himself, yet not too much, with the silvery eloquence of Bates;—bracing his faculties with the gigantic logic of Edwards;—trembling, weeping, pleading with Baxter. From the best of the French preachers he may improve the unction of his spirit; from the German, the vitality of his imagination and the depth of his biblical lore; from the English, the manliness of his style, the fixedness of his principles, and the crystal-like lucidity of his views. Let no limits be set to his reading of theology, especially such reading as will expand his conception of the grand themes of redemption, or increase his knowledge of the human heart, in the boundless variety of its religious affections and of its spiritual dangers.

All this knowledge the preacher is to acquire, in order that he may impart it; and therefore his aptness to teach will need to be cultivated with most conscientious diligence. He will aim at being an acceptable preacher and a skilful teacher. His texts will be judiciously chosen; his method of expounding them simple; his matter full without tediousness; the arrangement of his thoughts natural and easy; his language plain without coarse-

ness, select without being fastidious, popular, not technical or scholastic; his embellishments lively and instructive, rather than ambitious; his entire composition an honest and skilful endeavour to give to his people the full benefit of all his talents and of all his studies.

The good preacher will not think it beneath him to cultivate, as long as he lives, the *art* of public speaking, by which we mean making the most of his physical advantages, and labouring to correct the imperfections of nature or of habit. Much more importance than some men seem to be aware of belongs to firmness, distinctness, melody, and variety of tone, and a graceful and impressive manner of address. There is neither grammar, logic, nor rhetoric exclusively consecrated to the pulpit. The natural and simple style of speaking is the best: the stiff and pompous is the worst: the careless and slovenly is contemptible.

Of all men, the preacher must be IN EARNEST. His earnestness arises from seeing clearly and constantly the things with which he has to deal. It is his business so to see them. He is taught of God that men are walking in a vain show, and his office is an empty name if he ever takes his eyes away from the realities which religious belief opposes to the illusions of sense. He believes, and therefore he speaks, using great boldness of speech. He is presumed to *know* the danger which his fellow-sinners ignorantly brave, and to *feel* the value of the religion of which they make light. It is to be manifest that the contemplation of things *as they are*, is the familiar habit of his mind. His hearers are to be assured that he is thinking of eternity—living for eternity—preaching for eternity; and his looks, tones, gesture, as well as the seriousness of his character and the solemnity of his preaching, are to be such as to convince them that everything in his relation to them is connected with eternity. But the earnestness of the preacher is affectionate. Love is the ruler of men's hearts; it is the element of Christianity. It became incarnate in our Lord's own ministry, pouring grace into his lips and filling his eyes with tears. In the greatness of his love he not only sent forth those twelve apostles and the 'other seventy also,' but himself travelled through Judæa, and Galilee, and Samaria, pitying and blessing the people as he passed, till he poured out his midnight cries and tears under the olives of Gethsemane, and in an agony of love he died upon the cross. The spirit of tenderness—yes, of impassioned tenderness—may well beseem the preacher of that Cross:

‘*Here, to reason is to feel,
To feel is to be fired.*’

This is the secret of the preacher's strength; for love is stronger than death; many waters cannot quench it. We are to feel that

the preacher has us in his heart, that *we* are dear to him; that he seeks not ours, but *us*.—Such earnestness is not *becoming* only; it is the means of drawing us to him. It is the soul of Christian eloquence. It wields a stronger spell than the enchanter's over our spirits. If we might express our prayer to God for all the preachers of the Gospel in one word, it would be '*earnestness*.' This is the electric nerve—the lightning of the soul. May all preachers think, and study, and pray, and preach, and discharge all their functions with the hearts of men who are in earnest! Who can forget Bunyan's matchless picture?—'A very grave person, hanging up against the wall of the Interpreter's house, and this was the fashion of it. It had eyes lifted up to Heaven, the best of books in his hand, the law of truth was written on his lips, the world was behind his back, it stood as if it pleaded with men, and a crown of gold did hang on its head.'

The true preacher will aim at constantly growing improvement in all his ministrations. It were too painful a speculation to inquire into the reasons why the ministry of some men has unhappily been the best at the beginning. Ought it to be so with any? It is the reverse, we would fain trust, with the greater part. Both the bodily and spiritual powers of the preacher are capable of nearly endless improvement; and if he would keep rising beyond the reach of contempt in the progress of his ministry, he will try to be a better divine, a better preacher, a better pastor, and a better man every week he lives. To secure this gradual improvement, there are several habits which are worthy of adoption. Early rising and constant exercise, with temperance, in a great measure protect the preacher from the trains of *nervous* disorders, which have laid so many of them prostrate, and will help him to maintain that elasticity of mind which is of such inestimable importance in all his duties. If it be necessary—as every preacher knows—that he should be a constant reader and a close student, it is at least equally necessary that he should abound in prayer.—He will find great advantage in a frequent and faithful *revision* of his ministry. This will detect errors and deficiencies which would else escape his cognizance, though glaring enough to others. It would humble him before God and thus improve his piety by deepening his experience, and by calling into more vigorous activity his faith in the promises of truth and his dependence on the grace of the spirit. His people, too, would be refreshed by the continual improvement of his ability, and his willingness to serve them. The want of such improvement is sometimes—not always, certainly—the chief occasion of those disheartening failures which have so much turned the settled pastorate of the Nonconformists into a vagrant ministry, depriving our ministers of the honour, and our churches of

the benefit, which result from a connexion strengthened by the habitudes of years, and dissolved only by the course of age, or by the hand of death. Why should the preacher not be to a congregation as a tree planted in a genial soil, striking its roots more deeply, offering a more grateful shade, and bringing forth still riper and more plenteous fruits, that they who hear his last sermon may have to say: 'That was the best.'

The *unwritten* history of some preachers haunts one's memory with frightful apparitions, on which we have no heart to dwell. It is not enough that the preacher be blameless. He is to be exemplary. In him the outlines of Christian virtue are to be boldly defined, well filled up, and instinct with life. Had he the talent of an angel and the fervour of an apostle, they avail him not if unaccompanied by eminent goodness. His growth in grace is of incalculable importance to him as a minister; for it will not only save him from contempt: it will secure to him that esteem which adds to the weight of his personal character, while it leads men to respect his office, and to venerate his doctrines. It becomes his high honour to augment the spiritual lustre of the ministry, and of the general body of the faithful.

In conclusion we would say, with due respectfulness to every preacher,—above all things preach earnestly the glorious gospel of the grace of God—the ancient gospel—the Catholic gospel, the Apostolic gospel, the foolishness of preaching which is wiser than men, which poured such floods of light and blessedness on our world, before Calvin or Arminius was born;—the gospel by which the Reformers in their manly plainness, the Puritans in their honest faithfulness, Whitfield in his most seraphic eloquence, and Wesley in his most stupendous labours, were equally inspired;—that gospel which arraigns every man as a sinner, proclaims to every man a Saviour, which lays the blame of the impenitent entirely on himself, and ascribes the salvation of the Christian entirely to the grace of God. Let him preach this gospel to the people, as though he had received his commission on Mount Olivet, warm from the heart of Jesus, while he stood and stretched his hands, and then went up to heaven. Let him preach the sacrifice of his Cross as though he had wept with John on Calvary, and had seen the travail of that soul which was poured out for our salvation. Let him preach against sin, as one who had shrunk before the glory in which God came down on Horeb to scorch the law with his own finger in the stone. Let him preach eternity, as one to whom the veil is lifted up, who hears the trump of judgment, who sees the doom of the unsaved, who is listening to the songs of the ransomed. Let him beseech every sinner to be reconciled to God, as one who has been reconciled to God himself. Let him comfort the tempted and sorrow-

ing, as one whose own tears have been wiped away by MERCY, from whose own heart the Son of God has drawn out the poisoned shaft. Let him cheer the widow and the orphan, as a man who may one day be called to taste the bitterness of a soul from which death has wrung its last earthly joy.

Thus, we believe, will the DIGNITY OF THE CHRISTIAN PULPIT be maintained.

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Poetical Works of John Dryden. Edited by Robert Bell. Vol. I.
London: John W. Parker and Son.

THIS is the first volume of an 'Annotated Edition of the English Poets,' which has been announced for some months past as in course of preparation. Such a work has long been needed, and the practised authorship of the Editor has led the reading public to anticipate its appearance with considerable confidence. The Edition is to 'include the works of several poets entirely omitted from previous collections, especially those stores of lyrical and ballad poetry, in which our literature is richer than that of any other country.' The text is to 'be scrupulously collated,' and biographical, critical, and historical notes are to be supplied. Occasional volumes will be given, with connecting Notices, of those Poets whose works are not of sufficient interest to be reproduced entire; and important materials, gathered from recent researches, will be made use of, in order to enrich the elucidations furnished. By the arrangement adopted, the Works of the principal Poets may be purchased separately, and the *Occasional* volumes also will be complete in themselves. A volume is to be published monthly, price half a crown; the type is clear and readable, and their size is admirably suited to such a collection. We need scarcely say, that we look with much favor on the undertaking. Its value will, of course, mainly depend on the skill with which the editorial department is executed. We know not what amount of literary aid Mr. Bell has secured, but we trust that his arrangements, in this respect, are both complete and liberal. If the edition be executed in the spirit of the

announcement, it will constitute one of the most interesting and valuable additions made to our literature in modern times.

We know not that we should have commenced the series with Dryden. Mr. Bell, however, has consulted his own taste in the selection, and we have no disposition to quarrel with him on this account. His sketch of Dryden supplies some few facts additional to those previously known, and his estimate of the man is on some points, according, at least, to our judgment, too favorable. The political and religious changes of Dryden are associated with circumstances too suspicious to be regarded with respect; while the licentiousness of his dramas, the bitterness of his satire, and the fulsome adulation of his *Dedications*, show the depraving influence of the spirit of the age on his masculine genius. Such blemishes would be deeply to be deplored, even in an inferior man; but in the case of Dryden they make us blush for our species, and furnish mortifying proof of the facility with which nobility and meanness, the loftiest faculties and the laxest morality, may unite in the same individual. Happily we have escaped the contagion of these bad times. Let us not, however, in the sternness of our critical judgments, lose sight of the extenuating circumstances which may be alleged on behalf of Dryden and his contemporaries. A few cases of inadvertence, or of false judgment, have occurred to us in perusing the sketch of Dryden's life. They are too few, however, to be dwelt on, and their recurrence, we trust, will be guarded against by increased caution.

A History of Greece, from the Earliest Times to the Roman Conquest.
With Supplementary Chapters on Literature and Art. By William Smith, LL.D. Illustrated with one hundred Engravings on Wood.
12mo. pp. 632. London: John Murray.

THIS is an admirable book, intended principally for schools. It was commenced some years since, when Grecian school histories were either superficial and inaccurate, or exceedingly meagre and dry. One or two superior works have subsequently appeared, 'but they have not been written,' says our author, 'from the same point of view which I had proposed to myself; and in the best of them the history of literature and art, as well as several other subjects which seemed to me of importance, have been almost entirely omitted.' Dr. Smith has, therefore, persisted in his purpose, and we are glad that he has done so. He acknowledges his obligations to Mr. Grote and Colonel Mure, specially the former, and has gone far, in the volume before us, to supply what was long needed, but which few were competent to produce. Within narrow limits, and at a reasonable price, he has supplied to the rising generation the results of varied and profound scholarship, and has thus greatly added to the benefits conferred by his previous labors. A better book, or one more suited to its purpose, has not appeared for a long time, and we give it a cordial and hearty commendation.

The Preacher and the King; or, Bourdaloue in the Court of Louis XIV. Translated from the French of L. Bungener. With an Introduction by the Rev. George Potts, D.D., New York. Fcap. 8vo. pp. 371. London: T. Nelson and Sons.

WE are not surprised at the extraordinary popularity of this work. The present translation is made from the thirteenth French edition, and the character of the work and the nature of the subject treated of are more likely to secure attention in this country than amongst our continental neighbours. There is considerable dramatic skill in the arrangement of incidents, whilst the discussions to which they are subordinate are amongst the gravest and most interesting which can occupy attention. The scene is laid in France; the time is the reign of Louis XIV.; and the principal personages introduced are the king, Bossuet, Fénelon, Bourdaloue, Fleury, Claude, and Madame de Montespan. The leading incident of the narrative is a sermon preached by Bourdaloue at Versailles before Louis XIV., and it would not be easy to point out a more striking instance of skill and power than M. Bungener has furnished in his description of the mental agony of the preacher arising from his sense of duty and his apprehension of the King's wrath. Of M. Bungener we know nothing save by this work, but it has rarely been our lot to meet with so much sound sense and enlightened criticism combined with an equal measure of dramatic power, and a style so animated yet correct. The disquisitions on pulpit oratory with which the work abounds are eminently worthy of attention. The distinctive qualities of the great French preachers are pointed out with a felicity rarely equalled, while the sad deterioration of the pulpit at the Augustan era of the Gallican Church is so exhibited as to prepare the reader for what subsequently followed. If our limits permitted we might indulge in extended quotations, but these are the less necessary as the cheapness of this edition places the work within the reach of most readers. We need not add any formal recommendation.

Young's Night Thoughts. With Life, Critical Dissertation, and Explanatory Notes. By the Rev. George Gilfillan. 8vo. pp. xxviii. 327. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

WE are glad to see an edition of the 'Night Thoughts' in such a dress as is likely to recall public attention to a work which, with all its ruggedness, want of harmony, and sombre colouring, is amongst the best and most useful productions of our English muse. We have sometimes feared that the work was losing its hold on the admiration of our countrymen. So far as our observation goes, it is much more frequently named than read. Something more light and joyous, more akin to the novel in its texture, and over which the glow of earthly passions is more uniformly spread, better suits the public taste. We regret the fact, and rejoice in Mr. Gilfillan's labours as well suited to correct so unhealthy a symptom. His introductory sketch does full justice to this master-piece of Young's genius, some of the passages of

which he says 'are unsurpassed in the language of men.' Mr. Gilfillan dismisses with very slight mention Young's other productions, as unworthy of his powers, and vindicates his memory from some aspersions by which it has been assailed. Another volume, including the poetical works of Goldsmith, Collins, and T. Warton, will complete the first year's issue, and we repeat, what we formerly stated, that such a guinea's-worth was never before furnished to the public.

History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the Accession of Louis Napoleon in 1852. By Sir Archibald Alison, Bart. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 740. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons.

WE noticed the first volume of this work at considerable length at the time of its appearance. When more advanced, we shall again recur to it, with a view of pointing out its distinctive features, and of doing justice to the claims of its author. At present we content ourselves with reporting that the volume before us, divided into six chapters, deals with some of the most interesting questions in the recent history of Europe. The views propounded are, of course, characterized by the political creed of the author, and contain, therefore, much from which we dissent. The volume, however, merits perusal from all classes; and though not distinguished by the highest qualities of historical composition, is entitled to respectable rank amongst contemporary publications. It is a more readable book than its predecessor, and as it contains less disquisition, and more narrative, it will be more popular. The seventh chapter of the 'History,' being the first of this volume, is devoted to the affairs of Spain and Italy, from 1814 to the Revolution of 1820; the eighth, relates the history of Russia and Poland from 1815 to the accession of Nicholas in 1825; the ninth, traces the royalist reaction in France from March 1819, to December 1821; the tenth, relates the domestic history of our own country from the Currency Act of 1819 to the death of Lord Londonderry, in 1822; the eleventh, narrates the joint histories of England, France, and Spain, from the accession of Villèle to the French premiership in 1819 to the treaty of Verona in 1822; and the twelfth, deals with the French invasion of Spain; and closes with the death of Louis XVIII. Reserving comments to a future occasion, we content ourselves with recommending the volume to the perusal of impartial men, as furnishing the utmost which can be said on behalf of the tory policy of a former race of statesmen.

Jaqueline Pascal; or, Convent Life at Port Royal. Compiled from the French of Victor Cousin, Frangère, Vinet, and other sources. By H. N. With an Introduction, by W. R. Williams, D.D. Post 8vo. pp. 286. London: James Nisbet and Co.

THE history and constitution of Port Royal are eminently interesting and instructive. Though ultimately overwhelmed by the combined

force of regal and sacerdotal enmity, that great institution has exerted a potent influence over the wide domains of morality and religion. The effects of Jansenism are not yet exhausted, and of its relation, as Dr. Williams remarks, 'to the cause of Christian morals and evangelical doctrine, of sound learning, and national freedom, and individual worth, the Protestant, no less than the Romanist, may well be the patient and delighted student.' The name of Pascal is intimately associated with the fortunes of Port Royal,—the sister Jaqueline, equally with the illustrious brother, Blaise. The present volume is devoted specially to the former, but it contains numerous references to the latter, and throws much light on the varying fortunes of the institution with which they were identified. Its narrative is deeply interesting; the style in which it is written is clear, chaste, and animated, and the views it expresses are at once tolerant, catholic, and evangelical. Consisting of translations from the French, it yet presents the idiomatic and racy style of an original, and might be read as such were it not for the notice on the title-page. In Jaqueline Pascal, 'dignity and lowliness, wisdom and simplicity, lofty genius and saintly piety, the martyr's firmness and the woman's tenderness,' were blended in beautiful proportions. We warmly commend this record of her virtues, and memorial of her saintly life, to the confidence and early acquaintance of our readers.

Decimal Coinage Tables, for Simplifying and Facilitating the Introduction of the Proposed New Coinage. . By Robert Mears. London: Adams. 1853.

It would be perhaps impossible to convey with perfect clearness in a few sentences the theory of the admirable system of decimal coinage now proposed to the public and recommended in a report of a parliamentary committee. At present the relative values of our coins in pounds, shillings, pence, and farthings, are as 1, 20, 12, and 4. This is further complicated by crowns, half-crowns, and other coins, which involve our ordinary transactions in great and tedious complication. To remedy this, it is proposed to assimilate our monetary accounts to the ordinary enumeration of units, tens, hundreds, and thousands. In this scheme, however, the order is reversed, the pound being taken as the unit, and the succeeding figures as the tenths, hundredths, and thousandths of that unit, a point or dot being placed after the pounds to distinguish them from the successive inferior denominations. These denominations it is proposed to designate, instead of pounds, shillings, pence, and farthings, pounds, florins, cents, and mills; and as each inferior denomination is one-tenth of the next superior, the amount £34.596 would indicate thirty-four pounds, five florins, nine cents, and six mills. The difference between this style of coinage and the clumsy one at present in use is that, whereas now 960 of the lowest denomination, or farthings, make a pound, hereafter one thousand mills will answer to that value. The result will be that the addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division of sums of money will henceforth be simple instead of compound. The different denominations of money

tallying exactly with the numeration-table—a reform for which little boys and girls, in common with mercantile men of every degree, will consecrate the legislators who pass this act to everlasting saintship. The service rendered by Mr. Mears is the construction of a set of tables, which, like tables of logarithms, allows of our obtaining, by a moment's inspection, the results of long and tedious computation.

A Treatise on the Peculiarities of the Bible. Being an Exposition of the Principles involved in some of the most remarkable Facts and Phenomena recorded in Revelation. By the Rev. E. D. Rendell, Author of 'Antediluvian History,' &c. pp. viii.—551. London: Pitman.

It sufficiently characterizes this treatise to say, that it is one of the many publications recently issued for the advocacy of Swedenborgianism. Its 'general idea' is—that man is a progressive being, originally endowed with the knowledge of God, but having fallen into 'external states,' an outward revelation has been given to him, adapted to his erudition; which revelation is explained on those 'spiritual' principles with which the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg are known to abound. Though we regard the entire theory of that extraordinary man as erroneous, the reader will find in these pages a great number of curious and ingenious speculations, with which it may be well to be acquainted, as illustrating the history of the human mind in its manifold methods of dealing with the Holy Scriptures. For ourselves, we do not accept the work as setting forth 'the peculiarities of the Bible,' but as an exposition of the 'peculiarities' of Swedenborgianism; and, taken in this sense, we commend it to our readers as an interesting and instructive volume.

Notes, Critical and Explanatory, on the Prophecies of Jonah and Hosea. With a Summary of the History of Judah and Israel during the Period when the Prophecies of Hosea were delivered. By the Rev. William Drake, M.A., formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1853.

We hail this as among the acceptable contributions to the study of the Hebrew Scriptures, which are happily increasing from the presses of our Universities. The student of the minor prophets will find in it many useful suggestions.

Capital Punishment Unlawful and Inexpedient. An Essay on the Punishment of Death. By John Rippon. pp. 209. London: Cash.

THIS essay is introduced by the recommendation of respectable persons well known, and is written in an independent spirit, and with considerable force of reasoning. The author dissents from the abstract theory, which makes the reformation of the offender and his benefit,

the primary object of human punishments, and affirms 'that in human, as well as in the divine government, the *primary* object of punishment 'is the *conservation* of the law's authority, and the rights and well being of the *non-criminal* portion of the community.' In some other respects, also, he differs from previous writers on the same side. His design is to prove that it is unlawful, unnecessary, and inexpedient, to punish a man with death for any crime whatever. In proof of the *unlawfulness*, he examines the Scriptural argument. The result of that examination is—that the punishment of the murderer by death was permitted under the Patriarchal law, and under the Mosaic law; but that under Christian law it is not re-enacted, but that, on the contrary, 'the distinctive *genius* of Christianity, as developed in its general and specific precepts, is opposed to the penal infliction of death;' and that the destruction of human life is repugnant to the sentiments engendered by Christianity in the actual experience of its disciples.

He then takes up the general argument of natural right, to which, in this case, he opposes several forcible considerations, worthy of the closest attention. We may say the same of his third chapter on 'The Primary and Collateral Objects of Punishment.' In support of the position that capital punishment is not necessary, the author refers to statements by Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, Montesquieu, and Sir James Mackintosh, to statistic returns given in this Journal in August 1848, and to commentaries on those returns; from all of which he infers, that the punishment of death increases crime, while the disuse of this punishment diminishes it. The *inexpediency* of capital punishment is argued from its failure to accomplish every proper end of penal infliction, its tendency to impair the deterring power of the law, and its precluding every secondary object of criminal legislation.

The question is one of awful magnitude, and must be determined on some clearly defined principle, not of private duty, but of public law. Unless it can be shown that the magistrate is *required* by some *fundamental and unrepealed law* to punish murder with death, or that there is no other mode of punishing this crime so as to secure the ends of social justice, it is obvious that the increase of intelligence, and the moral sentiments of the community, the acknowledged fallibility of human tribunals, and the general truth that the excessive severity of law provokes instead of deterring from the crime of murder, will sooner or later abolish capital punishment from the laws of England. To all who take a serious interest in this grave question, we recommend a candid examination of the statements and reasonings of this essay.

The Bridesmaid, Count Stephen, and other Poems. By Mary C. Hume. pp. 362. London: Chapman. 1853.

THE dedication of these poems to Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P., by his poetical daughter, is a successful sonnet, severely beautiful and just. The 'Bridesmaid' lays open chambers of the female heart, which have been usually closed from the eyes of vulgar mortals. It is a poem of

great power, exhibiting unusual command of thought, passion, and rhythm, and written in language, which, in more than one respect, reminds us of Byron's best compositions. 'Count Stephen' is in a wholly different style, darkly tragical, moody, full of energy, and rolling on with the majesty of Miltonian blank verse. 'The Journey of Life; or, the Fair Countie,' an allegory, is very attractive as skilful and musical verse, and the reader is helped to the understanding of the allegory by marginal and subsidiary notes. The Miscellaneous Poems are all in a serious strain. Some of them are tenderly pathetic. Others, such as, 'Oh, that I had the Wings of a Dove;' 'The only Son of his Mother, and she was a Widow;' 'Forgive them! for they know not what they do;' 'Others said an Angel spake;' 'Render to Cæsar the Things which are Cæsar's;' 'Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief!' 'And there was a Great Calm;' 'Be ye, therefore, Perfect,' are, of course, on Scriptural themes. One or two are translations from the German. Miss Hume is, undoubtedly, a poet of large cultivation and devout mind, and it will be a strange thing to us, if she does not take the place which we believe she deserves among the acknowledged Daughters of Song.

1. *Australia; its Scenery, Natural History, and Resources: with a glance at its Gold Fields.*
2. *Australia and its Settlements.* Religious Tract Society. Monthly Series.

THESE monthly volumes are seasonable collections of intelligence respecting the great colonies which have sprung into such rapidly growing importance. The information they contain is, of course, greatly condensed; but it seems to have been carefully brought together, and is well arranged.

Gregory of Nazianzum. A Contribution to the Ecclesiastical History of the Fourth Century. By Dr. Carl Ullman. Translated by G. V. Cox, M.A., Esquire-Bedel in the University of Oxford. London: John W. Parker and Son.

DR. C. ULLMANN has long been known and esteemed both in Germany and in this country, and we hail his appearance among us, though in an English dress. We always look with a suspicious eye upon translations; and for the reason that we have had not a few German authors rendered very miserably into our language, we were tempted to prejudge Mr. G. V. Cox's present work to his disfavour. We are bound, however, to admit that this gentleman has admirably performed a difficult task, in giving us Ullmann's life of the great eastern Divine in very readable and excellent English. At the present crisis, when, from political causes, ecclesiastical history has a peculiar zest, our readers will find it extremely profitable to acquaint themselves with the life and genius of the illustrious Gregory; which Mr. Cox has placed within the reach of all. There have been greater

divines than the time-honoured Nazianzen, and many defenders of the faith of a less exuberant fancy, possessed of equal oratorical power, and of a sounder discriminative faculty. There have been others greater than he, who have been driven by 'uncanonic heat,' or by œcumenical tyranny, to an inglorious exile; but there are few biographies more instructive than his. Dr. Ullmann has not given us much new matter. Perhaps after the work of Le Clerc, and the *Christliche Kirchengeschichte* of Schröckh, it was not possible for him to evolve much that was new in reference to the 'Divine of Nazianzum; but, certainly, he has re-embodied the old parts in a very instructive and agreeable manner; and is entitled to our best thanks, not only for his excellent translation, but also for some very useful notes, with which he has occasionally supplemented Dr. Ullmann's work. We are inclined to the opinion, that the gentlemen of the Religious Literary Society will find something to their purpose in the 'Introductory remarks,'—though, perhaps, the historical data have been adduced *ad nauseam*:—but we would commend pp. 2—5 to their attention.

The Doctrines and Practices of Popery Examined. In a Course of Lectures. By Ministers in Glasgow. London and Glasgow: W. Collins. pp. 344.

ANOTHER broadside at the pope and his pet cardinal now located among us, and heavy metal too! These Lectures, delivered and printed some years ago, are again presented to the thoughtful public in order to meet the requirements of the time. The British Press should ever be forward to defend that protestantism to which, in no small degree, we are indebted for the freedom of our literature. The exceedingly low price at which this volume is issued should commend it to the attention of those good people who, by a strange satire upon the rest of society, are called 'the working classes.' It were quite superfluous in us to recommend a work which is the joint production of some of the ablest divines in Scotland. We subjoin a list of the lecturers, with the subjects or titles of their lectures:—'The Rule of Faith,' by Dr. John Forbes; 'Popery makes void the Law of God,' by Dr. John Muir; 'Popery Perverts the Gospel,' by Dr. T. Brown; 'Popery Corrupts Christian Ordinances,' by Rev. Alexander Turner; 'Popery the Antichrist of Scripture,' by Dr. James Henderson; 'Popery makes a God of the Priest and Slaves of the People,' by Dr. Robert Buchanan; 'Popery the Enemy of Knowledge,' by Dr. J. G. Lorimer; 'Popery the Enemy of the Domestic and Social Affections,' by Dr. John Smyth; 'Popery the Enemy of Public Morals,' by Dr. Michael Willis; 'Popery the Enemy of Freedom and the Bane of National Prosperity,' (Parts I. and II.) by Rev. James Gibson; 'Popery the Enemy of the Souls of Men,' by Dr. Nathaniel Paterson.

A Little Book of Songs and Ballads. Gathered from Ancient Music-Books, MS. and Printed. By E. F. Rimbault, LL.D., &c. London: J. R. Smith. pp. 227.

HERE is a very beautiful volume, with illuminated title-page and the clearest type, containing seventy-four old English songs. We have read a great number of these ancient rhymes, with the hope of discovering the reason for their re-publication, but their antiquity seems to be the only excuse for bringing them to the light of the prudish nineteenth century. Some of them are grossly indecent, many of them are simply frivolous, and all of them are but of little worth, except so far as they show us what a gross race our song-loving forefathers were. When we remember the sweet little ballads which Shakspeare introduces occasionally in his plays, we can but hope that the collection now before us belongs to the hostelry rather than to the palace, to the ballad-singers rather than to the minstrels. Dr. Rimbault thinks it necessary in his introduction to beg a favourable reception from the public for these songs, on the plea that 'they tend neither to good nor harm.' So we will accept them as they are, indicative of the taste of the past; and, as such, we commend the beautiful volume to the lovers of the antique, and to all, who, from a review of English social life, will be thankful for the good taste which at present prevails in the matter of popular songs.

The Congregational Year-book for 1854. Containing the Proceedings of the Congregational Union for 1853; and General Statistics of the Denomination. 8vo. London: Jackson and Walford.

THIS volume, consisting of 320 pages of closely-printed letter-press, is a perfect marvel in the way of cheapness. Our fathers would not have believed that it could be produced at the low price of one shilling; yet here it is, after the experience of several years, improved in its arrangements, and distinguished beyond all competitors by the variety and completeness of the information given. It does not need a word of recommendation. Every member of the congregational body, who can spare a shilling, should obtain a copy: and all others, not congregationalists, who are interested in the study of religious statistics, should place it in their library as an invaluable book of reference. Such publications merit higher praise than is usually awarded them. They occupy an important niche in the literature of the Church, and throw much light on some of the knotty and perplexing questions of the day. To the editor we tender our hearty thanks for the onerous labor he has so well discharged. If his services are estimated according to our standard, an edition of 5000 will be far from supplying the demand created.

Home-Book for Children of all Ages. London: Ward and Co.

It would be difficult to speak of this little volume more highly than we think. It is admirably adapted to the capacity of children, and by the variety of its contents,—poetry and prose, narrative, fable, and homily,—it keeps alive their attention, and is well suited to supply them with pleasure and instruction. We have seen its effect on our own little ones, and heartily commend it to other parents. It is not only free from everything objectionable in the matter of tone and sentiment, but is pervaded by a deeply Christian spirit, exhibited in a form well calculated to please and benefit the youthful reader.

Glimpses of Great Men; or, Biographic Thoughts of Moral Manhood. Fcap. 8vo, pp 148. A brief sketch of the distinctive characteristics of fifteen illustrious men, some of which 'appeared several years ago in another form and under another title.' We need scarcely add that these sketches are marked by considerable power, and bear the traces of the author's individuality. They are suggestive rather than satisfactory, and will serve to stimulate desire for fuller information.—*Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D.* By his Son-in-Law, the Rev. William Hanna, LL.D. Second Quarterly Part. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Co. This second quarterly part completes the first volume of the cheap issue of Dr. Chalmers's Memoirs, which we have already introduced to our readers with a warm and well-merited eulogy. Like its predecessor, it is issued at half-a-crown, and two more parts will comprise the whole work. The publishers have wisely issued it in weekly numbers at three halfpence each; in monthly parts at sixpence; and in quarterly at two and sixpence. By one or other of these modes the convenience of most readers will be met, and the large circulation so obtained will greatly increase the usefulness of the work.—*An Attic Philosopher in Paris; or, a Peep at the World from a Garret. Being the Journal of a Happy Man.* From the French of Emile Souvestre. pp. 144.—*Speeches on Parliamentary Reform in 1831 and 1832.* By the Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, M.P. Corrected by himself. pp. 128. London: Longman and Co. Two numbers of the 'Traveller's Library,' the first of which obtained the Crown from the French Academy, and the second contains the report of six speeches of the most brilliant of our parliamentary orators on the subject of reform. The latter of these publications needs no comment, and the former requires only to be read in order to be highly appreciated. Both are well suited to the 'Traveller's Library.'—*Christian Experience, in its several Parts and Stages.* By the Rev. J. Leifchild, D.D. Second Edition. Post 8vo, pp. 280. London: Ward and Co. We are glad to find that this work has reached, what it richly merited, a second edition. It was warmly commended in our journal on its first appearance, and we are gratified with the opportunity of repeating our approval. Such a work is honorable both to the pastor whose services it perpetuates, and to the people by whom those services have been gratefully appreciated.

Review of the Month.

THE EASTERN QUESTION IS AT LENGTH, APPARENTLY, APPROACHING A SOLUTION. We speak with hesitation, because the final decision of the Czar is not yet known. There is reason to fear that his decision will be warlike. The case, however, is not absolutely determined, and until the irrevocable step is taken we cling to the hope that more peaceful views will prevail at St. Petersburg. The emperor talks largely, and is reported to be exceedingly violent. His personal ambition is evidently aroused. He has advanced too far to recede with honor; and the hereditary policy of his house commits him to a career against which the leading powers of Europe have combined. In the early part of the month it was reported that the Baltic States would make common cause with the aggressor, by closing their ports against French and English vessels. Those who were acquainted with the popular feeling of the north of Europe placed little reliance on such reports; but their bare existence was distracting, and their probability was argued on the ground of the supposed leaning of the rulers to the Court of Russia. The question, however, has been happily set at rest by a formal declaration addressed by Sweden and Denmark to all the Cabinets of Europe. In this state paper they avow their desire to maintain friendly relations with all the powers now at amity with them, and accordingly propose to observe a strict neutrality in the event of war breaking out between Russia and the Western powers. All vessels, with the exception of privateers, are to be admitted to their harbors—save in the case of Denmark, Christiansoe, which is used as a state prison; and in the case of Sweden, foreign ships of war are not to enter the principal harbors within the line of certain forts. The belligerents are to have full liberty of trading and of obtaining supplies; but only under pressure of weather are maritime prizes to be taken in, condemned, or sold in them, or in their Courts of Admiralty. For themselves they reasonably claim the right of continuing their mercantile and other relations to the several powers engaged in war, subject only to the laws which regulate such international pursuits. As the Baltic ports are at present inaccessible, and will continue to be so for some time to come, 'the Northern Courts might,' as the 'Times' of the 5th remarks, 'without practical inconvenience to navigation, have deferred this declaration some time longer, or till war between the maritime powers is actually commenced. But they have taken a more politic as well as a more decided course, and this announcement of neutrality was the proper answer for them to give to the imputation of Russian influence.' The 'Daily News' of the 26th reports from Copenhagen that a communication had been received from the Czar

refusing to agree to such neutrality. We can scarcely credit the rumor.

In another direction, the intrigues of Russia have been equally unsuccessful. For some time past the relations of Persia and the Ottoman Empire have been exceedingly precarious. The representative of the latter power was reported to have left Teheran, and a large body of Persian troops, under the command of a Russian officer, was said to be about to attack the Turks in Armenia. In the meantime a dispute arose between our own *Chargé d'Affaires* at Teheran and the Persian Court, respecting a native of Candahar. Our representative claimed redress for *Hadji Abdul Kerim*, which being refused, Mr. Taylour Thompson immediately suspended diplomatic relations with the ministers of the Shah. The Russian Minister sought to take advantage of this state of things, but his efforts were unavailing. The Persian Court yielded, and Mr. Thompson resumed his functions. 'Fortunately the settlement of the dispute with England seems to have included an arrangement with the Porte; for the Turkish minister at Teheran has received positive assurances from the Sudder Azim, or First Minister of the Shah, that no movement of troops hostile to the Ottoman Empire will be made by Persia, and that the forces concentrated in the Northern provinces of the kingdom are placed there solely to watch the progress of events, and to prevent internal disturbances.' We hope it may be so, but we do not fully rely on the pacific policy of Persia. The Affghans have threatened to invade the territories of the Shah in case of his siding with Russia against the Porte.

In the meantime the four powers, England, France, Austria, and Prussia, have agreed on another *Note*, which, avoiding the ambiguity of their former *Note*, proposes in explicit terms, as the basis of a peaceful settlement, the evacuation of the principalities as early as possible; the renewal of former treaties between Russia and Turkey; a confirmation of the religious privileges of the *non-Mussulman* subjects of the latter; and the adoption of the scheme previously agreed to, 'relative to the holy places and to the religious establishments at Jerusalem.' On these conditions being agreed to, the Porte is to name a plenipotentiary, and to concur in an armistice; and a conference is to be held in some neutral city between the representatives of the belligerents and those of the mediating powers. The latter guarantee the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire, while the Sublime Porte, on the other hand, is to declare 'its firm resolution to more efficaciously develop its administrative system, and the internal ameliorations which may satisfy the wants and the just expectations of its subjects of all classes.' It was resolved to communicate this document in the first place to the Porte, and on its approval being obtained, to forward it to St. Petersburg. It was accordingly presented to the Divan on the 15th of December, and a favorable answer has been received,—the Turkish government stipulating, that the provinces shall be evacuated within a specified time. Thus fortified by the acquiescence of Turkey, the Note of the four powers, has been transmitted to St. Petersburg, and Europe is now waiting for the

decision of Nicholas. What that may be it is futile to conjecture. If reason prevail, the Czar will gladly seize this last opportunity of extricating himself from the difficulties of his position. But we have our fears. The Western powers have now gone to the very extreme of forbearance. They have done their utmost to avert the evils of war. Farther, they cannot go in this direction, without manifest dishonor, and if the ambitious policy of Russia be persisted in, they will have no alternative but force. Should they be driven to this, all Europe must see that the responsibility of the struggle rests on the Russian autocrat. To one of the terms of the mediating basis we have strong repugnance. Why the former treaties should be renewed, in preference to the adoption of a comprehensive measure better suited to the exigencies of the case, and more equitable to Europe at large, we cannot see. This, probably, is the result of a compromise, by which the co-operation of the German courts is obtained. If so we submit to it, though still deeming it an evil. Much is unquestionably gained by the co-operation of Austria and Prussia. We know not what reliance the Czar may have placed on the support of these powers. Their interest is evidently opposed to his ambition, yet it is possible that he may have deemed them so dependent on his aid, as to have regarded them as a sort of counterbalance to England and France. Should he have done so, he must be excessively chagrined at the position they have now taken, nor do we think his prospects would be improved by any alteration in their policy. Their interference would only extend and complicate the struggle. Austria has enough to do at home, and Prussia cannot but feel that some of her provinces would be instantly in arms, if she only moved a finger on behalf of Russia. Hungary, Poland, Italy, and the Rhenish provinces are pledges, that both Austria and Prussia will do their utmost to preserve the peace of Europe.

In our last number, the massacre at Sinope was announced. This was a severe blow to the naval resources of Turkey, yet we question whether it will not ultimately work for her good. The intense indignation which it excited, compelled the adoption of more vigorous measures by the Western powers. The French and English Fleets have consequently entered the Black Sea, and are now cruising there for the avowed purpose of preventing any descent on the Turkish territory. It was thought that the Czar would instantly recall his ambassadors from Paris and London, but he is content to ask for explanation; and the issue of peace and war is consequently still suspended on his reply to the four powers. If reliance may be placed on the correspondence of the 'Times,' dated St. Petersburg, January 13th, a material change is occurring in that city. The following communication, printed in large type, appears in that journal of the 24th:—'Since the notification of the entry of the fleets into the Black Sea, the warlike ardour among the upper classes, which was never very strong, has considerably diminished; and among the other classes the enthusiasm has very much cooled. The poets keep silence, and the public writers no longer pour forth insults against England.

The Court appears gloomy: the preparations for war have already cost enormous sums, and the Minister of Finance has laid his hands on the capitals of loan societies conducted by private persons.'

While these events have been occurring, another important military advantage has been gained by the Turks on the banks of the Danube. For some time past, Russian troops have been concentrating in Wallachia with a view apparently of storming Kalafat, either to facilitate their passage of the river, or to open communications with Servia, where numerous partisans of the Czar are supposed to exist. Omar Pashah determined to anticipate this movement by attacking an entrenched position of the Russians a few miles from Kalafat. A series of sanguinary encounters resulted, which terminated in the retreat of the Russians, with great loss. As the 'Times' of the 13th remarks :—'*To have thus assumed the offensive, and attacked with success a Russian division in an intrenched camp, is by far the greatest exploit the Turkish army has performed since the commencement of the war.*' We form no slight estimate of the evils of war. They cannot be exaggerated, in whatever light; or in regard to whatever parties, they are viewed. If, however, the Czar resolve on braving them, we hope that no half measures will be resorted to by our rulers. The Baltic as well as the Black Sea, must be occupied by our fleet; St. Petersburg as well as Sebastopol and Odessa, must be taught by bitter experience the miseries which their insane ambition is inflicting on other people. The more decided the measures employed, the briefer will be the struggle. Mercy equally with sound policy would throw away the scabbard when once the sword is drawn.

We learn from the public journals that Mr. Henry Pease, of Darlington, Mr. Joseph Sturge, and another gentleman, have left England for St. Petersburg, as a deputation from the Society of Friends, for the purpose of endeavoring to induce the Emperor to come to terms with the Porte. On the first announcement of this fact, it will probably induce a smile, and be regarded as eminently Quixotic. Judged by an ordinary standard, it wears this appearance; yet, on further consideration, it will be redeemed from reproach, and be invested with many of the attributes of moral heroism. The mission may fail; it will probably do so: but the men who can so act are the agents ordinarily employed in the great moral achievements of our race. There is something partaking of the sublime in the confidence thus shown in the principles professed. Such a spectacle is refreshing in these days of scepticism and indifference.

THE NATIONAL PUBLIC SCHOOL ASSOCIATION, held a conference at Manchester on the morning of the 18th inst., and a public meeting on the evening of the same day. Alexander Henry, Esq., late M.P. for the county, presided at the former, and Absolom Watkin, Esq., at the latter. The conference was more influentially attended than on former occasions, and was obviously designed to bear on the parliamentary discussion of the Society's scheme. Our readers will remember that a committee on education sat during last session, and that Lord John Russell presented an Educational Bill to the lower House. The *Man-*

Zohráb; or, a Midsummer Day's Dream, and other Poems. By William Thomas Thornton.

Kenneth Forbes; or, Fourteen Ways of Studying the Bible.

● The Lamp of Love. Edited by the Rev. Christian Henry Bateman.

History of the Protestant Church in Hungary, from the Beginning of the Reformation to 1850: with reference also to Transylvania. Translated by the Rev. J. Craig, D.D. With an Introduction by J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D.D.

Lectures in Aid of Self-Improvement. Addressed to Young Men and Others. By Thomas T. Lynch.

Cyclopædia Bibliographica. A Library Manual of Theological and General Literature. Part XVI.

The Eternal Day. By the Rev. Horatius Bonar, D.D.

A Guide to Geology. By John Phillips, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., &c. Fourth Edition.

Of Plurality of Worlds. An Essay.

Business as it is, and as it might be. By Joseph Lyndall. Prize Essay.

Young Mens' Christian Association.

Illustration of Scripture from Botanical Science. By David Gossie.

Redeeming Love. By W. B. Mackenzie, M.A.

The Life and Letters of Christopher Anderson. By his Nephew, Hugh Anderson.

Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Homœopathy. Delivered at the Hahnemann Hospital School of Homœopathy. By R. E. Dudgeon, M.D.

The Confessor. A Jesuit Tale of the Times, founded on fact. By the Author of Michael Capidy. With Preface by the Rev. C. B. Tayler, M.A.

Thoughts and Sketches in Verse. By Caroline Dent.

Sabbath Morning Readings on the Old Testament. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., F.R.S.E.—Book of Exodus.

The Coming 'Time of Trouble,' during which the 'Great Hail' of the 'Seventh Vial' will be seen in the Armies of Russia now preparing to come down upon the Papal Kingdoms of Europe. Viewed in connexion with the Eastern Question, &c. &c.

Imperial Gazetteer. A General Dictionary of Geography, Physical, Political, Statistical, Descriptive, &c. &c. Parts V. and VI.

Memoirs of the Whig Party during my time. By Henry Richard Lord Holland. Edited by his Son, Henry Edward Lord Holland. Vol. II.

Traveller's Library. The Russians of the South. By Shirley Brooks.

Rome, Regal and Republican. By Jane M. Strickland.

The Gentile Nations; or, The History and Religion of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, and Romans. Collected from Ancient Authors and Holy Scripture, and including the Recent Discoveries in Egyptian, Persian, and Assyrian Inscriptions, forming a complete connexion of Sacred and Profane History, and showing the fulfilment of Sacred Prophecy. By George Smith, F.A.S. 2 Vols.

Biblical Commentary on the Epistle of the Hebrews, in continuation of the Work of Olshausen. By Dr. John H. A. Ebrard. Translated from the German, by the Rev. John Fulton, A.M.

‘That, in the opinion of this Conference, the National Public School Association should take steps for the introduction of a permissive Bill into Parliament at the earliest possible period of the ensuing session; and that they should employ their utmost efforts in pressing it forward.

‘That this Conference recognises the necessity of embracing existing schools in any system of national instruction, and approves the provision made by the Bill of the National Public School Association to include such schools, by which the conscientious convictions of the managers and of the ratepayers are fully protected.’

We utterly deny, what was assumed throughout these meetings, the failure of the voluntary system. On the contrary, we affirm that it has been rapidly gaining on the ignorance of the people, and is now in more intelligent and vigorous action than at any former period. Instead of evincing symptoms of weariness, or showing any unfitness to grapple with the existing evil, it is manifestly improving its machinery, augmenting its resources, and entering on more enlarged and vigorous modes of action. ‘As to the *quantity*, both of religious accommodation and of school accommodation,’ says the ‘Leeds Mercury’ of the 21st, ‘it is positively *beyond the demand*. As to the *quality*, it is ever improving.’ The friends of voluntary education should prepare for a parliamentary campaign. The question may possibly be handed over to a future session; but no harm can result from pre-arrangement. To be forewarned is to be forearmed.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM IS IN DANGER OF BEING SHELVED. The Conservatives are, of course, opposed to it; the Peelites cannot be supposed to look on it with favor; the Whigs are, at best, lukewarm; and the more advanced reformers, in addition to their constituting a small minority of the House, are destitute of union, or mutual confidence. It is true that ministers are pledged to introduce a Bill, and that the last election placed beyond doubt the necessity for some stringent and radical measure. But the present circumstances of the country, it may be alleged, call for postponement. We are on the eve of a war which the slightest incident may render general; and at such a time, it may be plausibly argued, our attention should be given exclusively to the best mode of carrying it to a successful issue. We doubt not that this plea will be raised, and when the complexion of the cabinet, and the variety of interests which parliamentary reform will affect, are taken into account, we must not be surprised at an attempt to defer, to a future session, the correction of evils which are too notorious to be any longer denied. There is no lack of candor in supposing that the leaning of ministers is in favor of postponement; and unless the country be alive to the danger, and early communicate with their representatives, we may be assured that the matter will be deferred. Such is our honest conviction; nor are we disposed to speak harshly of a policy which has some semblance of justification in the fearful crisis that has arisen. We see, however, no cause for delay. On the contrary, as increased burdens must be imposed, in order to meet the expenses of a war, now of all times would seem to us the most befitting to enlarge the basis of our representative system, and to purify it from those terrible evils which are undermining the integrity and manhood of our people. Instead of

deferring reform on account of the war that is imminent, we should thence derive an additional reason for strengthening the popular element of our constitution, in order that our rulers may more certainly calculate on the cheerful and zealous support of the people.

With these views we are glad to read the reports of the meetings recently held at Sheffield and Manchester, and should like to see them followed up throughout the country. The former of these meetings was held on the 19th. In the morning Mr. Hadfield rendered an account of his stewardship, and it is not too much to say that few constituencies have received so satisfactory an exposition from their representative. The presence of such men in the British Parliament goes far to redeem that assembly from the reproach under which it has long labored. The conscientiousness with which Mr. Hadfield has discharged his parliamentary duties is worthy of all praise. In the evening of the same day a great reform banquet was held in the Music Hall at Sheffield, at which several members of parliament were present. We should be glad to comment on some of the speeches, but must be content with transferring to our pages the resolutions which were unanimously adopted. They are as follow:—

‘This meeting regards with much satisfaction the expressed intention of her Majesty’s Ministers to bring forward, in the coming session, a measure of Parliamentary Reform, and would urge upon the government the propriety and the duty of placing the representation of the people in the House of Commons upon such a basis as shall do equal justice to all interests and classes of the population of the United Kingdom.’

‘That the extension of the franchise, however just and necessary, will not avail to bring the House of Commons more into harmony with public opinion, unless the distribution of the electoral power be greatly changed, as well by the abolition of all small dependent or corrupt boroughs and the transference of the members of such boroughs to new and enlarged constituencies, as by giving an increased number of representatives to the large towns and populous districts in the United Kingdom.’

‘That this meeting is deeply sensible of the evils and disgrace which arise from the prevalence of intimidation and corruption in various forms among the county and borough constituencies of the kingdom, and would urge upon the government the necessity of affording to the whole electoral body the shelter and protection of the mode of voting understood by the secret ballot.’

The Manchester meeting took place on the 24th, in pursuance of an annual custom, and was distinguished by the explicitness of the views propounded, and the earnestness with which the reformers of Lancashire addressed themselves to the grave questions which must speedily be submitted to parliament. An enlargement of the constituency, the ballot, and triennial parliaments, are the three points especially insisted on, and we should be glad to see reformers at large rallying round them. We can make room only for the following extract from the speech of Mr. Milner Gibson, which is pregnant with a moral that

ought to have much weight:—‘There was one fact that was most staggering, and that was that a majority of the House of Commons should be returned by a small minority of electors. Under a sound representative system, surely a majority in parliament should have something to do with the majority in the country, but from tables which had been drawn up by Mr. Edwards it appeared that 330 members of the House of Commons—a majority of the whole assembly—might be returned by 168,000 electors. More than that, it was the majority of those 168,000 electors who might return them, so that, in point of fact, the 800,000 electors who formed the whole of the constituent body of the United Kingdom might be overruled by a small minority of their own body, not exceeding 100,000, who might, as arrangements now stood, command a majority in the House of Commons.’ The non-existence of any great popular excitement is adduced by some as a reason why parliamentary reform should be deferred. Our conclusion is different. We would avail ourselves of the present lull in order to correct admitted evils without hazarding those which are attendant on periods of great excitement.

THE MILTON CLUB HELD ITS APPOINTED SOIRÉE on the 11th, at Radley’s Hotel, London. The number of gentlemen present was considerable. Samuel Morley, Esq., presided, and his opening speech was distinguished by intelligence, explicitness, and practical wisdom. There are few men equal to Mr. Morley in these respects. He always leaves the impression of a Christian gentleman whose opinions are matured and firmly held; who is well aware of the objections urged against them; and is quite willing that others should exercise the same liberty as himself. From the first he has taken a deep interest in the *Milton Club*, and the fact of his doing so has secured the confidence of some who might otherwise have doubted the practicability of the scheme. After regretting that so long a period had elapsed before the accomplishment of the project, he congratulated its friends that they were at length ‘to all appearance approaching the beginning of the end.’ In the original scheme it was estimated that £50,000 would be required; but the premises on Ludgate-hill have been purchased on terms which virtually reduce the amount to £40,000. A fourth of this sum—£10,000—may remain as a mortgage on the property, so that £30,000 is all which the committee absolutely require. It was reported in May last that £16,000 had been raised by the sale of debentures of £50 each, and since then £10,150 have been added. Only £3850 therefore remain to be raised. Of the 600 debentures into which the stock of the company is divided, 523 have been disposed of, of which 166 have been taken up by 87 residents in London. Only 77 of these debentures were unappropriated at the time of the meeting, and strong confidence was expressed in the report of the *provisional committee*, that many of them would be immediately secured by the wealthy dissenters of London.

Mr. Henry Bateman, to whose untiring efforts the public are mainly indebted for the successful carrying out of the scheme, urged its claims with characteristic earnestness, and was followed by Mr. George

Wilson, who informed the meeting that the committee had been offered £2500 for their bargain, and expressed his strong conviction that in the lowest point of view, the prospects of the institution 'were favorable in the extreme.' The question of liability is one which naturally arises in connexion with the debentures of the association, and we were very glad to find this point referred to in distinct and most satisfactory terms, by Doctor Foster, Professor of Jurisprudence at University College. 'Some persons might ask,' said Dr. Foster, 'what is the nature of the liability incurred by those gentlemen who take debentures? He might answer briefly they will incur no liability at all. It was not a shareholding concern. A person who took a debenture merely lent £50 to the trustees of the club.' Such being the state of things, we trust the monetary arrangements of the committee will be speedily completed. The beneficial effects of such an institution are too obvious to need enforcement. The wonder is that they have not long since led to its formation. Had they done so, greater union and more effective action would have prevailed. It is never, however, too late to mend; and we therefore rejoice, though it be the eleventh hour, to see the *Milton Club* rising into existence. We should have preferred a broader basis, but defer to the views of those who have devoted their time and services to the origination of the scheme.

THE REVEREND WILLIAM JAY, OF BATH, was removed by death at his house in Percy Place, on Tuesday, December 27th, 1853, in the 85th year of his age. He had been the minister of Argyle Chapel,—which he himself opened in 1789,—for the unusually long period of sixty-three years, during which successive generations enjoyed his pastoral instruction. In the early part of his life there was so little attraction in the Established Church, and so much in the pulpit of Argyle Chapel, that persons of high rank, and of political and literary eminence, flocked around the youthful preacher, and admitted him to their private friendship. Among these were Lord and Lady Barham, Mr. Wilberforce and Mrs. Hannah Moore. The same natural eloquence, sound theology, quaint illustration, and unrivalled pathos, which fascinated the high-born and cultivated, was not less charming to the many. His publications are numerous, and well-known: his 'Life of Cornelius Winter';—'Sermons';—'Family Discourses';—'Christian Contemplated';—'Family Prayers';—'Morning and Evening Exercises';—and many separate Sermons. Mr. Jay, though a conscientious dissenter, and liberal in politics, was not at any time, what is now understood as a public man. Avoiding platform oratory, he confined himself strictly to the pulpit, and to the reproduction of his sermons in books. Having for many years visited London as a periodical preacher in Surrey Chapel, he became as well known there as if he had been a resident minister. We believe that his autobiography has long been prepared, and we shall look for it with much interest, as we understand it will include the correspondence of eminent persons, and will throw much unexpected light on their characters. The variety as well as extensiveness of Mr. Jay's acquaintance, and the shrewd power of observation and word-painting which he

cultivated for so many years, are sure to furnish a 'Life' of rare interest. It would be difficult to appreciate the indirect usefulness of his protracted ministry in Bath. His own impression, we have been informed, was that he did more good by his writings than by his preaching. He will probably be remembered for many years to come as the most striking and popular preacher of his day, whose excellencies and faults were equally peculiar, and equally unlikely to be rivalled, or even imitated, with any prospect of success.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Discovery. A Poem. By Edward Aldam Leatham.

Departed Worth and Greatness Lamented. A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Andrew Symington, D.D. Preached at Paisley, Oct. 2, 1853. By William Symington, D.D.

Aims and Ends.

Ephemeris; or, Leaves from the Journal of Marian Drayton.

Letters of Rachel Lady Russell. 2 Vols.

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ART. I.—*The Right Honourable Benjamin Disraeli, M.P. A Literary and Political Biography, Addressed to the New Generation.* 8vo. London : Richard Bentley. 1854.

THE world has been warned by the infallible oracle, and taught by the experience of successive generations, that those who use the sword will perish by the sword. But, shortly after the warning was delivered, Juvenal remarked how few tyrants died a bloodless death, and another poet even vindicated the retaliative law :

———— Nec lex est justior ulla,
Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ.

Mr. Disraeli is the Perillus of the present age. His cruel ingenuity has constructed many an artifice of torture, and of these he has been made the victim in the pages before us, which, whoever may be their author, have achieved the most total extinction of a public character which perhaps has ever been witnessed. Yet this partakes of none of that bitter vituperation with which the subject of it has visited all his political opponents in turn. It is marked throughout by dry, impartial justice, upon a political freebooter whose hand has been against every man. It exposes an unexampled degree of self sufficiency and selfishness. It convicts him of unstable principles, fluctuating opinions, and inconsistent policy, of inaccurate facts, and devious judgment. It records a life of self-seeking changefulness, unscrupulous ambition, a malignant persecution of those whose policy he adopted, and

whose course he followed, and records a conclusive overthrow brought on by that avenging Nemesis which he declared, on the retirement of Sir Robert Peel, sealed the catastrophe of a sinister administration.

It is unnecessary for us to adopt the definition of patriotism fulminated by Dr. Johnson: 'That it is the last refuge of a political scoundrel.' That dictum is marked by all the indiscriminating rancour of the Doctor's toryism, and it is unquestionable that many whose patriotism has assumed what we are inclined to regard as the normal form of that nominal and vaunted virtue—namely, a secondary and more expanded selfishness, have still been men as little chargeable with political scoundrelism as Dr. Johnson himself. Nor need we, on the other hand, commit ourselves to those extreme principles of Mr. Godwin, explained in his 'Political Justice,' which attach viciousness to all our partialities, whether they be the more private emotions of gratitude, or the more public sentiments of patriotism. We say that as far as Mr. Disraeli is concerned, it is unnecessary to discuss either of these theories, inasmuch as his absorbing love of self-aggrandizement, and his abnegation of all the claims of political intercourse, place him without the limits which are embraced by either of them. Moreover, this dissection of Mr. Disraeli before his death, is equally justified by the precedent of his own literary conduct. In his political novels he has exposed living public men, in a manner which makes their identification perfectly easy; and in doing so has used a licence which, on the questionable principle of retaliation, justifies any exposure of himself.

Mr. Disraeli's first appearance before the public is in the columns of a daily newspaper called the 'Representative,' which, during the few months of its existence, strove in vain, though at an enormous pecuniary expenditure, to establish itself as the Tory rival of the 'Times.' Of the sable dye of its Toryism some idea may be formed from the opinion it records, that England, 'so far from having governed Ireland on too despotic principles, had all along erred in precisely the opposite direction.' To gauge the editor's political prescience, it will be sufficient to notice that two years before the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill he declared, 'That the Catholic question, to the best of our observation and judgment, has retrograded *prodigiously* of late.'

Mr. Disraeli's next exhibition of himself is as the author of 'Vivian Grey.' The author chooses a hero about his own age, and the narrative of his early and unfinished career, is apparently an approving and self-portraying exhibition of selfish ambition, and heartless manœuvre. 'Vivian Grey' was indeed an ominous production. 'Byron,' says the author of this political biography, 'talked of being a very Timon at nineteen; but what is a Timon at nineteen

to a Machiavelli at nineteen? Indeed, the immorality of the book is absolutely detestable. He is a worshipper of what Mr. Disraeli calls 'intellect.' 'He formed a resolution,' says the author before us, 'to govern men by humouring their prejudices, and pandering to their passions.' His theory is, and it is called a new theory, that philosophers have died in garrets, statesmen have never ruled, and warriors have never conquered, simply because they did not mix with the herd and take upon them the weaknesses of humanity. 'Mankind, then,' says 'Vivian,' is my great game.' Another touch is equally characteristic. He apostrophizes a lady who had crossed his designs, and who, in revenge for a cruel humiliation, had attempted to poison him, and whom he yet cannot help fancying is the 'double of himself,' in the following language: 'Away with all fear—all repentance—all thought of past—all reckoning of future, and now, thou female fiend! the battle is to the strongest; and I see right well that the struggle between two such spirits will be a long and fearful one. Woe, I say, to the vanquished! You must be dealt with by arts which even yourself cannot conceive. Your boasted knowledge of human nature shall not again stand you in stead; for, mark me, from henceforward Vivian Grey's conduct towards you shall have no precedent in human nature.' So much for Mr. Disraeli's hero. But we find something that reminds us of this in a subsequent passage of the young statesman's history. In a letter to Mr. Morgan O'Connell, provoked by a sarcastic speech of his father against Mr. Disraeli, he writes: 'I shall take every opportunity of holding your father's name up to public contempt, and I fervently pray that you, or some one of his blood, may attempt to avenge the unextinguishable hatred with which I shall pursue his existence.' These passages, in their combination, afford, we fear, a key to those chambers in Mr. Disraeli's mind in which the greater part of his time and his energies are spent. Inextinguishable hatred seems to be his ruling passion, and although Mr. O'Connell's unjustifiable but yet imperishable comparison of him to the 'blaspheming thief upon the cross,' whose taunts symbolize the gall which embittered the great sacrifice, we fear there is too much truth in the observation of the author before us, who says: 'Youth can be no excuse for errors of this nature, because they are errors of that kind which youth instinctively shuns. There is nothing in them of the romantic, the noble, the generous.'

'If,' he says, 'in all his future compositions and speeches, it is found that Mr. Disraeli carefully avoids the most serious faults of these two volumes, shuns all malignities and personalities, and in his political conduct ever afterwards preserves an intelligible consistency, it may with some plausibility be asserted that Vivian Grey is entirely

a fictitious character, and that it is unfair to associate the author with his work. But what conclusion can any impartial person come to, if we find him in his matured novels and speeches, still dealing in personalities, and scarcely anything else but personalities; still making use in one year of radical principles, and in another, appealing to old tory traditions; at one time being the advocate of free-trade, and at another of protection, and only consistent in a furious desire to become distinguished? Would it then be going beyond the bounds of fair critical induction, if the names of Vivian Grey and Benjamin Disraeli were considered as synonymous?—pp. 54, 55.

In the spirit of an equally just criticism our author says—‘Of all the sophistries ever written, to say that a hero “must mix with the herd, humour their weaknesses, sympathize with the sorrows he does not feel, and share the merriment of fools,” is the most miserable. This condemnation seems to be justified by the language which Mr. Disraeli puts into the mouth of his hero. ‘I have been often struck by the tales of Jupiter’s visits to the earth. In these fanciful adventures the god bore no indication of the thunderer’s glory, but was a man of low estate, a herdsman, or other hind, and often even a mere animal. A mighty spirit has in tradition, Time’s great moralist, perused “the wisdom of the ancients.” Even in the same spirit I would explain Jove’s terrestrial visiting. For to govern men even the god appeared to feel as a man; *and sometimes, as a beast, was apparently influenced by their vilest passions.*’

In summing up and delivering judgment on Vivian Grey, the author says—

‘This novel of ‘Vivian Grey’ created a sensation, and thus one great desire of its author was gratified. The work might be immoral, it might be personal, and, in a literary point of view, commonplace; but still it created a sensation, and Mr. Disraeli’s darling ambition at all times is to create a sensation. For this he satirizes his friends; for this he raises up against him enemies innumerable; for this he disregards the sober but majestic features of truth and nature. On more than one occasion he has declared through the mouths of his heroes, that it is better to be spoken of with detestation than not to be spoken of at all, and that infamy is preferable to obscurity.’—pp. 50, 51.

Mr. Disraeli’s next ambition was to develop himself as a poet and a poetical originator. He proposes to supersede the dramatic school which produced a Shakspeare, and the poetical school which gave us our Milton, and with a literary ambition concurrent with his political aspirations, he presented the world with ‘Contarini Fleming,’ and subsequently with ‘Alroy.’ Of the bombast of the former, one brief specimen will suffice. ‘If she be not mine there is no longer Venice—no longer human existence—no longer a beautiful and everlasting world. Let it all cease; let

the whole globe crack and shiver ; let all nations and all human hopes expire at once ; let chaos come again, if this girl be not my bride !' The reader will perhaps be tempted to inquire whether this wholesale denunciation of the universe may not account for his political sympathy with the scion of the house of Rutland, who, in an analogous paroxysm of political wisdom, recorded the well-known ejaculation :

' Let arts and commerce, laws and learning die,
But leave us still our *old nobility* !'

' This work,' our author says, and we think justly, ' is alone sufficient to prove that Mr. Disraeli's organization is essentially unpoetical, and that he is not a man of meditation but of action. He is one of those who love to jostle for pre-eminence in the crowd, and not one of those who muse, and meditate, and create. Whenever he attempts to draw imaginary characters, whenever he would picture to our minds anything highly spiritual, he becomes ridiculous. His strength lies in the prosaic and the real. The best sketches in his novels are all of living persons, and are not great creations.'

At length we find Mr. Disraeli aspiring to the honour of a seat in Parliament, and soliciting the suffrages of the constituency of High Wycombe, and here the hero of the ' Representative' is in a somewhat odd position. He seeks his credentials from Mr. O'Connell, who was then defying the whig ministry, and from Mr. Hume, who was then what, as every one knows, he is now. Their letters, in reply to his solicitation, were at once printed as placards and posted on the walls, for the edification of the worthy constituents of High Wycombe. He was proposed by a radical, and seconded by a tory. Mr. Disraeli came out as the advocate of the ballot and of triennial parliaments. He wrote to Mr. O'Connell, and asked for his support (so says our author), as that of one radical to another radical who was going to contest on the radical interest the Wycombe election ; but Mr. Disraeli has through life been only a negative man, his professed principles at this time meant nothing but a mortal hatred of the whigs. Hence we find him writing to the editor of the ' Times,' in 1835 : ' If the tories and radicals of England had united like the tories and radicals of Wycombe four years ago, the oligarchical party would long since have been crushed ; had not the tories and a great portion of the radicals united at the last general election the oligarchy would not now have been held in check. Five years hence I trust there will not be a radical in the country, for if a radical mean, as it can only mean, one desirous to uproot the institutions of the country, that is the exact definition of a whig.'

We must pause for a moment to notice Mr. Disraeli as an etymologist. He defines a radical as that which can only mean 'one desirous to uproot the institutions of the country.' This affords one of many instances of that want of logical sagacity which leads the author of this biography to affirm, as we think with strict justice, that he is utterly incapable of accurate reasoning, and that he is but scantily acquainted even with its technical forms. Mr. Disraeli must know, in common with the millions whose cause he long professed to espouse, that the term radical is simply an abbreviation for radical reformer; and we would take the freedom of asking him in a sober moment when he is 'off' his poetry, whether such a term may not designate a statesman, who desires to lay the axe to the root of obvious evils and corruptions, without reference to those great institutions which every patriot desires to preserve.

In April, 1833, we find Mr. Disraeli addressing the electors of Marylebone on distinctly radical principles. He again puts forward his advocacy of the ballot and triennial parliaments; boasts that he is supported by neither of the aristocratic parties, and that he is untainted by the receipt of public money; and declares that he claims their support as a man 'who has already fought the battle of the people.' The election, however, did not take place, and Mr. Disraeli did not become the radical member for Marylebone. Meanwhile the aspirant statesman did not abandon his literary ambition, but continued his design of introducing a new poetical era by presenting the world with the 'Wondrous Tale of Alroy.' His critic admits that, 'as a romance, the book is interesting,' but adds, that whenever it attempts to be poetical, it is absurd. A single passage will, we think, justify this conclusion. It is so ambitiously elaborated that some of its passages fall into blank verse; but Ossian-and-water, is the only epithet which occurs to us as a faithful definition of its quality. It is an apostrophe to Alroy's soldiers, as they make their triumphal entry into Bagdad, and runs as follows:—

'The waving of banners, the flourish of trumpets, the neighing of steeds, and the glitter of spears. On the distant horizon, they gleam like the morning, when the gloom of the night shines bright into day.

'Hark! the trump of the foeman like the tide of the ocean, flows onward and onward, and conquers the shore. From the brow of the mountain, like the rush of a river, the column defiling melts into the plain. Warriors of Judah! holy men that battle for the Lord! The land wherein your fathers wept, and touched their plaintive psaltery; the haughty city where your sires bewailed their cold and distant hearths; your steeds are prancing on its plains, and you shall fill its palaces. Warriors of Judah! holy men that battle for the Lord!

'March, onward march, ye valiant tribes, the hour has come, the hour has come. All the promises of sages, all the signs of sacred ages

meet in this ravishing hour. Where is now the oppressor's chariot? where your tyrant's purple robe? The horse and the rider are both overthrown, the horse and the rider are both overthrown!

'Rise, Rachel, from the wilderness, arise, and weep no more. No more thy lonely palm-trees' shade need shroud thy secret sorrowing. The Lord has heard the widow's sigh; the Lord hath stilled the widow's tear. Be comforted, be comforted, thy children live again!

'Yes! yes! upon the bounding plain fleet Asriel glances like a star, and stout Scherirah shakes his spear by stern Jabaster's scimitar. And He is there, the chosen one, hymned by prophetic harps, whose life is like the morning dew on Sion's holy hill; the chosen one, the chosen one, that leads his race to victory, warriors of Judah! holy men that battle for the Lord!

'They come, they come, they come!'—pp. 114, 115.

'This,' our author adds, 'is Mr. Disraeli's poetry. These are the strains intended to revolutionize modern literature, and shame us out of our admiration for Shakspeare and Homer, and all their "commonplace inversions" and monotonous modulation. Never was there a more extraordinary instance of self-delusion.' Well may Mr. Disraeli adopt the maxim of the 'Representative'—'A smile for a friend, and a sneer for the world,' as the way to govern mankind. Assuredly here is a 'sneer for the world' with a vengeance. Such composition as this outrages the first principles of taste and utterly paralyzes criticism. This new style Mr. Disraeli 'frankly owns' he has invented. Of his heroes, the writer says with truth, 'Like Byron he can draw but one character, and this character he supposes to be in his own image. His heroes believe they are peculiar beings, different from the ordinary children of mortality, and that nothing can resist either their personal or their mental charms. They believe themselves born to triumph, and have no liking for the calm, quiet virtues of life.' This is evidently the cherished sentiment of Mr. Disraeli himself:—'Standing,' he says, 'upon Asia, and gazing upon Europe, with the broad Hellespont alone between us, and the shadow of night descending on the mountains, these mighty continents appeared to me, as it were, the Rival Principles of Government that at present contend for the mastery of the world. "What!" I exclaimed, "is the Revolution of France a less important event than the Siege of Troy?—Napoleon a less interesting character than Achilles? For me remains the Revolutionary Epic."'

In December, 1834, Mr. Disraeli, returning to his first loves, addresses again the electors of High Wycombe; and now his radicalism appears to have grown with his growth and strengthened with his strength. Speaking of Ireland, he says:—'Twelve months must not pass over without the very name of tithes in that country being abolished for ever; nor do I deem it less

urgent that the Protestant Establishment in that country shall be at once proportioned to the population which it serves.' As personalities have ever formed the source of his political harangues, we find him designating Lord John Russell as 'one who, on the same principles that bad wine becomes good vinegar, has somehow turned from a tenth-rate author into a first-rate politician; and so of Lord Palmerston in a 'concatenation accordingly.' This noble Lord he designates as 'the child of corruption, born in Downing-street; a second-rate official.' Yet, as if seeking prospectively a soft place to fall upon in the tumbles of his future political inconsistency, he says:—

'A statesman is essentially a practical character, and when he is called upon to take office, he is not to inquire what his opinions might or might not have been upon this or that subject—he is only to ascertain the needful, and the beneficial, and the most feasible manner in which affairs are to be carried on. The fact is, the conduct and opinions of public men at different periods of their career must not be too curiously contrasted in a free and aspiring country. The people have their passions, and it is even the duty of public men occasionally to adopt sentiments with which they do not sympathize, because the people must have their leaders. Thus the opinions and the prejudices of the community must necessarily influence a rising statesman.'—p. 137.

This is truly a 'comfortable doctrine,' but like that other doctrine to which the epithet comfortable was originally applied, it has two sides to it. Mr. Disraeli's principle indeed may be designated as the antinomianism of politics. We know that consistency is often the mere protective synonyme of obstinacy or self-interest, and that great political mischiefs have been committed in its name; but surely Mr. Disraeli here proves too much. It cannot become a statesman to trim his sails in obedience to the temporary shifting of every popular gale which may be produced by the gullies and inequalities of the shore, and, to use Mr. Burke's image, to be 'not a pillar in the senate house, but only the weathercock on its summit.' But Mr. Disraeli here lays himself open to some serious reprisals if his apologetic principle be admitted (and in one sense it is sound and true). How can he justify his envenomed invectives against Sir Robert Peel for having changed his views on the commercial policy of this country, when that change was preceded and dictated by the most overwhelming tide of popular opinion that ever rose to the level of the legislature?

'Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes!'

The critic before us expresses similar views with more severity:—

'Mr. Disraeli,' he says, 'of all men, ought in his later career, most carefully to have avoided gross personalities and mischievous satire.

He ought, at least, to have been sensible of the many points his life affords for ridicule. He has never ridiculed any character half so ridiculous as his own. The plain statement of facts, as they are here set down, may even pass for satire, though it is only simple, unexaggerated truth. In fact, it cannot be concealed, for it must now be sufficiently obvious, that the literary and political history of this satirical author and politician is a satire ready made. But he has thought fit to designate this period of his life as that in which he was sowing his political wild oats. Mr. Disraeli was then verging on his thirtieth year; he had written much, and experienced much. It is not to be supposed that at such an age he was permitted to sow with impunity any wild oats, political or moral. It was not for him to make such an excuse, when he had invariably appealed to the youth of England, and considered, in his full maturity, that it was a blessing for any country to be governed by its youth.'—pp. 139, 140.

Mr. Disraeli next exhibits himself as a candidate for the representation of the borough of Taunton. Here he came out as a thorough-bred tory, and yet, oblivious of the 'Marylebone radical,' he declared in his speech to the electors, 'If there is anything on which I pique myself, it is my consistency, and I am prepared to prove it.' Some rather curious results arose out of this address. In the course of it he designated Mr. O'Connell as a traitor, and even as 'a bloody traitor and an incendiary,' seeming to forget that he had himself placarded the walls of High Wycombe with a commendatory letter from the great agitator. Mr. O'Connell was not slow to visit this offence on the head of its perpetrator. In a speech delivered shortly afterwards in Ireland he thus characteristically takes his revenge:—'At Taunton this miscreant has styled me an incendiary. Why, I was a greater incendiary then,' O'Connell continued, 'than I am at present, if I ever were one; and if I am so, he is doubly so for having employed me. Then he calls me a traitor. My answer to that is, he is a liar. He is a liar in actions and words. His life is a living lie!' Having subsequently paid his tribute of respect to various Jewish gentlemen and families within his acquaintance, he adds in his own withering way:—'It will not be supposed therefore that when I speak of Mr. Disraeli as the descendant of a Jew, that I mean to tarnish him on that account. They were once the chosen people of God. There were miscreants amongst them, however, also, and it must certainly have been from one of those that Disraeli is descended. He possesses just the qualities of the impenitent thief, whose name I verily believe must have been Disraeli. For aught I know the present Disraeli is descended from him, and with the impression that he is, I now forgive the heir-at-law of the blasphemous thief who died on the cross.'

There is a conventional code of honour under which men in the higher ranks of life feel bound to incur the double guilt of

suicide and murder by regarding a charge of falsehood and treachery as the *casus belli* for a duel. Mr. O'Connell had on one occasion killed his 'man' in obedience to this sapient law, and thereupon had 'registered a vow in heaven' never to fight another duel. This religious regulation deprived Mr. Disraeli of his desired revenge. He therefore substituted the pen for the pistol, and when disappointed of his revenge upon Daniel O'Connell he turned to his son, who had once appeared in the lists as the representative of his 'shrinking sire:' but that young gentleman wisely estimating the oppressive amount of similar engagements which would devolve upon him if he undertook a second time to use his father's pistols, denied Mr. Disraeli the pleasure of shooting him, and preferred a bitter missive from Mr. Disraeli, a passage from which has been already quoted, to one of those projectiles which surgical writers on gun-shot wounds inform us are alike devious and difficult of extraction.

Mr. Disraeli now foregathered with Lord Lyndhurst, and in a letter to him, occupying no less than 210 octavo pages, entitled 'The Vindication of the English Constitution,' struggles for the *salvage* of his own political consistency by adopting the theory that the tory party was the only one that was truly democratic. He declares that the House of Commons is not and never was the house of the people, and moulds the whole of his performance upon the model and the style of his favourite Bolingbroke.

His comparison of Bolingbroke with Mr. Burke elicits from our author one of the most vigorous of his (criticisms too long to extract and yet too valuable to pass unnoticed,) in which he shows a deep insight into the character of both, and demonstrates Mr. Disraeli's incapacity to fathom the character of either.

We pass over a correspondence between Mr. Disraeli and the 'Globe' and 'Times' newspapers, in which he assails Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Hume, and Sir E. Bulwer, with a vehemence of abuse, which in the present day would exclude his letters from the columns of any respectable newspaper; and we find him next as an imitative follower of Junius in the 'Times,' under the signature of 'Runnymede.' It appears that these letters, though unacknowledged, are unquestionably the productions of Mr. Disraeli. While they contain the most unjustifiable personal invective, especially against Mr. O'Connell, we find in them a degree of adulation addressed to Sir Robert Peel, which is scarcely less offensive. We hear of 'the halls and bowers of Drayton, where you have realized the romance of Verulam;' 'those refined delights of fortune which are your inheritance, and which no one is more capable of appreciating;' 'and those pure charms of domestic life to which no one is naturally more attached.' 'In your chivalry alone is our hope; clad in the panoply of your splendid talents, and your

spotless character, we feel assured that you will subdue this unnatural and unnational monster, and that we may yet see sedition, and treason, and rapine, rampant as they may have late figured, quail before your power and prowess.' We have already seen Mr. Disraeli arguing in favour of the inconsistencies of statesmen to the utmost limits of latitudinarianism, and yet Sir Robert Peel, to whom he offers this fulsome adulation, was the man, whom, but for an accident, which threw a nation into mourning, Mr. Disraeli would have baited, if his malignity could have accomplished so great a success, to a less noble death, by his persistent and harassing vituperation.

We must omit, without notice, the publication of Mr. Disraeli's 'Henrietta Temple,' a love story, and also of his 'Venetia,' in which his plagiarisms from Mr. Macaulay's 'Essay on Lord Byron' in the 'Edinburgh Review,' are the most outrageous which the whole history of literature records, and which can only be paralleled by his appropriation, almost *verbatim*, in his parliamentary eulogy of the Duke of Wellington, of the panegyric on a second-rate French general by a second-rate French rhetorician. Neither of these literary offences could have been committed by a man possessed of the smallest particle of self-respect.

At length we find Mr. Disraeli seated as member for Maidstone in the House of Commons—the arena on which he had threatened the fatal castigation of Mr. O'Connell. His failure in his first parliamentary effort is thus described by his merciless critical biographer:—

'O'Connell had just delivered one of his most thrilling speeches, and laid Sir Francis Burdett prostrate in the dust; the House of Commons was in a state of the greatest excitement, when a singular figure, looking as pale as death, with eyes fixed upon the ground, and ringlets clustering round his brow, asked the indulgence which was usually granted to those who spoke for the first time, and of which he would show himself worthy by promising not to abuse it. He then singled out O'Connell, who, he said, while taunting an honourable baronet with making a long, rambling, and jumbling speech, had evidently taken a hint from his opponent, and introduced every Irish question into his rhetorical medley. Two or three taunts were also directed at the whigs; who had made certain intimations at clubs and elsewhere about the time "when the bell of our cathedral announced the death of our monarch." Then followed some of Mr. Disraeli's daring assertions, which were received with shouts of laughter, and loud cries of "Oh! oh!" from the ministerial benches. An allusion to "men of moderate opinions and of a temperate tone of mind," produced still more laughter; for it was considered that such a character was the very opposite of the individual who was addressing them. He entreated them to give him five minutes' hearing; only five minutes. It was not much. The House then became indulgent; but soon the shouts of

laughter again burst forth, as Mr. Disraeli went on to say that he stood there not formally, but virtually, as the representative of a considerable number of members of parliament. "Then why laugh?" he asked; "why not let me enjoy this distinction at least for one night?" It appeared that he considered himself the representatives of the new members. When, however, he spoke of the disagreement between "the noble Tityrus on the Treasury Bench and the Daphne of Liskeard;" declared that it was evident that this quarrel between the lovers would only be the renewal of love, and alluded to Lord John Russell as waving the keys of St. Peter in his hand, the voice of the ambitious orator was drowned in convulsions of merriment. "Now, Mr. Speaker, see the philosophical prejudice of man!" he ejaculated, with despair; and again the laughter was renewed. "I would certainly gladly," said Mr. Disraeli, most pathetically, "hear a cheer, even though it came from the lips of a political opponent." No cheer, however, followed; and he then added, "I am not at all surprised at the reception I have experienced. I have begun several times many things, and I have often succeeded at last. I will sit down now, but the time will come when you will listen to me."—pp. 250-252.

Our author's mode of accounting for this failure is at once ingenious and true:—

'Mr. Disraeli's art,' he says, 'lies in taking his audience by surprise, and in delivering his most successful points as *impromptus*. This, of course, may be done effectually, when the speaker has a command over hearers, and his intellectual ascendancy is allowed; but every orator has more or less to prepare his audience for the reception of his speeches, and until this can be done, it is not easy to make a very successful oratorical effort. . . . Mr. Disraeli failed, simply because the House of Commons would not listen to him, nor was it prepared to endure from a young member an harangue full of personalities, though these personalities appear to have been quite as good as many which have been delivered since by the same man to an attentive audience, and received with loud applause.'—pp. 253, 254.

And thus it must ever be; an adventurer, however energetic, divested of those ties which are inserted in stable principles, or in the associations of a political career, has no hold upon a British audience. He only tempts his fate in his efforts to stimulate them to his alliance; and his failure suggests, although by contrast, the aphorism of Bacon, 'He that hath a wife and children has given hostages to Fortune.'

Mr. Disraeli soon developed in parliament his ambitious singularity, and his faith in paradox. This his political biographer takes pains to develop. After analyzing a speech, which he made immediately after the accession of her present Majesty, he says—

'Mr. Disraeli thus, on principle, admires the two extreme parties more than any moderate political section. He can admire Toryism; he can admire Chartism. But what he abominates is moderation. He might, with some plausibility, maintain, as he has ever done, that he

has never changed the principles on which he contested High Wycombe in 1832; for it is his very nature thus to bring opposites together and to join contrasts. He was at once the champion of the cottager and the noble, and the systematic opponent of the middle classes. He roundly asserted in the House of Commons a very few months after this time, that the aristocracy and the labouring multitude form the nation.'—pp. 274, 275.

These were the principles of Young England, which, as a political party, 'sparkled and exhaled' shortly after its birth, deserted, or, rather perhaps, exposed by its parents, on those bleak hill-sides which were most exposed to the blasts of an hourly increasing popular opinion. The failure of that particular party was simply ridiculous. Nothing could be imagined more childish than the attempt to revive in these days of popular progress, in which 'the toe of the peasant treads so near the heel of the courtier, that it galls his kibe,' the abominations of feudal times, a society of peers and peasants;—the peers very rich, and the peasants very picturesque. The inauguration and the requiem of the stillborn system are found in the ineffably ridiculous distich of Lord John Manners, which we have already quoted. The momentum of the movement of the British people to obtain cheap food, free commerce, and political rights, has disintegrated and dispersed the flimsy vanity like chaff before a whirlwind.

In the summer of 1840, we find Mr. Disraeli attacking Lord Palmerston's foreign policy, and arguing with that pretension to personal authority, and to what he calls tradition, that an Austrian alliance was the true policy of England. Subsequently, however, he diametrically altered his course, insisting that Mr. Pitt's foreign commercial policy was established on a sound French alliance, and that this was the central point of all genuine traditional tory policy. The author before us generalizes with great justice in connexion with this subject, the leading feature of Mr. Disraeli's erratic political career. Observing upon his ingenuity and versatility in finding authorities and philosophy for opposite courses of action, he remarks with much truth, that he has more than any other man living adopted the advice of William Gerard Hamilton, who, in his treatise on 'Parliamentary Logic,' says to aspiring statesmen: 'You know the consequences you want, find out a principle to justify them. This,' he adds, 'is what Mr. Disraeli is ever doing. Whatever may be the consequences he wants, he is sure to find out a principle for their justification.'

As the whig government declined in 1841, his rancour towards them increased, and proportionately his adoration of Sir Robert Peel as the rising sun. The adaptation of his policy to the circumstances of the times was the theme of his most pointed eulogium; but all his efforts were wasted upon that calm and

sagacious observer; and when the whig administration expired, and Sir Robert Peel was summoned to the helm of the cabinet, the expectant apostle of the new generation found that his services were not required, and that the formation of the ministry down to its very subordinates proceeded as if in oblivion of his existence. Free trade was now the great question. At this turning point of Mr. Disraeli's political career, the course he adopted deserves particular mention.

'Though,' says the author before us,* 'Mr. Disraeli fails in proving that the Tories were free-traders in 1787, his attempt to do so proves that he was himself a free-trader in 1843. He found it convenient in 1846 to drop altogether the name of free-trader, that he might assume the leadership of the protectionist party. But in the session of 1842, and the earlier part of the session of 1843, he was a decided free-trader, and defended the Corn Laws as an exception to the general principles of free trade. Thus, on the 14th of February, 1843, on Lord Howick's motion for a committee on the distress of the country, Mr. Disraeli was again philosophical and historical, and the advocate of free commercial intercourse.'—pp. 308, 309.

In April of the same year (1843), he avowed the same principles with still greater distinctness. 'No words,' says the author, 'could be plainer than those of the member for Shrewsbury; he clearly considered himself an eminent free-trader, and most certainly never called himself at this time, nor until nearly two years later, a protectionist.'

In August of the same year, however, he indicated a diametrical change of tactics. His first opposition to Sir Robert Peel was upon his Irish policy, and now, while opposing the leader he had so cordially followed, he complimented the whigs, and flattered Lord John Russell as their head. From this, a superficial observer might conclude that the right honourable gentleman's enmities are not immortal. Time and events, however, dispel the illusion. Mr. Disraeli's hatred is a fixed battery; there stand the cannon, permanent, open mouthed, and shotted; who the enemy may be against whom they may open their fire, is a matter of circumstance, or what in logic is called an accident. His opposition proceeded, and the rumours of the lobbies revealed (if, indeed, they can be accepted as a revelation) that he had made an application for place in 1843, and that his overtures had been entirely disregarded. His hostilities to Sir Robert Peel commenced with an apparently casual question on the affairs of Servia, in connexion with differences between Russia and the Porte. Sir Robert declined giving the information in a somewhat unceremonious style. 'I was treated,' he said, ironically, 'with that courtesy which the right honourable baronet reserves for his supporters;'

* He had, at the recent election, been returned for Shrewsbury.

and he speaks of himself at the commencement of the year 1846 as 'a member who, though on the tory benches, had been for *two sessions* in opposition to the ministry.' In 1845, it was evident that Sir Robert's government was imperilled by its liberality, and Mr. Disraeli, with the instinct of the vulture scenting the approach of dissolution from afar, hovered over and harassed his quarry *unguibus et rostro*. For one of his attacks he was compelled to apologize to Sir Robert; but a few evenings afterwards he attacked him with still greater acrimony, and uttered his well-known sarcasm, 'that the minister had caught the Whigs bathing, and had walked away with their clothes.' Shortly afterwards he committed himself unequivocally to the cause of protection, and, addressing himself to the minister, he said—

'For my part, if we are to have free-trade, I, who honour genius, prefer that such measures should be proposed by the honourable member for Stockport than by one who, through skilful parliamentary manœuvres, has tampered with the generous confidence of a great people and of a great party. For myself, I care not what may be the result. Dissolve, if you please, the parliament you have betrayed. Appeal to the people, who, I believe, mistrust you. For me there remains this at least—the opportunity of thus publicly expressing my belief that a conservative government is an organized hypocrisy.'—p. 334.

During the sessions of 1844 and 1845 Mr. Disraeli's attacks upon Sir Robert Peel became increasingly bitter and frequent, until this gentleman's love of attracting attention to himself must have been satiated, for his lawless invectives were in everybody's mouth, and the wit which preserved such intense inflammation from the next stage, of putrefaction, made his invectives the gossip of the streets and the stock in trade of political caricaturists. Yet it should be noted that at this time the opposition of the protectionists had not commenced, and the repeal of the Corn-laws was not so much as threatened.

It was in 1844 that Mr. Disraeli made his appeal to the world out of doors on the principles of his party. He adopted the form of a political novel, entitled 'Coningsby.' It was in this work that he exhibited, in their fullest development, all the powers of his intellect and all the defects of his character. That it was written with great eloquence, and that it exhibited a high amount of genius, is, we think, unquestionable; but no candid reader will deny that it is disfigured by exaggeration, and envenomed with the most patent personalities. Sidonia is a monster of perfection, made up in about equal proportions of the talents and tact of Mr. Disraeli, expanded to a power known only to mathematicians, and of the wealth of Baron Rothschild, which, to the

relief of the reader, has necessary limits. 'A Key to Coningsby' was published, giving the real name of every character; but this was scarcely necessary to those readers who had an extensive acquaintance with public men, and the liberties taken with their reputation behind the mask of fiction were such as no literary moralist can justify, and deprive the author of all ground of complaint with respect to any reprisals, however overwhelming and vindictive. The political career of the right honourable gentleman, represented under the name of Mr. Rigby, may have deserved the brilliant judgment of Macaulay; but Mr. Disraeli, having the misfortune to reside in a house of glass, was certainly not the person to throw stones at him. Great licence, we are instructed by Horace, must be given to painters and poets. To the latter character, indeed, Mr. Disraeli has no pretensions, and the poetic muse must often, we can imagine, in playful mood, have whispered into his ear, dulled as it was with a mistaken literary ambition, the deprecation of Æneas to the Sybil, '*Tantum foliis ne carmina manda.*' But as a political novelist he should have at least respected the morals of his vocation. He who attacks in the face of day and in open encounter is a fair foe, by whose lance it is not ignominious to fall; but he who stabs under cover of the twilight and the cloak of fiction is a cowardly assassin.

At length the free-trade measure emerged under the auspices of Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Disraeli's opposition reached its height. In exhibiting the course he pursued we cannot do better than quote the language of the author before us:—

'Many of the most experienced and far-seeing of Sir Robert Peel's followers were doubtless guilty of inconsistency in abandoning protection. But Mr. Disraeli's course has been so peculiar, that had he resolved to vote for the repeal of the corn laws, and could his motives have been judged from his principles, and not from his personalities, he was, perhaps, the only member on the conservative side of the house who might have supported the bill without inconsistency. What a conclusive speech he might have delivered, without adopting either the language of the protectionists or the extreme free-traders! He might have said, most unanswerably: "You cannot reproach me with giving up the principle of protection; for I never maintained that protection was a principle. I never maintained that the tory party was connected by the bond of restrictive laws. All the reproaches which are showered on the head of the right honourable baronet and his recent converts around him, on me, at least, fall harmless. I have always asserted that the tory party was really the democratic party. I have always asserted that the principles of free trade were exclusively tory principles." '—pp. 386, 387.

Mr. Disraeli now became the avowed advocate of protection, and yet he declares, 'My opinions have never changed, and I

have always acted up to them in my public conduct.' And to complete the climax he designates Mr. O'Connell 'that great man!' With this predisposing condition of the mental system, it is not surprising that Mr. Disraeli should have been smitten with the mania of prophecy, and his prediction will doubtless be very consolatory to those who are now paying a shilling for the quartern loaf :—' The price of wheat,' he says, ' for the future, will range from 30s. to 35s. a quarter !'

Mr. Disraeli now allied himself with Lord George Bentinck, and the history of that alliance is within the memory of every reader. We will only say of it that it is sketched in the work before us with remarkable ability.

We must pass over Mr. Disraeli's political biography of Lord George Bentinck, to which we formerly devoted a lengthened review, and hasten, in conclusion, to notice that long-sought elevation which precipitated what, to all present appearance, is the final catastrophe of Mr. Disraeli's political career. He had ever, if the report of private conversation is to be believed, ' wearied heaven with prayer' for one year of official power. Nine-tenths of his petition was granted, whether by the power he appealed to, or by the Nemesis which he portrayed as sealing the downfall of Sir Robert Peel, posterity will determine. If Sir Robert Peel stole the clothes of the bathing whigs, the Hebrew Chancellor of the Exchequer bagged the left-off raiment of his whig predecessors. His free-trade budget must be fresh in the memory of every reader, and it is said that Lord Derby, sitting under the gallery during the delivery of his speech, quoted the words of Balaak, ' I sent him to curse them, and, lo ! he hath blessed them altogether.'

With the dismissal of the Derby ministry the political history of Mr. Disraeli may close. It has been brilliant, but wayward and inconsistent. The review of the book before us in the ' Times' newspaper is strangely wanting in the sagacity and general ability which distinguishes the literary criticisms of that organ. We should have supposed that the former and latter half of that notice were written by two persons entertaining the most opposite political opinions. The former says ' that every Englishman's heart ought to throb at the name of Benjamin Disraeli,' while the latter declares, that ' he has ever visited with the most unrelenting bitterness every man, however good or great, who has crossed the path of his self-seeking ambition.' The only attribute, therefore, which ought to make the British heart to throb, is the combination of selfishness and energy. If this is all (and the ' Times' claims no more), the British heart should throb at the name of Jack Sheppard.

It is impossible not to observe, on a review of the political career of Mr. Disraeli, that his guiding principle has been the

establishment and the dominance of party. This we cannot but regard as a theory which contains within itself a principle of political immorality, which, in the long run, must constitute the very assurance of defeat. Political questions submitted to the legislature are supposed by the very theory of representation to be decided by individual opinion. In so far as party spirit controls this primary duty of a legislator, whether in reference to his conscientious conviction, or to his duty to his constituents, it involves a compromise which, however it may serve the purposes of a faction, is inconsistent with the elemental principle of representation. It is on this rock that Mr. Disraeli has split, and nothing but a fundamental change in his views of this all-important question could ever have made his great talents available to the service of his country.

ART. II.—*Pantropheon; or, History of Food and its Preparation from the Earliest Ages of the World.* By A. Soyer, Author of the 'Gastronomic Regenerator and the Modern Housewife: or Ménagère.' London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1853.

2. *Familiar Letters on Chemistry, in its Relations to Physiology, Dietetics, Agriculture, Commerce, and Political Economy.* By Justus von Liebig. Third Edition, Revised and much Enlarged. London: Taylor, Walton, and Maberly. 1851.

ALTHOUGH man has been defined as essentially a cooking animal, yet he is not, strictly speaking, the only creature which causes its food to go through some process besides that of mastication before it is taken into the stomach. The boa constrictor prepares its prey for deglutition by a careful bruising, and lubrication with the saliva; and the crocodile is said, after drowning animals which it has seized, to expose them, so as to leave them to undergo some degree of putrefaction, before finally devouring them. Rumination might, by a little refining, be reduced to a sort of cooking. But as it is most difficult to frame any general definition to which some exception may not be taken, there seems no reason, if we are so minded, why we should not define man as a cooking animal, since his superior refinement in the art of preparing his food is so manifest.

Dr. Johnson pronounced a man who despised his dinner, unfit to be trusted, saying, that he who did not care for what he ate would care for nothing else; and while gluttony is to be abhorred, and superfluous epicurism shunned, it seems little less than the

cynicism of a Diogenes, or the stupidity of an Indian faquir, to be altogether inattentive to the quality of our food, both as to its nature and its mode of preparation. Since this food is to form part of our frame, of our blood, and even of the organ by which we think,—since it is to become our bodily self, we cannot, as rational beings, consider the subject of alimentation as beneath our attention. But as health and economy are also in question, and as in modern and civilized society aliment is often obtained by a much greater amount of care and labour than are required in ruder states of society; as, in short, it is proportionally dearer, it may be very important for a politician and a statesman to have some knowledge of this subject. Has not a hereditary legislator been known to prescribe a bit of spice in water as food for a starving people? There is daily to be found great misconception of what alimentation really is; and we purpose in this article, as far as our limits will permit, to state concisely the general principles of the subject, in connexion more especially with the two works whose titles are given, and to whose character and contents we shall refer.

All substances that we can take into the mouth are, for the most part, of the nature of food or poison. Few are neutral. Even mechanical substances, such as chalk, or dust, sand, or sediments in water, are to be classed under the second head, as they are, more or less, injurious by their very bulk, by clogging up the organs of digestion, or irritating them mechanically. What, then, is the difference between food and poison, or medicine? We should be disposed to make it consist in this—that whereas the system can subject food to its own laws and purposes, poison or medicine forces the system to obey its laws. Thus poison begins, as it were, where food ends.

Probably the greatest discovery of organic chemistry in modern times is, that all the organic substances which constitute the food of man must be divided into two classes,—one of which includes those articles which serve for the true nutrition and reproduction of those solid parts of the body most concerned in the processes of life; while the other, partly subservient in supporting some of the tissues of less essential importance, does also answer purposes, and perform functions, quite different from those of the first. Thus, Liebig states, that as much flour or meal as can lie on the point of a table knife is more nutritious than eight or ten pints of the best Bavarian beer—‘that a person who is able to consume that amount of beer daily, would get from it at the end of the year about as much nourishment as would exist in a five-pound loaf of bread, or in three pounds of flesh.’ But we must not suppose that, although the beer affords so little direct nourishment, it is altogether useless. Besides those articles of diet which

go to build up the solid and essential structures of the body another class of aliments are requisite. In order to maintain life man requires a supply of oxygen, to support combustion and animal heat; of this, an adult will consume from seven to eight hundred pounds annually. None of this remains. It goes to combine with carbon and hydrogen, to pass off at the lungs and the skin in the form of carbonic acid and water, and to support animal heat. This veritable combustion requires a supply of fuel,—*i. e.*, of substances abounding in carbon and hydrogen. These are of a different class from the principles of food which really form the solid tissues of most importance in carrying on the machinery of life, and beer is one of them, although, perhaps, not one of the best.

Now, as life is absolutely dependent on the respiration, and as respiration involves the consumption of carbon and hydrogen by oxygen, from this great fact numerous inferences may be drawn,—*viz.*, that the amount of food must depend, in great part, on the force and frequency of the respirations, and as that frequency is greater in exertion, then more food will be required. Light is also thrown upon the kind of food which animals require. For example, the active and powerfully respiring horse requires an enormous quantity of carbon daily; while the torpid serpent lives entirely on animal food; for it need hardly be remarked, that vegetable food is much more carbonaceous than the flesh of animals.

After considerable discussion, and proof being afforded, that the *continuance* of respiration depends on the integrity of the nervous system, no one now doubts that animal heat is supported chiefly by a true combustion of carbon and hydrogen in the system, in the same way that heat is evolved from a common fire or gas-burner.

Thus digestion consists essentially in affording to the system two kinds of alimentary materials,—one kind containing nitrogenized constituents, identical in composition with muscular fibre, and the greater part of the blood and nerve; the other kind, of a fatty, sugary, or starchy character, containing large quantities of carbon and hydrogen, which are burnt off in the process of respiration, and serve to keep up the animal temperature.

Digestion may be divided into two kinds;—first, that beginning at the stomach and its associate organs, and ending with the fixing of the reparative materials in the extreme cells and tissues, of which process respiration is a part; and another, the second kind, which effects the removal of the superfluous materials of nutrition, and the effete and worn out tissues, used up in the wear and tear of life, and their excretion principally by the kidneys, partly from the bowels and skin. The latter process is

called secondary digestion, or destructive assimilation. It may be conceived how necessary the second kind is, when it is recollected that most of the secretions take place in cells, and at the expense of the secreting cell, which is broken up in the process. It must, therefore, be removed from the system; indeed, the excrementary products which are formed from the worn out tissues become poisons when not properly removed out of the body. Such are the urea and uric acid of the urine, whose retention gives rise to many of the most serious diseases.

The credit of the clear views now generally entertained with regard to nutrition, and the merit of the division of our organic food into two great classes, is generally given to Liebig, and has been so assigned by a writer so learned as the late Dr. Pereira. We, indeed, owe the enunciation of these principles, *in extenso*, in great part to Liebig and other recent investigators; but here, as in almost every instance, we find science progressing gradually. It is seldom given to one man all at once to bring out an ideal creation, or a discovery altogether new. Great discoveries are almost always made by degrees, and perhaps we might trace back almost as far as the alchemists glimpses of the true theory of alimentation. At any rate, we find very just ideas on the subject entertained towards the close of last century, and very near approximations to the truth regularly formularized.

For instance, in a journal edited by the celebrated Fourcroy, entitled 'La Médecine Eclairée par les Sciences Physiques,' in 1791, we find a paper by a M. Hallé, in which not only the fact that the formation of the principal elements of animal nutrition takes place in vegetables, is regularly laid down, but the nature of those principles, and their analogues in vegetables and animals, are pretty clearly indicated. As this anticipation may possess interest for some of our scientific readers, it may be well to translate some of M. Hallé's sentences. He says—

1st. By animalization, we understand the change of vegetable into animal substance; and by assimilation, the passage of alimentary substances, either vegetable or animal, into a state which renders them similar to the parts which compose our bodies;

2nd. By nutrition, the animalization of vegetable aliments, and the assimilation of all aliments;

3rd. Both of these operations, suppose in the alimentary substances,—first, analogies which render them capable of undergoing those changes, and second, differences which render those changes necessary.

* * * * *

6th. We know that the substances which constitute our solids, and which are transported by our fluids, are all ready formed in our aliments—the animal aliments contain them ready formed, and the vegetable contain their analogues;

7th. We do not doubt, that with some trifling difference in the pro-

portions, the vegetable glutinous matter in wheat flour, shown to be existing in almost all herbs, is of exactly the same nature as the fibrous portion of the blood, and the fibre of our muscles.

After these remarkable passages, he proceeds to divide aliments into carbonaceous and azotized, the former principally vegetable, the latter animal; and he, of course, does not omit the uses of carbon and hydrogen in respiration; he descends even to more minute particulars, where it is not necessary to follow him. It is plain, however, that he was perfectly aware of the two classes of organic food, and of the great fact that the essential chemical principles which form the animal tissues exist ready formed in vegetables, and that the gluten, or bird lime, of wheat is as nearly as possible identical with the fibre or flesh of animals.

Highly as the merits of Liebig in the promotion of organic chemistry should be estimated, those of our own illustrious countryman, Dr. Prout, are equally pre-eminent. Dr. Prout came into the field when this branch of chemistry was surrounded with many difficulties; and if some of his views have been extended, none of them have been subverted, which is more than can be said of those of the illustrious German. At some future period, when organic chemistry shall have attained results, of which even now, perhaps, we have little conception, the works of Prout will remain, like some ancient and venerable edifice in the midst of a flourishing metropolis, a lasting monument of its author's glory.

Although Dr. Prout divided aliments into four classes, yet his views are very similar to those of Liebig and more recent writers.

One of the great questions regarding respiration, and the mode in which the blood is changed from venous to arterial, has, we think, been settled by Liebig. It is well known that during this process there is absorption of oxygen from the air, and evolution of carbonic acid and water. Now, there has been much dispute whether the carbonic acid and watery vapour are formed in the lungs, or merely given off there, from the venous blood, and replaced by oxygen. The latter opinion has been gaining ground of late years, and has, we think, been conclusively established by Liebig, who proves that the oxygen absorbed by dark venous blood, which displaces a nearly equal volume of carbonic acid, becomes chemically combined with the now red arterial blood, and gradually, in its passage through the system, is employed in burning off the fats and combustible materials, and in supporting animal heat. Hence a small portion of carbonic acid (with much vapour, and many salts) passes off at the skin. The materials for supporting combustion are furnished principally by the liver, the great organ which absorbs from the aliments their fatty principles, and stores them up for a time to furnish

them to the blood. Finally, as was before remarked, the unconsumed materials of the food and its dregs, and the excess of plastic, *i. e.*, nitrogenized principles, along with the used up tissues of the frame, are eliminated from the kidneys, and partly from the bowels.

Such is the general outline of the process of digestion and the nature of organic food. Experiments on animals prove that without both kinds of food—viz., the nitrogenized or plastic, and the oily, sugary, and starchy, or combustible, life cannot be long preserved. But it is seldom that either of these kinds is presented in a pure form. For example, take the case of an American hunter, who is often obliged to live some time solely on the flesh of the animals he has slain; both kinds of aliment, the plastic and the fatty, exist in his diet, and vegetable gluten is to be found in the food of the potato or rice eater.

But not only is it impossible to sustain life upon either nitrogenized or fatty food alone, we cannot support it upon both these principles combined in a pure form. Pure fibrin, and pure starch, or sugar, or fat, together, will not support existence, other substances must be added, for lime, potass, soda, and muriatic, sulphuric, and phosphoric acids are as essential to the existence of the higher animals as either of the other kinds of aliment. Animals fed upon either, or both of these principles pure, soon die with all the appearances of starvation. There must be a mixture of inorganic salts, without which the animals cannot relish their food.

Other inorganic elements are essential in the constitution of the body. Iron, for instance, is an important constituent of the blood; copper and lead exist normally in the frame; and perhaps there is hardly a single elementary body which is not to be found in combination in man and the higher animals. Iodine was detected the other day. In all probability the only measure of the number of constituents of the body is the minuteness of our analyses.

Much controversy has arisen in recent times owing to the spread of teetotalism, as to the nature of other substances used in diet, such as alcohol in its various forms, wine, beer, &c. &c. many teetotallers in their zeal going the length of roundly calling all these substances poisons. Now, believing as we do, that the battle of teetotalism is to be fought upon the moral point, and that the real question, whether it is not good, nay, better, to abstain from what is in most cases of only questionable benefit, rather than by apparent example to encourage the dreadful vices which arise from the abuse of alcoholic fluids, even by moderate indulgence, we shall proceed to make a few remarks on the real nature of those articles as food.

That alcohol in large doses, and in the concentrated form, is a poison, is beyond a doubt, but it differs from ordinary poisons, such as prussic acid and arsenic, in being assimilated in small quantities, which these never are; *i. e.*, in small quantities it is food, being closely analogous to oil or fat in its chemical composition. It is one of the combustible articles of diet already spoken of. But it is an article somewhat *sui generis*, being both a stimulant in moderate doses, and a supporter of combustion, in large doses a poison, not so poisonous, however, according to some recent unpublished experiments on animals, as thein or caffein, the active principle of tea and coffee, which also is supposed to answer important purposes in digestion, partly by reinforcing the biliary secretions, partly by an effect on the nervous system.* The opposition, then, of some of the more violent of the teetotal *doctrinaires* to the use of alcoholic fluids in any form, on the ground that they are absolute poisons, is not supportable, but the propriety of total abstinence from alcoholic drinks may be urged on the following grounds—viz.: 1st, for the sake of example; 2nd, from the danger of moderate indulgence leading to the use of them as stimulant drugs; 3rd, because they are expensive and can be dispensed with.

Of late years a sect of modern Pythagoreans has arisen, who confine themselves (as much as possible) to vegetable food. If these gentlemen wish to carry out their principles, they should be very careful what water they drink, and we have been shocked to see in their bills of fare the article *eggs*! Now most certainly the eating of an egg must often have a relation to the same atrocity perpetrated on a chicken, very near that which the causing of abortion bears to murder! But, seriously speaking, we should like to know what the vegetarians propose to do with the herds of cattle, flocks of sheep, the pigs and poultry, that cover the surface of the earth, to say nothing of the beasts of prey and birds of the air. If we were to leave them alone, their natural powers, both of reproduction and rapacity exceed ours, and we should have to kill them in self-defence. There is no alternative between the extermination of these animals and the present mode of restraining their numbers within bounds for our own use!

* For the support of the views here expressed we must refer to Liebig. It is unwise to put the teetotal cause upon such a false ground as some do when they cry out against all alcoholic drinks as poisons. Liebig shows that, on the banks of the Rhine, where most wine is drunk, there is least drunkenness. He mentions a curious fact showing that alcohol is food. When the Peace Society met at Frankfort, most of the members being teetotalers, their landlord observed an enormous consumption of farinaceous food, 'an unheard-of occurrence in a house in which the amount and proportion of the dishes for a given number of persons has been for some years fixed and known.'

Let us now turn to the works before us, and the suggestions they furnish.

The work of M. Soyer has a good deal disappointed us:—to use a vulgar phrase, it is neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring. It professes to give a history of cookery, and such a work learnedly and philosophically written, commencing with the earliest periods, and descending through the middle ages, uniting the practical knowledge of M. Soyer, and the science of Liebig would indeed be valuable. But M. Soyer has given under different heads, such as ‘Agriculture,’ ‘Grinding of Corn,’ ‘Dried Vegetables,’ ‘Hunting,’ &c., a sort of *medley*, in which mythological fables, facts of doubtful historical record, and sometimes sufficiently curious or amusing anecdotes, without much reference to date, are jumbled. And under each head are given a number of recipes for cooking dishes after known ancient or mediæval modes, or at least approximating to them; and finally, the work concludes with bills of fare of some of the great modern dinners, which our hero, as he must be here termed, has himself cooked. It may seem almost invidious to remark on an English book professing to be written by a foreigner that there are many grammatical errors, and numerous misprints. It may be observed *en passant* that M. Soyer almost invariably says ‘eat’ instead of *ate*. This vulgarity is not confined to M. Soyer; and as we continually find in newspaper reports of public dinners that a health was ‘drank’ instead of a health was *drunk*, so we are afraid that our old friend *ate* may be banished from vulgar literature.

It is not to be denied, however, that M. Soyer has got together many curious facts concerning the history of food. Many of the illustrations are interesting and well executed. The examples of Roman cookery are amusing, and must often remind the reader of the famous feast after the manner of the ancients in ‘Peregrine Pickle,’ and the exclamation of Pallet, ‘What beastly fellows those Romans were!’* When we think of

* The following is an analysis of this famous entertainment, in which Smollett (except in the arrangement and order of the dishes) has adhered to classical authority. For the first course, there was at one end of the table a boiled goose, served up in a sauce composed of pepper, lovage, coriander, mint, rue, anchovies, and oil; at the other end, dishes of the *salacacabia* of the ancients; one of parsley, pennyroyal, cheese, pine tops, honey, vinegar, wine, pickle (*garum*, we suppose), eggs, cucumbers, onions, and hen livers; the other, a soup *maigre*, but flavoured with sal-ammoniac, the ancient *nitrum* not being procurable. There was also, as part of this course, a loin of veal boiled with fennel and caraway seed, on a pottage composed of pickle, oil, honey, and flour, and a curious hash composed of the lights, liver, and blood of a hare, together with a dish of roasted pigeons. The *salacacabia* being removed, their places were filled with two pies, one of dornice, liquored with syrup of poppies, ‘which the doctor had substituted in the room of toasted poppy seed, and formerly eaten with honey as a

their monstrous dishes, the first preparation for one of which consisted in stifling pigs before they were littered, their extravagant sauces, and the strange order of their banquets, we cannot help agreeing in the opinion of the humorous character which Smollett has drawn. It may not be amiss to observe, that the celebrated *garum*, which formed so large a portion of Roman seasoning was a kind of putrid brine, in which fish entrails were allowed to decompose. Caviar must have been odorous in comparison!

The following is a specimen of M. Soyer *en philosophe*. Speaking of the cooking of the Romans, he says—

‘Sensual enjoyments and every variety of barbarity that follows in their train were carried to the highest pitch. There was something vast and monstrous, of which nothing can give us an idea, in the eclipse of mind, and the depravity of their hearts. All that force of intelligence and will, which, under the influence of Christian spiritualism, has revealed itself in modern times by so many chivalric inspirations, so many scientific discoveries, so many industrial works, then engulfed in the senses, was taxed solely for their gratification. The sensual organization of man had acquired a development apparently as vast as that of intelligence, because intelligence had become the handmaid of the senses; hence those colossal proportions in the tastes, the banquets, the pleasures of the ancients when compared with ours, which make us regard them as an extinct race of giants, if we consider them in a sensual point of view, and as a race of pigmies, if we measure them by that power of ideas, that metaphysical and moral elevation to which we have attained, and which would make *a child of our days the catechist of all the philosophers of antiquity.*’ (!)

At one period the wealthy Romans were accustomed to introduce gladiatorial combats at their feasts, forgetful of the—

‘—— verecundumque Bacchum
Sanguineis prohibete rixis.
Vino et lucernis Medus acinaces,
Immane quantum discrepat’

of Horace.

A Roman supper began with draughts of generous wine; then came the *antecæna*. Lettuces, olives, pomegranates, and Damascus

dessert;’ and the other composed of a hock of pork baked in honey. ‘The second course contains several of the dishes which among the ancients were called *politeles*, or magnificent. ‘That which smokes in the middle,’ said he, ‘is a sow’s stomach filled with a composition of minced pork, hog’s brains, eggs, pepper, cloves, garlic, aniseed, rice, ginger, oil, wine, pickles,’ (was the Scotch haggis a legacy of the Romans?) ‘on the right side are the teats and belly of a sow just farrowed, fried with sweet wine, oil, flour, lovage, and pepper. On the left is a fricasse of snails, fed, or rather purged, with milk. At that end are fritters of pumpkins, lovage, origanum, and oil, and here are a couple of pullets roasted, and stuffed after the manner of Apicius.’

plums, were so disposed as to encircle dormice prepared with honey and poppy juice, and forcemeat balls of crabs, lobsters, and cray-fish, prepared with pepper, cinnamon, and benzoin root:—

‘A little further, champignon and egg sausages, prepared with garum, are placed by the side of pheasant sausages, a delicious mixture of the fat of that bird chopped very small, and mixed with pepper, gravy, and sweet new-made wine, to which a small quantity of hydrogarum is added. Tempting as these delicate viands may be, the practised epicurean seems to have a decided preference for peacock’s eggs, which they open with spoons. These eggs, a master-piece of the culinary artist who presides over Seba’s stoves, are composed of a fine perfumed paste, and contain each one a fat roasted ortolan, surrounded with yolk of egg, and seasoned with pepper.

‘We will not take the reader through the list of all the dishes which composed the *antecena* We must, however, inform him that the true gastronomists . . . did no more than give note of preparation to their appetite by plying it with pickled radishes, some few grasshoppers of a particular species, fried with garum, gray peas, and olives fresh from the brine.’

Then after copious libations of wine came the second course, comprising all sorts of game, fowls, and fish, wild boars served up whole, and stuffed with ortolans and beccaficoes, ‘sow’s paps prepared with milk, sow’s flank, and some pieces of gallic bacon, which gluttons loved to associate with a piece of succulent venison.’ Then came drinking of healths, and finally a copious dessert.

It is not necessary to follow M. Soyer further into details. We know that even the gluttony of aldermen was surpassed by that of the masters of the world. It is stated in M. Soyer’s book, that the Romans were at first such rude cooks, as to be ignorant of the art of making bread for five centuries after the founding of the city. Be this as it may, it appears certain that close to the time of Cæsar, bread was considered too great a luxury for the common soldiers. Thus Sallust tells us that when Metellus arrived in Numidia, to take the command of the army, he found discipline relaxed, and the soldiers abandoned to luxury, and one of his first acts of reformation is described as follows:—‘*Namque edicto primum adjumenta ignaviæ sustulisse, ne quisquam in castris panem aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet.*’ But however rude might be their ideas originally on the subject, they were no sooner introduced to the arts and luxuries of Greece and Asia than, like a similar rough conquering people, the Osmanli Turks, their great men seem to have used the conquered people as the ministers of their sensual appetites, which, among the Romans, in great part, took the form of gulosity. Few indeed were the intellectual productions of the Roman mind in comparison with that of Greece; and did we know

exactly how much of what is generally attributed to the Romans in the arts of life is really due to the Greek race, in all probability very little indeed would remain to the Roman element. The Roman seems ever to have had a scorn of the fine arts, except as mere ministers to luxury, or as Macaulay has expressed this feeling—

‘Leave to the Greek his marble nymphs,
And scrolls of wordy lore.’

To a want of appreciation for the higher and more graceful exercises of the mind, which, on the whole, characterized the Romans, may be attributed the gross sensuality of their feasts; and who can tell how far this enormous luxury, by the mental and physical imbecility it would produce, may have contributed to the fall of the empire? We know from the eloquent pages of Gibbon how much the descendants of the fierce conquerors of the world were absorbed by the pleasures of the table at the time of Alaric. Then wealth and numbers were not wanting to defend Rome; but the nobles were sunk in sensuality, and the people mere slaves reduced, by the self-indulgence of their masters, to such a state that they were left without an interest in the defence of the existing system. The lesson has been often repeated. May it not be without benefit. Thus to the Roman senators might be applied the motto which M. Soyer has chosen—

‘Dis moi ce que tu manges
Je dirai ce que tu es.’

The gross gormandism of the middle ages affords M. Soyer some examples. This was not, however, of the monstrous character of Roman debauchery, but arose simply, we believe, in great part from the absence of the resources which we now possess in gratifying the mind on the one hand by intellectual tastes, and the palate on the other, by great store of vegetables, and such substances as tea and coffee.* All the heroes of primitive times, Homeric, Ossianic, and Scandinavian, when not fighting, speechifying, gaming, or singing, are eating and drinking, and so the long and profuse banquets of the middle ages may have arisen in great part from there being little else for the great men to do. Hence history, as well as experience tells us, that intellectual tastes are ever the best antidote to a too great indulgence in sensual pleasures.

* Some of the dishes which were favourites with our ancestors have perhaps been unnecessarily discarded. For instance, the whale and porpesc. We know that the flesh of young whales is highly esteemed at Bermuda. It is worth while trying how far the porpesc is edible. Vast shoals of them occur off the coast of Ireland; and the blubber is very valuable. If the flesh were equally so, the fishery of these creatures might be another of the resources of Ireland.

We must now take leave of M. Soyer's 'Pantropheon,' and, not having leisure to treat of the recipes of modern cookery, give some illustrations which may serve to show how capable science is of throwing light on the processes of cookery, and economizing the supplies of human food.

The principles of cookery may be illustrated by a reference to a few of the ordinary processes. For example, the boiling of food produces a more or less perfect separation of the soluble from the insoluble constituents of flesh. The water, after flesh has been boiled in it, contains several inorganic salts, and several of the other soluble constituents of flesh, particularly salts formed by a new acid derived from the flesh, termed inosinic acid. Now as flesh employed as food is to become flesh again in the body, the fewer of its component parts that are separated the better, if we are to eat the boiled flesh. The longer therefore meat is boiled, and the larger the quantity of water, the more the quantity extracted will be, and the less fit will be the residue for food. Again: by means of infusion and washing in cold water, sufficiently prolonged, the whole of the albumen and odorous principles are removed.* Upon the quantity of albumen, and an odorous principle—ozmazone associated with it—depend the quality, tenderness, and flavour of the meat. These principles exist between the fibres of the meat, and may be coagulated by too much boiling. The flesh to be boiled should be put into the boiler when the water is boiling briskly; this quickly coagulates the outside rind, and causes the juices to be retained. The temperature should then be allowed to fall, and cold water added, if requisite, to effect this, and the temperature retained for some hours at about 160 degrees; thus the albumen coagulates gradually from the circumference inwards, and the flesh retains its juiciness, and almost resembles roast meat in flavour.

As albumen coagulates at 140 degrees, it might be supposed that in cooking meat it was not necessary to expose it to a higher temperature. But at that point the colouring matter of the blood is not yet coagulated, and the flesh has a bloody appearance, so that a higher temperature is requisite. The enveloping of small pieces of meat in lard prevents evaporation of water, and keeps the meat more juicy. In this way small birds are often cooked.

When soup is to be made, different rules must be acted upon

* The readers of Izaak Walton will note how particular he is in his directions as to dressing the more insipid kinds of fish, not to allow them to be washed too much. For example, 'the chub being thus used, and dressed presently, and not washed after he is gutted (for note that lying long in water, and washing the blood out of any fish after they be gutted, abates much of their sweetness), you will find the chub, being dressed in the blood, and quickly, to be such meat as will recompence your labour.'

from those to be kept in view in boiling meat. Then, of course, the great object is to obtain from the meat all its soluble portions. For this purpose, meat chopped as fine as possible should be mixed with about its weight of water, the two heated slowly together, and brought as slowly to boil as possible, then boiled for only a few minutes and strained. In this way almost every particle of real nutriment is extracted. Long continued boiling answers no end except to extract from the meat a quantity of gelatine whose nutritious powers are of no moment.

Vegetable food produces in the living body blood and flesh, but not with the same rapidity as animal food; and of all the aliments, soup prepared in the manner above stated is by far the most nutritious.

‘Soup,’ says Liebig, ‘is the medicine of the convalescent. No one estimates its value more highly than the hospital physician, for whose patients, soup, as a means of restoring the exhausted strength, cannot be replaced by any other article of the pharmacopœia. Its reviving and restoring action on the appetite, on the digestive organs, the colour and general appearance of the sick, is most striking.’

He goes on:—

‘Sagacious and experienced physicians, and of those especially Parmentier and Prout, have long ago endeavoured to procure a more extended application of the extract of meat. “In the supplies of a body of troops,” says Parmentier, “eating of meat would offer to the severely wounded soldier a means of invigoration, which, with a little wine, would instantly restore his powers, exhausted by great loss of blood, and enable him to bear the being transported to the nearest field-hospital.” “We cannot,” says Prout, “imagine a more fortunate application. What more invigorating remedy, what more powerfully-acting *panacea*, than a portion of genuine extract of meat dissolved in a glass of noble wine? The most *recherché* delicacies of gastronomy are all for the spoiled children of wealth! Ought we to have nothing, then, in our field-hospitals for the unfortunate soldier, whose fate condemns him to suffer for our benefit the horrors of a long death struggle amid snow and the mud of swamps?”’

In the Ukraine and Podolia, in Australia and Buenos Ayres, vast quantities of cattle are slaughtered for the hides and tallow; what is more simple than to make extract of flesh of the meat? Liebig states that this extract cannot be produced in Germany for less than six or seven shillings a pound! If proper precautions are taken in freeing the extract from fat, it keeps perfectly well, with a little seasoning, in air-tight vessels, and there seems therefore no reason why the manufacture of this article might not be carried on in those countries where animal food is cheap.

An erroneous idea was long entertained that gelatine was the true nutritive matter of soup. Hence it was believed that good soup could be made from bones, tendons, and other waste parts

of meat. We now know that gelatine adds nothing to the nutritive powers of meat, for a chemical reason, which, fully explored, would lead too much into minute details. Suffice it to say, that gelatine itself may be derived from albumen, but from gelatine nothing is extracted but excretory principles. Almost all the portable soups ordinarily sold are made on erroneous principles, and are loaded with gelatine in consequence of long continued boiling of flesh, instead of the genuine extract of meat. Turtle soup, and the glutinous soups of the Chinese, made from shark's fins, and the nests of birds, are more injurious than beneficial, from the excess of gelatine they contain.

In roasting meat, similar precautions to those used in boiling it are required. In all cases, the temperature at first should be great, and gradually reduced; the object being to coagulate the outer rind and preserve the juices in the interior.

The theory of manures is intimately connected with that of food, and both together with the wonderfully complicated system of nature—complicated in our explanations, yet rendered more and more simple as we get deeper in our analyses. Men and animals are but so many receivers occupied in a perpetual distillation; taking from the rest of the universe the materials necessary to their existence, and restoring them to their mother earth, and at the last there remains what we may well style a *caput mortuum*. We may congratulate ourselves, that science in our time has emerged from the region of unprofitable theories and discussions, and has been brought to bear upon the practical business of life. And such labours as those of Professor Liebig are especially calculated to realize the lessons of Lord Bacon to increase the resources of mankind, and diminish the amount of human suffering. It is much to be regretted that in this country more ample means are not provided for the support of researches which promise to yield so vast a harvest of profit as those connected with organic chemistry.

ART. III.—*Struggles for Life; or, the Autobiography of a Dissenting Minister*. London: W. and F. G. Cash. 1854. pp. 372.

THE title of this work is calculated to arrest attention and excite curiosity. Each word conveys a world of meaning, and exacts much sympathy. The class to which the author belongs can hardly fail to be moved by the virtual promise of a life-history, which shall chronicle their own experience in the broad outline at least, which may contribute to their store of practical wisdom,

and must either supply new encouragement in their sacred task, or impose afresh the meek silence of resignation. It is a natural and estimable eagerness which professional men feel to trace the steps which have led their brethren to success, and it is by no means a morbid sentiment, which, at other times, induces them to linger over the sorrowful story of disappointment and failure. Their track lies through a well-travelled country, and they are equally grateful to the one who describes its wealth, beauty, and hospitality, and to the other who remembers and recounts only its perils.

“ The preacher of the Gospel is to be commended rather than condemned for the display of a like curiosity; for in his solemn office, and amidst the innumerable possibilities of his experience, no help can be righteously dispensed with, no warning can be safely despised. At best he is but human, and the one work ever before him is divine; the disproportion between the responsibility and the power would deter him from the undertaking altogether, or crush him down in the midst of his toil, unless he could learn how the brethren and fathers exhibited and applied that grace in which he is bidden to trust. To confirm this, we need only refer to the advice which has long been as an heir-loom in the church. Let biography be the minister's hand-maid to study and devotion, for the tale of a good man's life is food for a godly soul. Expectation may well be awake when one steps forth from the living ranks to animate or counsel his fellow soldiers of the cross—to fight his battles o'er again—to show them when to strive—when submission and retreat are wise, and then ‘how fields are won.’ Struggles! It is a marvellous word. Struggles for life! What a stake on the issue—how mighty the incentive to effort. But all men have more or less to struggle for life, many to little purpose, some utterly in vain. The wide world resounds day and night with the unceasing strife. Why pause to hear one amongst so many—to hear a tale which every hour repeats to every man? By a minister? Then we approach the scene of conflict with reverence and special interest:—for the minister's work and the minister's life are one, and the banner he uplifts lends sanctity to the meanest, and glory to the greatest of his sorrows. But this struggler is a dissenter, and thus the general interest of his narrative is poured through a burning focus on those who have been moved by pride or principle to a life of antagonism and protest—on those whose ordinary and professional trials are greatly complicated by the attitude they have assumed towards the dead letter of precedent and the living influence of fashion. But this tale of special difficulty, wrapped up in the word dissent, is only half told, if we forget its element of voluntaryism. Literally, he that seeks the highest place in the church of the Redeemer, will in one way or

other, realize the Redeemer's word, and become 'the servant of all.' His bread, though earned over and over again, is still the bread of dependence. The precise form in which he shall manifest his loyalty to the only master will often be hampered, if not modified by the opinion or wish of the least among the brethren.

We have no wish to conceal or soften the asperities of a dissenting minister's lot; on the contrary, we glory in them as palpable marks of a scriptural constitution, as forming a main part of that discipline, by which pastor and people alike are trained for the noblest kind of obedience—the most efficient because the purest service—and ultimately for the enjoyment of heaven. Others have adopted man's ingenious devices for lessening the offence and burden of the cross, but dissenters cling to the bare cross, well assured that in this matter relief gained is power lost; and declining the well-intentioned artifice of man they are content, nay, they feel bound, to strive so that in their special business they may obtain the promised mastery. It would be wrong indeed to suppose that a work such as is implied by the title of that before us, must be exclusively, or anything more than primarily, interesting to the professional reader, or to the members of the dissenting ministry. For though the author is no ex-dissenter to revile a forsaken sect, and thus to pander to the depraved appetite of scornful bigots, or to display the tatters of human imperfection, as the common apparel of Puritan communities, that he may win a sneer from the ungodly, yet is there the promise at any rate, of much that may explain to them that are without the strange mystery, that men should, age after age, and with all deliberation, choose affliction with the people of God rather than the immunity and present tranquillity of a dishonest compromise. And again, it is surely not a vain hope, that the layman will rejoice in an opportunity of scanning the sorrows of a heart that has been known to him through life chiefly as a source of counsel and solace, and of reciprocating in some measure the sympathy unpurchaseable so often extended to his own narration of anxiety and grief.

Thus much for the title—in itself a sufficient advertisement—and now for the contents and character of the work. We frankly confess to some measure of disappointment; our expectations were indeed high, but after reconsideration, they appear to have been warranted by the novel and startling announcement. The terms employed were such as led to the hope of something far more thorough, more extensive, and withal, more mature than the volume before us. The author has very properly and successfully purged himself from the suspicion of having imitated De Quincy in a similar work; but we venture to say that it would have been perfectly fair, and in every way an improve-

ment, if after seeing De Quincy's pleasant book, he had appropriated a part of its title, and announced his own work as 'Selections Grave and Gay, FROM the Autobiography of a Dissenting Minister;' adding, 'together with occasional, but very copious notices of men and things; of doctrine, discipline, literature, polemics, homelectics, politics, missions; of the past, present, and future; besides other matters too numerous to mention.' Or leaving De Quincy altogether (as amongst recent autobiographers he actually is) alone, he might very truly have ushered his work into the world as 'Miscellaneous Illustrations of the Special Providence of God, in connexion with the Work of the Ministry;' or thus, 'The Divine Call to the Work of the Pastorate, with illustrations of the Sovereignty and Wisdom of God in the Realization of His Will, and of the Faithfulness of God in the Guidance and Support of the Servant whom He hath chosen,' or some shorter title to the same effect, if any shorter can be found adequate to the description of the work. But an autobiography it is *not*, and should never have been so announced. Whatever merit the book may have, it has the serious defect of a misleading title.

The faithful record of a man's own life, especially if his career has been public and eminent, is the best boon he can bequeath to the world; but to secure faithfulness, and to impart value to self-portraiture, demand many requisites, besides honest intention. There must be, for instance, habitual self-dissection, and it must be skilfully, as well as regularly and candidly performed. There must be vigilant discrimination between the circumstances which help to mould the man and those that merely yield to him as he floats in their midst, between the events which supply growth to character, and those which have a superficial importance merely, and leave no impression, save on the memory and fancy. There must be presence of mind, prompt to recognise any decided phase of opinion, temper, sentiment, or affection, whenever it re-appears; not that its re-appearance must necessarily be recorded, but that the minute of its former occurrence, and the calculation of its former influence may be canvassed anew, and if needful be re-adjusted. There must be a continual reference of action to principle, where such a reference would be upright; and where action has resulted from no operating principle, it must be noted as an instance of dereliction, or discarded from the narrative as of no account. If the self-portraiture be that of a religious man, all skill, caution, honesty, must be redoubled, not only because the object to be attained is of unbounded importance, but also because the mingling and conflicting influences of piety and corruption, faith and flesh, hope and fear, have the almost constant effect of perplexing the self-judgment, and distorting the

actual experience. If a minister of the Gospel undertakes to draw aside the veil of his official life, and to lay bare that world within, where anguish of every kind has smouldered far away from all human notice, where joy unspeakable has nestled and dwelt while the world deemed him sad, that scene of strife, vicissitude, and grief, where the measure of his Lord's sufferings has been filled up, then indeed no wisdom of man, however ripe, will be all-sufficient, no help from God superfluous, for a vital error here will perpetuate itself; through a thousand channels will the mischief roll, and as it rolls will grow. And yet when a sire in Israel, whose faith and virtue, wisdom and charity, have been braced by the rough but salutary probation of a life, drops ripened wisdom for the benefit of the yet untried, we accept with a confidence as sincere as the eagerness with which we expected the great benefaction, we rejoice to sit beneath the goodly tree, and when the later winds of life are blowing, to gather at once the sere leaf and the glowing fruit, gaining beyond all doubt priceless benefit from both. The withered leaf courts our analysis, and wins our thanks, because through it the fruit drank in its nourishment, and beneath it the fruit was sheltered.

Such was the treasure we dreamed would soon be ours, when the 'Struggles for Life' was announced; and the curious thought was busy with some dozen names, in themselves guarantees that we should not be disappointed. Again we say we are disappointed, but not dissatisfied with the fact as it is, nor at all disposed to be sarcastic about mountains and mice. There is much interest and merit—a series of incidents, which, without straining, serve as illustrative proofs of some of the most sublime and assuring truths in connexion with the administration of Providence, and the glorious design of human redemption. There is the scrupulous nicety of a mind sustained by principle and nerved by trial. There is the sagacity of a man who has systematically laid his own experience and adventures under contribution in his study of humanity. There is the combined sternness and genial kindness of a heart that has suffered much and conquered much; the firm front of rebuke for the wavering, softening now into a smile of encouragement, and again into the tear of sympathy for the brother of little faith and sore affliction; and generally both narrative and disquisition attest the excellence of style which diligence in reflection and study may secure in spite of early neglect or disadvantage; although, in many parts, we are reminded rather of the fervent eloquence suited to the pulpit than of the *ad unguem* care and gravity so weighty and effective through the medium of the press. On such grounds we plead for the author, that the public do not estimate the performance in sight of the promise; for viewed in that light it is a failure, while intrinsically

it may boast no little worth. A glance at the table of contents will justify our division of the work into four parts, and at the same time substantiate the charge of failure already preferred. One half the book is occupied by an account of literal struggles for life and livelihood, amusing enough in some instances, almost romantic both in its light and in its serious anecdote; and at the same time, redeemed from the dreariness of commonplace by the pervading influence of the sacred ambition to minister in the Gospel of Christ—an ambition which seemed indeed pure, and even divine in its origin, but still to all human appearance sheer infatuation. One third of the entire book is descriptive of that ambition realized in the lowly but trying duties of the village pastorate. Somewhat less than one tenth is devoted to the ministrations and experience of a larger sphere; or, as the author terms it, in contrast with the first field, 'the other side of the hedge.' And the rest of the three hundred and seventy-two pages are enriched by as much wisdom as we could expect in all reason from a pastoral experience which, though various, and at least two-sided, is comparatively meagre and very brief.

The very dawn of the author's existence was overcast by parental misfortune and personal suffering, so that (to use his own striking words) he was 'peculiarly the ward of God—laid in helpless infancy at the feet of Providence, like the child Moses by the waters of the Nile.' Poverty of the most painful kind—poverty after a life of toil, and coming suddenly across the prospects of competence—poverty through the faithlessness and fraud of others—awaited, and indeed hastened, the birth of the writer; but beneath the external meanness of his lot, the wise father preserved unhurt the riches of faith—the mother bowed her heart in patience towards the Lord as she bent over the pallet of the sickly child—and her sorrows, manifold, were lost in deep pity for an infant's woes. Infancy was in this case a blank—there was no growth for thirty months, and until the sixth year there was no hope of anything beyond a feeble and stricken existence; but by one of those accidents which a good man truly ascribes to the interference of Providence, the sixth year became the first of a healthier life—and the brain, relieved from its disease, commenced its long suspended functions. Knowledge was acquired with a rapidity which more than compensated for the long continuance of the fallow season, and the inclinations were attracted powerfully to sacred truth, as if in grateful acknowledgment for the unlooked-for blessing of a sound mind. The fairy lore of the neighbourhood was, as usual, at fault—and poverty, verging on starvation, stayed not the development of the till then dormant nature; cares enough to corrode the merely human heart, served only to polish into brilliance the humble

graces of the parent's heart—for this parent was a Christian—and in the exemplification of that highest name, he won the imitation, and well deserved the gratitude of the child who, years afterwards,—exulting in the glory of that Christianity which had moulded and blessed alike father and son—thus wrote :

‘I’ve seen it press an infant to its breast,
And kiss away his troubles ; seen it take
An old grey-headed man, oppressed with years,
And wrinkled o’er with sorrow, and disclose
A prospect to his vision, which hath made
The old man sing with gladness.’—p. 51.

Early youth was distracted between the desire for knowledge and the hard necessity for labour in order to obtain the means of knowledge ; but even when cut off from suitable opportunities, the boy found exercise for his superior acquirements in composing love letters for his amorous but illiterate companions, one of which memory has preserved for our inspection, and which we make bold to say met with more success than it deserved. A crown piece of his own earning introduced the young aspirant to the academy of one Jerome Brake, and the said Brake was not a little astonished during a kind of preliminary colloquy, when the stripling reported himself rich in the way of school books ; possessing as he did, and (if we mistake not) having read ‘ Boston’s Fourfold State,’ ‘ Paley’s Works,’ ‘ Paradise Lost,’ &c.—rather a strange assortment of elementary works, but quite as likely to enlighten the juvenile mind as the sonorous utterances of the village pedagogue, who vented his reverence and wonder at once by saying, ‘ Do you mean to say, Master Thomas, or imply, or intimate, that you have brought the fervent Boston . . . and the celestial Milton—always excepting his unholy republican propensities—to Tanker-hill school with you as elementary educational auxiliaries from which you anticipate assistance ?’

The fifteenth year launches the author a little way and roughly into life—nominally the servant of an easy master, though in reality the slave and victim of a managing termagant ; but the lad had the spirit which submits, indeed, but only till it can escape. In a new situation he sought and found at least a temporary improvement. While in this employment, the religion which he had been constrained to admire in the life of a father became his own—a dearly loved possession ; and, the desire for knowledge still increasing, while opportunity once more favoured the desire, he was thrown into the closest intimacy with young men of the right stamp, and formed friendships never to be broken.

From some unexplained motive, but probably from the prompting of a laudable ambition, the place of nativity and home became too strait, and the young candidate for great things

cast an uneasy and speculating glance on the great world. Many cities tempted his inexperienced mind, but stately Edinburgh won the day; and in the far-famed city he began, in painful earnest, that battle of life which the poor young man, at any rate, must fight, having for his sole capital a sanguine temperament, a few shillings, and a deceptive bundle of recommendatory letters. Amid the fluctuations of his fortune in Edinburgh the desire for the work of Christ was never altogether lost; and the purpose of God in this matter may be seen in the retrospect steadily, but almost imperceptibly, working itself out.

A suitable, though at the time an improvident, marriage—his occupation in a controversy which ultimately rent in twain the old fabric of the Scottish establishment—death, and then bankruptcy, in the firm which he served—a mistake in the post-office—a storm at sea—a brief engagement in a mercantile house—new poverty, sweet, though trying, inasmuch as it was for conscience sake—an advertisement in a provincial paper—an appointment to something very like ministerial work—all these things led surely to the desired calling; the wish of boyhood, and the prayer of manhood, were at length fulfilled; and we are introduced to the first pastorate—the village life, the cloudy side of the hedge. It was not all clouds, but there were a great many for so small a sky. They were not blacker than other clouds, or more numerous than under other skies, but their fleeting shadows are retained as if by daguerreotype; and we are thankful for their preservation, not because of their strangeness, but just exactly because they are very common in fact, but not very commonly, or very faithfully reported. These clouds were for the most part such as might be expected, or, at least, such as are generally found, in a village ministry—a very narrow sphere—a very ignorant audience—a very exacting church—a considerable amount of individual eccentricity in circumstances which make eccentricity a nuisance—a perplexing diversity of opinion on many matters, but especially on doctrines and the mode of preaching—a perfect inquisition of neighbourly curiosity; a thriving family with a stationary income which, stretched to its utmost under the excitement of novelty, holds out no suggestion of increase, and, to one mind at least, hints probable decrease; add for a back-ground the lethargic pride of the rector and the meddling zeal of the curate, the hideous spectacle of irreclaimable vice amid the sparkling innocence and purity of nature, the general lack of healthful and refreshing society, having to depend for relaxation and improvement on the resources of an exhausted mind, a narrow library, a borrowed newspaper, an occasional circular from a publisher exciting most extravagant desires, and soliciting subscriptions which, if promised, could never be paid; or, per-

chance, a letter from an old and distant friend, who forgets that time has lapsed, and cases have altered, and, therefore, writes as if he had always been a stranger. These are some of the clouds of that narrow strip of sky beneath which many village pastors live, toil, and suffer. But they are not the heaviest ; they are but the bigness of a man's hand compared with some which hover near, and sometimes fall upon, the heart. The humbler walks of ministerial life are often represented with truth as exempt from the overwhelming temptations of a crowded and excited society ; but as every line of life has its own peculiar trials, so also will it be found that the lowly minister is assailed by trials which, if not resisted with a stout heart and buoyant faith, will insidiously work his moral degradation and spiritual poverty. Comparison between the prosperous fame of the city orator and his own unchronicled and obscure toil is, perhaps, unavoidable ; but it is full of danger to his peace, to his manly and Christian virtue. If pursued to any extent in any spirit but that of a resignation and a generous joy, it will either breed envy, and thus induce the supineness and peevishness of discontent, or it will lead to such debasing views of self as will presently manifest themselves in the most absurd and loathsome species of flattery. Self-reliance will be replaced by that pitiful fawning which weakens the subject and repels the object. A sure preventive to such mischief may be found in familiarizing the mind with those nobler characteristics of the great commission which belong in equal measure to the apostle and the teacher. When the contemplative mind is absorbed by the spiritual majesty of the great vocation, the idle prating of popularity will be disregarded as a mere accident, as savouring of the earth and flesh ; and, at the very best, it will be suffered to float past as a very feeble echo of that voice which even now stirs the faint heart, and will hereafter shake the heaven itself—the voice of Divine approbation.

In the eye of man there is some meaning in the relative terms great and small as applied to the preachers of righteousness ; but in the Saviour's kingdom, one greatness and one glory, so transcendant and so dazzling as to confound all human distinction, belong to every herald of the cross ; or, taking much lower ground, there should surely be motive sufficient to restrain the petulance of envy, and conserve the dignity of independence in the consideration, that while the one labourer only just discharges his duty with all that can stimulate his powers and smooth his course, the other may do the same work in spite of obstacle and the bondage of circumstances ; or, supposing the work done by each different from that of the other, each is doing a work for which the other is unfit, but which that other might be thankful to accomplish.

Moreover, the routine of the rural pastorate is eminently conducive to the habit of reverie ; and though solitary musing may well be called the nurse of great actions in their infancy, it is a nurse that requires constant superintendence, lest the evil and worthless grow up beside and beyond the good. If musing degenerate into brooding, both leanness and rottenness will enter into the soul. Sins long forgotten and truly forgiven, mistakes long since rectified, will lower heavily on the brooding thought, until the whole spirit is unmanned, as if haunted by a perpetual curse. Self-questioning will awake long sleeping doubt ; doubt will quickly settle down to the certainty of despair ; the covenant, and the oath, and the love divine, will become as quenched fires, leaving the soul in darkness to the havoc and ravage of spiritual foes. Who can gainsay the dreadful power of Satan, even in the wilderness ? Who amongst the brethren can condemn, or fail to pity the victim ?

Scattered amongst the clouds of our Struggler's hemisphere are several prominent bodies, which we suppose he regarded as stars, and accordingly took some pains to place them in his little map. The first, however, in the list, makes but an indifferent star, and belongs rather to the cloudy family, Mr. Ardphist, with plenty of money, of course, but a stranger to the blessedness of giving, unless we except the instance of his gratuitous and 'villanous flute-playing ;' but we cannot make even this exception, for his melody answered all the purposes of seat-rent in his own worthy judgment. Mark him well, for in almost every country chapel you will see him again. Next, we have portrayed a worthy, and, we are glad to think, a very common character, under the name of James Hedger, a man of God in very truth, a relief, a safety-valve, a balance in connexion with his fellow-deacon, William Small, who was small every way and everywhere but in his own opinion, for we are told that 'to express an opinion different from his was as painful as if you had punctured him with one of his own needles' (he being a tailor). The trio of officials was completed and sobered by the presence of Daniel Hayall, who was 'a singular being, afflicted with constitutional melancholy.'

There may be some truth in the observation of one Mrs. Hobble in this volume, that if ministers have more than £60 per annum 'they wont preach experience ;' yet ministers themselves are apt to think that by an increase of income their experience may be profitably diversified, and their preaching acquire corresponding freedom and force. Now, as the good people of Willowfield were unable to extend the range of their pastor's experience in this direction, the pastor took the matter into his own hands ; with a brave heart he dismantled the largest room of his cottage, substituting a long desk and forms for the polite but too independent

tables and chairs; and forthwith the parsonage became a school. This work, however, was little to the taste of the Struggler (no discredit to him, by the way, for assuredly the needful gift of perseverance in this business is even rarer than the needful skill). Literature beckoned him from tuition, but treated him after her usual fashion with novices—that is, very scurvily. The pages which were the product of his extra toil were in one sense mere spoiled paper, and were doomed to meet scarcely any eye but that of the weary and wondering compositor and that of the surfeited yet charitable reviewer, while the result, as a matter of money, was a balance due to the printer amounting to £37 10s. This to most minds would have been a sign to keep silence for the time to come; but in this case it acted as a powerful stimulant to fresh literary effort, and this new effort served to repair the failure of the former at the same time that it assisted directly in removing the writer to a home in which his experience, whether better or worse, was certainly not made to depend upon sixty pounds a-year.

Prelatestown is the pseudonym of the new field of labour (and we believe that the disguise in the name is 'exceedingly thin'), and here were found many ameliorations, but also many new difficulties in the pastor's lot, as we conclude from the caution given to such as are following in his steps, and deem every change a change for the better. 'Let him not, however, deceive himself with the hope that the new sphere will be all sunshine and flowers, all odours and song. Such scenes of labour are not appointed for servants who, whilst in the service, are being personally trained by it.' The struggles of the village are resumed in the town; but the impression left on the reader's than mind is that it is decidedly better to swim in the buoyant sea in the stagnant pond.

Effort, talent, and piety, if they overcome one kind of difficulty, are sure to encounter and, indeed, to create a new kind. In this case they have filled the chapel, and the urgent necessity for a new temple stares the author and the reader in the face. We are almost inclined to be vexed, but will content ourselves with being astonished, at the boldness with which the worthy man seeks to avail himself of the public sympathy, in his struggles, with a view to the erection of a new, '*large, commodious, well-situated, and plain chapel, with one-third of its sittings entirely free for the use of the poor; and with school-rooms attached for the unsectarian, scriptural education of the children of the humbler classes.*' This is certainly an ingenious mode of begging, reminding one rather unpleasantly of William Huntington's broad unmistakeable hints in his '*Bank of Faith,*' and other works. We are inclined, however, to term it a respectable device compared with the old system, under which

worthy and sensitive pastors were literally compelled to tramp from counting-house to mansion, and from chapel to shop, in hopes of an alms of compassion in place of the offering which Christian principle is all-sufficient to prompt, and Christian willingness forward to bestow ; and though somewhat obtrusive in the middle of a goodly octavo, it is a less offensive appeal than such as used to be presented at the close of an occasional service in a brother's pulpit : such, for instance, as we remember hearing from the lips of a worthy minister from abroad in a metropolitan pulpit, who excelled other solicitors of contributions in that his whole sermon bore gradually and heavily on the practical conclusion at which he aimed. Choosing for his subject the new threshing machine mentioned in Isaiah, he enumerated six teeth or flails, amongst them several religious societies, railroads, steamboats, and lastly, the new chapel at ——— ; and the peroration, as might be expected, was of a very material and practical character, announcing his intention of waiting on the congregation at their respective abodes in the course of the week.

The concluding chapter, entitled 'the Past and the Future,' contains many noble views of the government of God, the power of the Gospel, and the prospects of the Church ; and though we cannot select any passage on the ground of originality or extraordinary grandeur, the whole chapter is in an instructive and inspiring strain ; many truths receive prominent notice, which hitherto have only occasionally and transiently sparkled in more earnest and thoughtful addresses from the pulpit.

We take our leave of the author with a regret which he must translate into a compliment. We regret that he wrote so soon : for though forty years of life is a large space, it is not necessarily fertile in such wisdom as is needed at the present day by the world and the Church ; and though the incidents of ministerial life among dissenters are much the same in every case, the ripening influence of such a life on opinion and character is but slow in operation. For opinions and character thus formed we cannot be grateful ; but we look for them not from the man who has struggled for life through forty years, but from the diary of one who, through forty years or more, has served the people of the Lord.

We find the book very genial and healthful in its spirit ; and can, therefore, endorse the highest praise which the author ventures to claim for it ; we can confidently predict that it will be extensively read, if only for the sake of the title, and thus the publishers will gain *their* end ; and while the prophetic mood is on us, let us say perhaps it may prove the corner-stone of the new sanctuary, and thus one, at least, of the *author's* objects will be gained.

ART. IV.—*Memoirs of the Whig Party During my Time.* By Henry Richard Lord Holland. Edited by his Son, Henry Edward Lord Holland. Vol. II. Post 8vo. pp. 356. London: Longman and Co.

THE first volume of this work was noticed in our journal for May, 1852, and we have no disposition to modify the commendatory terms then employed. The reputation of Holland House may probably have induced exaggerated expectations, and the consequence, in many cases, has been disappointment. We have experienced nothing of this kind. The book is much what we looked for ; its qualities are precisely those we anticipated ; and its tendency is both pleasing and instructive. With all our admiration of Lord Holland, we never regarded him in the light in which he has been painted by some eulogists. He was no genius. His powers were neither profound nor original. He was no philosopher nor poet. Neither his intellect nor his imagination was of the highest order. He was far from being, or deeming himself to be, one of those rare spirits occasionally vouchsafed to our world, as if for the purpose of showing what man's nature may become in its higher and more illustrious forms. But his mental endowments were, at the same time, thoroughly respectable ; while his genial temper, kindly disposition, truthfulness, and candor, secured the affection and confidence of all who were admitted to his intimacy. We are not therefore surprised at the glowing language in which the circle of Holland House has been painted by some of his lordship's admirers. He was just the man to give grace and dignity to social life. The attachments he awakened were strong and lasting ; and if the language of friendship sometimes borders on hyperbole when describing his qualities, we can readily understand, and are scarcely disposed to blame, the enthusiasm of the artist. Nothing is more natural than the preponderance of bright and glowing colors, in depicting the countenance of a friend who is tenderly loved.

Lord Holland was one of the most liberal noblemen of his times. His liberality indeed was not that of our day, but it was greatly in advance of his class. He inherited the views of his illustrious uncle, and was true to the cause of constitutional freedom when William Pitt preached a crusade against it, and Edward Burke and the Portland whigs, went over to the ministerial camp. The views of such a man, 'respecting public events and public characters,' must always be read with pleasure. His opportunities of observation were extensive, his truthfulness

was undoubted, and his candor conspicuous. Such was the impression with which we commenced perusing the work, and now that we have arrived at the close of the second volume, this impression is greatly strengthened. Allowance must, of course, be made for the party predilections of the author. This is obviously required, and is specially needful in the case of those whigs, such as Lord Erskine, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Windham and others, who were not admitted to the entire confidence of 'our party.' The portraits of these men are too much shaded, but the illustrious artist was evidently unconscious of the influence under which he painted. There is injustice, but no malice, in his sketches. He wrote as he felt, and in the main his delineations are correct.

The former volume closed with the death of Fox, on the 13th of September, 1806. This event, as was not unnatural, powerfully affected his nephew, whose views of public life were bound up with the reputation and official interests of Mr. Fox. 'It seems extraordinary,' says Lord Holland, 'that I was induced immediately after his death, not only to take a part in public affairs, but to accept an office in the administration.' This was written in 1812, and was transcribed in 1824, and the narrative now given was designed to explain the 'motives and the circumstances' which led to so unlooked-for a result. George III., it is well known, never liked the Fox and Grenville administration. Its principles were far too liberal for his narrow and bigoted mind. He submitted to it as a necessity, but did all in his power to damage its reputation and derange its councils. The same duplicity as had been complained of in the earlier portions of his reign marked his communications with its members, and the death of Mr. Fox was consequently regarded as affording him an opportunity of dismissing them from his service:—

'The king,' says Lord Holland, 'had watched the progress of Mr. Fox's disorder. He could hardly suppress his indecent exultation at his death. He gave, however, Lord Grenville his full confidence in appearance, and even enjoined him to take his own time in forming a new administration. He no doubt hoped that Lord Grenville would have recourse to the courtiers and the Pittites to repair the loss which his government had sustained. When, however, his honourable and friendly conduct to the whigs was known, the king acquiesced. Perhaps the plot for defeating the ministry was not yet ripe; perhaps his majesty sagaciously foresaw that they would soon furnish him with a more favourable opportunity. Lord Grenville acted on this occasion with a fairness which secured him the affections of many, and should have dispelled the suspicions of all who had been uniformly attached to Mr. Fox. Had Lord Grenville in the new arrangements sought for strength in the opposite party, had he consulted the wishes of the court rather than his own principles and consistency, he would have

conciliated the king, fixed himself permanently in office, and divested every party in the state of the means of annoying him in Parliament.' —pp. 49, 50.

The death of Mr. Fox necessitated, of course, a new arrangement of offices. Lord Howick (Earl Grey of the Reform Bill) succeeded to the vacant secretaryship, Mr. Grenville was made first Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Tiernay president of the Board of Trade, Lord Sidmouth president of the Council, and Lord Holland, Lord Privy Seal, with a seat in the cabinet. The names of the members of this administration are an ample guarantee of its talent. On this point there can be no question, and had the fate of the ministry been dependent on its ability, a long tenure of office might have been looked for. But there were other sources of weakness, against which the ministers did not guard, and their existence was consequently short-lived. We have already noticed the hostility of the king. It was well known. The courtiers saw it, and the nation at large was aware of the fact. Had Lord Grenville and his associates been 'wise in their generation,' they would have appealed from the court to the people, and by a generous confidence in them have raised up a power, before which even the stubborn monarch must have given way. But the whigs were not prepared for this. They shrank from the alternative as worse than their own exclusion from office, and were consequently at the mercy of a king who waited only a fitting season to dispense with their services. Lord Holland has some sensible remarks on this subject, to which it would have been well for his party if more serious and earlier attention had been paid. The whigs of 1854 are greatly in advance of those of 1806, but they have been slow learners, and their education is yet incomplete. We commend to their study the following sentences transcribed in 1824:—

'Those who set no value on the triumph of a popular election must be prepared to regard the indifference and even the hostility of the public without surprise or indignation. The people will feel no interest in the quarrel of men who have disdained to make common cause with them, or who, when in power, have invited them to no share in it. If you feel not the importance of their suffrages when with you, you will never have them in a moment of difficulty or distress. The sovereign people, like other sovereigns, exact respect, and even flattery, as well as service. The pride which refuses to pay such a tribute, either at court or on the hustings, may be most respectable; but he who indulges it should cast away all ambition. Neither talent nor luck can confer in this country any permanent influence over our councils on a man who has nothing in his character congenial with the prince or the people. Perhaps the ministry of Lord Grenville, the most honest and most useful that I have known, was an

illustration of the truth of this remark. The good will of the people was lost very soon.'—pp. 66, 67.

The questions which were raised on the retirement of Lord Palmerston in 1851, fixed public attention on the constitutional principles involved in the construction of our cabinet, the relation to each other of the various governmental departments, and the subordination of the whole to the premier. Those who are interested in such matters will be gratified to learn what were Lord Holland's views, than whom few men were better fitted to give an impartial opinion. His judgment is the more entitled to weight, as it was founded on a general view of the question, and not on the bearings of any particular case:—

'When I came into office,' says his lordship, 'I was curious to understand the course of proceeding or interior constitution of our Government. It is vague in the extreme, and often irregular and inconvenient. The Cabinet, which is legally only a committee of the Privy Council appointed by the king on each distinct occasion, has gradually assumed the character and in some measure the reality of a permanent council, through which advice on all matters of great importance is conveyed to the Crown. But though the necessity of a well-concerted or party Government in a limited monarchy and popular constitution has generally established the wholesome doctrine, that each and every member of the Cabinet is, in some degree, responsible for the measures adopted by the Government while he is a member of it, yet there are no precise laws nor rules, nor even any well-established or understood usages which mark what measures in each department are or are not to be communicated to the Cabinet. Measures of foreign policy seem, indeed, more emphatically designated by the history of the origin of this committee in Charles II.'s time, by usage and by reason as the objects of their deliberation. Yet there is nothing but private agreement or party feeling generally, or the directions of the king accidentally, which obliges even a secretary for foreign affairs to consult his colleagues on any of the duties of his office before he takes the king's pleasure upon them. In all administrations I believe, and in ours I am sure, his dispatches, his measures, and even his appointments were more generally submitted to the judgment of the Cabinet than those in any other department. When a Cabinet is held at a publick office, it is generally at the Foreign Office. The acts of that office, however, are not invariably nor necessarily laid before the Cabinet; and the secretary of state at his own discretion advises and completes many without any such consultation. In the other branches of administration, such as the Treasury, the Home Secretaryship, the Chancery, the Admiralty, the discretion is yet larger as to the matters in their respective departments on which the ministers take the king's pleasure directly, or previously consult their colleagues before they advise him. Nomination to places is, for obvious reasons, seldom submitted to the consideration of a Cabinet. Yet by usage, arising out of the necessity of placing a large portion of that species of power

in one department, the patronage does *not* always in practice or substance belong to those officers who are the legal channels, and consequently, in a strict constitutional sense, the sole legal and ostensible advisers of the appointment. Thus, for instance, the first lord of the Treasury actually and constantly takes the king's pleasure on the appointment to many dignities and places, to the warrant, patent, or instrument for which, he neither affixes signature nor seal, but which are conferred by the Great Seal, the Privy Seal, and the Signet. Such an undefined distribution of authority, and the want of a distinct line between the jurisdiction of the Cabinet and of the individual ministers who compose it, as well as between the jurisdiction of their respective offices, is sometimes convenient to the publick service; inasmuch as the person whose abilities qualify him for the largest share of power, may from other circumstances be incapacitated from holding the office which would technically render him responsible for the exercise of it. On the other hand, the looseness of the obligation of referring the measures of each department to the Cabinet, and the undefined limits of the authority of many of the high offices, afford great scope for intrigue and cabal with the Crown. A favourite might by these means contrive insensibly to separate his interests from those of his colleagues, and at the secret suggestion of a king thwart the measures and defeat the views of a council which, though not technically, is virtually responsible to the publick for the whole conduct of affairs. These remarks are speculations resulting from reflection, not the fruit of experience. No such inconvenience was felt in Lord Grenville's administration.'—pp. 84-88.

The general reader will be much interested with Lord Holland's sketches of the leading statesmen of his day. There is no great originality in them, but they combine the impressions of an intelligent and candid bystander, and thus aid us to correct some prevalent misconceptions, and to fill up the portraits which otherwise exist in outline. Lord Thurlow, Wedderburn, Nelson, Pitt, Sheridan, Ellenborough, Erskine, and others, are successively introduced; and if occasionally the disparagement of a partisan is visible, we are, on the whole, assisted more accurately to estimate the men whose names are conspicuous on the historic page. The following passage, in which the oratory of Pitt and Fox is compared, is worthy of the nephew of the latter, and furnishes a fair specimen of the work. Warmly as Lord Holland was attached to his uncle, he was too discreet and truthful a man to underrate the abilities of his great opponent. He had frequently listened to both. His impressions were personal, not hereditary; were founded on what he had seen and heard, not gathered from books, nor based on the reports of others. He was evidently solicitous to do justice to each, at the same time that there is a warmth in his description of Mr. Fox's oratory, which would naturally spring from the depth of his attachment:—

‘In quickness of apprehension,’ he says, ‘and readiness of argument he (Pitt) equalled—he could not excel—Mr. Fox: he had, too, a more equal flow of language, and in little matters especially, greater selection, perhaps more elegance and precision of expression. But if his diction was more generally splendid, and his delivery more uniformly dignified, these very excellences rendered his speeches, in some little degree, artificial and monotonous. The light of his eloquence, dazzling as it was, sometimes became fatiguing; and he wanted the pleasantry and illustration to entertain, the warmth of language, feeling, and utterance to stir, and the power and practice of philosophical research, and deep original thinking to enlighten his audience; all which the transcendent genius of his opponent eminently possessed. But as an orator he was a wonderful man. He did not indeed surpass in my judgment—and I believe in his own he did not equal—Mr. Fox; but he certainly came near him, and in the opinion of many kept pace with him. He as certainly contributed to improve him. His keenness in detecting and his felicity in exposing the slightest fallacy, corrected many of the imperfections and reformed some of the negligences of Mr. Fox. True it is that all the powers of the latter were kept in constant exercise to counteract the effect which Mr. Pitt’s ready acuteness and splendid declamation seldom failed to produce. The inferiority of the moderns to the ancient models of taste and eloquence has been often insisted upon, and is, I believe, generally acknowledged; yet I doubt whether at any period, or in any language, two such orators as Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt ever appeared at the same time in the same assembly. At any rate, those who have witnessed their debates in the House of Commons have heard the art of public and unpremeditated speaking in as great perfection as human faculties exercised in our language can attain. What may have been in ancient times, or what might be now the effect of orations carefully composed and admirably delivered by men of great philosophical research and political talents, I know not; but it is difficult to conceive how in readiness of argument and rapid selection of topics any orator could exceed Mr. Pitt or Mr. Fox: nor can I believe that any man could without premeditation rival the luminous arrangement, the propriety and splendour of diction of the former; or the rapidity, the force of argument, the pleasantry of illustration, the originality and simplicity of thought, the animation and vehemence of the latter. *Magis pares quam similes* has been more than once applied to these two great orators. There was more inequality in the different passages of the same speech, but less in the speeches of Mr. Fox than in those of his rival. Mr. Fox would have been yet more perfect than he was, had he attended more strictly to method in his discourse; and Mr. Pitt would surely have been more delightful, had he less ostentatiously displayed his arrangement, or could he have mingled a greater variety of manner and matter in his orations. It is also observable that Mr. Fox, who was somewhat negligent on the inferior parts of a question, always rose with his subject and shone brightest on those great occasions when all the passions of his auditors were roused, and all their intelligence called forth by the importance and magnitude of the subject. Mr. Pitt, on

the other hand, *nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*. The slightest and most frivolous detail grew luminous, polished, and splendid as he handled it; the least-striking part of the subject derived interest and importance from his impressive delivery, well-balanced elocution, and fortunate language. If he ever fell short of expectation, if he ever lapsed into cold and trite declamation, it was when great questions of national policy or fundamental principles required the original genius of a statesman, or the deep researches of a philosopher, to manage the discussion.'—pp. 37-40.

The relation of the clergy to the whig party has long been matter of remark. The latter have done their utmost to conciliate the hierarchy, and have sometimes lost their friends in consequence. The triumph of the church in Queen Anne's reign has made the followers of Sir Robert Walpole exceedingly sensitive on this point. It has become a settled rule with them to avoid collision with the ecclesiastical power. The church has been a perfect bugbear to whig statesmen, and the measures resorted to in order to conciliate it have sometimes been sufficiently ridiculous. 'You may as well whistle, gentlemen,' we once heard a whig premier say, 'as contend with the church. She will be sure to beat you.' But notwithstanding the truculent policy pursued, the church is as hostile now as in the days of Lord Holland. She has no confidence in the whigs. It is their honor that she has not; and it would redound yet more to their credit, if they honestly followed out the conclusion to which her enmity should lead them. Dependent on popular support, they are mistrusted by a corporation whose interests are distinct from those of the people. The church hates the power which it knows to be gathering strength, and which it fears may yet force for itself a parliamentary expression, through the medium of whig statesmen. The boasted churchmanship of Lord John Russell is utterly unavailing against the bigotry and selfishness of the establishment. Were not the subject too grave for merriment, we should be amused at the wondrous transformations frequently seen, in the case of whig nominees, on the episcopal bench. There is something marvellously potent in a mitre to change a whig rector into a conservative bishop. Amongst the most zealous opponents of ecclesiastical reform, are many who owe their elevation to whig premiers. Lord Holland records an amusing fact in connexion with the ecclesiastical patronage of the Grenville ministry, and it may be taken as an illustration of the contingencies on which the distribution of church preferment rests. The *political* complexion of the hierarchy is a necessary corollary from its union with the state, but the fact may here be seen with a distinctness not often observable:—

'The patronage of a government is not submitted to the considera-

tion of a Cabinet; and as my office, the Privy Seal, gave me none, I know little of the history of its distribution during the administration to which I belonged. Nothing in that way was done prejudicial to the publick service; but much that might have strengthened our party and promoted our principles was neglected, especially in the Church. The members, indeed, of that powerful body seemed to conspire against any such project, and to live miraculously for the purpose of baffling the whigs, whom they hated. Never was there a year in which so little ecclesiastical patronage fell. No sooner were we turned out than canons, deans, and bishops began to sing out their *nunc dimittis*, and seemed to be taken at their word by a Providence who rejoiced in an orthodox and no-popery administration. One bishop only died in 1806, and he had become our friend in politicks. This was Dr. Horsley, bishop of St. David's, a man of coarse and vulgar manners, hot temper, and imprudent conduct; but eminent for his attainments in science, and for his polemical writings, and distinguished for ready and powerful eloquence, a bold spirit, and a strong mind. His seat on the bench was supplied by a college friend of Lord Grenville, Dr. Moss, and the preferment he vacated was filled up by parsons of hostile politicks, or of too little note to have any. Not one clergyman of talent distinguished for tolerant opinions in church or state, if we except Mr. Sydney Smith (for whom I procured a living from Lord Erskine), was the better for the only year of power which the whigs have enjoyed since 1784.'—pp. 89-91.

The 'Memoirs of Fox,' now in the course of publication, throw much light on the marriage of the Prince of Wales with Mrs. Fitzherbert. The same circumstances are here recorded at a length which might have been spared, since no doubt now attaches to the fact. Mr. Fox, on one occasion, denied it in the House, and much stress has been laid on his having done so. The advocates of George III. and of his son have availed themselves of the distinct assertion of the whig statesman on this point, though they do not scruple to question his veracity whenever the interests of their royal clients are supposed to require it. That Mr. Fox did so deny it cannot be doubted; but it is now equally clear that his confidence was shamefully abused by the prince. Lord Holland places this beyond question. Fox is vindicated at the expense of the heir apparent, who basely falsified his word, in order to cover the infamy of his procedure. Unscrupulous as the prince is known to have been, we were unwilling to believe that he could stoop so low as to pledge his word to a lie. Let those who still doubt—if there are such—read the evidence now adduced. We are compelled to admit that the fact does not admit of question.

The pecuniary embarrassments of the Prince of Wales led him to conceal his marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert, and to consent to a union with the Princess of Brunswick. His intercourse with

the former had been, for some time, interrupted, and various profligate connexions had taken place. 'Lady Jersey is supposed to have promoted a *publick* and legal marriage as a security against any renewal of intimacy with Mrs. Fitzherbert.' However this may have been—and there is not much doubt of the fact—a more unprincipled or viler transaction has rarely taken place. The personal appearance of the princess was unprepossessing, her manners were coarse and vulgar, and her reputation had been assailed by reports far from creditable. The prince, however, persevered. He wanted his debts paid and his income increased, and as the means of accomplishing these objects he consented to marry a woman whom he disliked. Caroline of Brunswick arrived in England under the tutelage of 'her bitterest enemy,' the Countess of Jersey; and the events which followed form the most disgraceful chapter in the modern history of England. The marriage was clearly distasteful to the prince, who was intoxicated at the ceremony, and never subsequently wavered in the countenance he yielded to those who defamed and insulted his wife. The Duke of Bedford was one of the two unmarried dukes, who, according to ancient custom, supported the prince at the marriage rite; and his brother, writing August 8th, 1836, says—'My brother told me the prince was so drunk that he could scarcely support him from falling. He told my brother he had drunk several glasses of brandy to enable him to go through the ceremony.' From such a commencement we need not wonder at what followed. Had the princess been immaculate as an angel, she could not have hoped for the confidence and love of her husband; but she was nothing of the sort. The profligacy and selfishness of her consort rallied round her popular sympathies. Men felt—and rightly felt—that whatever indiscretions she might commit, however much she might violate the proprieties of her station, the prince was not the man to cast a stone at her. He had failed in every duty, was evidently in league with her bitterest foes, and had set an example of infidelity which outraged public morals, and would have excused, had that been possible, the misconduct of his wife. The unpopularity of the one insured public favour to the other, and sometimes drove the people to the very verge of rebellion. In the course of time the case of the Queen was adopted by the whigs. They sought to make political capital out of it, and they no doubt succeeded so far as greatly to damage the character of their opponents. Yet we must not suppose that they entertained any very exalted opinion of their client. Such a conclusion may be formed on a hasty review of the proceedings of 1820, but the truth of history compels us to say that it was not so;—

'Whatever may be thought,' says Lord Holland, and with this brief

extract we dismiss the subject, 'of the treatment to which she was exposed on her arrival in England, or of the malignity, and possibly the falsehood, of some of the charges subsequently brought against her, or of the somewhat vindictive prosecution of her when queen,—she was at best a strange woman, and a very sorry and uninteresting heroine. She had, they say, some talent, some pleasantry, some good-humour, and great spirit and courage. But she was utterly destitute of all female delicacy, and exhibited in the whole course of the transactions relating to herself very little feeling for anybody, and very little regard for honour or truth, or even for the interests of those who were devoted to her, whether the people in the aggregate, or the individuals who enthusiastically espoused her cause. She avowed her dislike of many; she scarcely concealed her contempt for all. In short, to speak plainly, if not mad, she was a very worthless woman.'—pp. 120, 121.

The fate of the Grenville ministry was ultimately determined by the course they pursued on the Catholic Relief question. The king was known to be hostile to concession. It was one of the points on which his narrow mind fastened with the utmost tenacity. His ministers at the same time felt that something must be done to quiet Ireland. They proposed, therefore, to insert a clause in the Mutiny Bill, enabling his Majesty 'to confer any military commission whatever on any of his liege subjects,' and to this, as a medium measure, George III. assented. He speedily, however, retracted his consent, pleaded conscience, and at length called to his councils Mr. Percival and Lord Eldon. The consultations held on this subject are detailed at considerable length, and throughout the whole, the character of Lord Grenville shone most honorably. 'Unaffectedly desirous to act fairly, and even tenderly by the king, he was yet resolved not to abandon the line of public duty which his conscience dictated, from any consideration of personal feeling or party convenience.' As much cannot be said of some other statesmen who took part in these deliberations. Three are mentioned in the following passage which will be read with interest, but we suspect that the description subsequently given of Lord Erskine is somewhat overcharged:—

'Lord Sidmouth and Lord Ellenborough had always been adverse to the great measure, usually termed Catholic Emancipation. Lord Sidmouth was, after his manner, prolix and pompous in explaining his uniform hostility to the general measure, and his particular reasons for approving of this more limited and partial concession. But both he and Lord Ellenborough, without subterfuge or qualification, declared it to be just, reasonable, expedient, and even necessary. Indeed, the spleen and bitterness of Lord Ellenborough seemed very easily transferred from the Roman Catholics to those who resisted the solitary measure which he had been prevailed to concede. He inveighed in very unmeasured terms against the folly, the absurdity, the madness of

rejecting the military aid of Roman Catholics in a period of danger; he held it preposterous that "the whim, the crotchet, *the twist of one man's brain*," should stand in the way of a great publick benefit. The same process of reasoning might, one should have surmised, have conducted him further. But the exclusion of one-fifth of his fellow-subjects from all objects of ambition, and their consequent estrangement from our government, were in his mind very explicable without having recourse to the true solution—viz., the folly and madness of one man, and the base servility of others. His father, Bishop of Carlisle, a great ornament of the Low Church, had pushed his doctrines of toleration so far, as to be suspected of socinianism by his brethren. Thus he had imbibed from education the principles of religious liberty; but he had inherited from nature a disposition to intolerance, together with a strong propensity to indulge in personal reflections, coarse language, and virulent sarcasm. The principles in which he was bred, and the temper with which he was born, were at variance with one another. They prevailed alternately, according to the bias given at the moment by his connexions or interests. But his mode of enforcing his opinions was always the same, and always characteristick of a powerful but clumsy understanding, of a frank but uncandid disposition.'—pp. 181-183.

The Perceval ministry dissolved the House, and the election which followed was unfavorable to the whigs. We are not surprised at this. A strong feeling, antagonistic to the Catholic claims, existed throughout the country, and every effort was made to misrepresent the views and intentions of the ex-cabinet. The worst prejudices of an ignorant population were appealed to, the old battle cry of the 'church in danger' was raised; and the least intelligent and most rigid type of toryism was installed in power for several years. We can make room only for one more extract, in which the conduct of dissenters is spoken of, and reference made to one of the most extraordinary, though most eccentric, men of our age. In 1807, Henry Brougham was struggling into notice. What is he doing now? Would that we could render a satisfactory reply:—

'We raised a subscription,' says Lord Holland, 'the very day of the dissolution for the management of the press, and the distribution of hand-bills. The sum was small, not exceeding six hundred pounds; and more than a third was wasted before any committee of management was organized. In the meanwhile, the elections went much against us. Even the Dissenters, *upon whom, in a contest with the Crown, the whigs must always mainly rely*, were alarmed at the report of our indulgences to Roman Catholics, and, from prejudice against them, and a misconception of the question, joined in some places with the cry of intolerance in favour of Court and High Church candidates against the friends of religious liberty. The management of our press fell into the hands of Mr. Brougham. With that active and able man I had become acquainted through Mr. Allen, in 1805. At the forma-

tion of Lord Grenville's ministry, he had written, at my suggestion, a pamphlet called 'The State of the Nation.' He subsequently accompanied Lord Rosslyn and Lord St. Vincent to Lisbon. His early connexion with the abolitionists had familiarized him with the means of circulating political papers, and given him some weight with those best qualified to co-operate in such an undertaking. His extensive knowledge and extraordinary readiness, his assiduity and habits of composition, enabled him to correct some articles, and to furnish a prodigious number himself. With partial and scanty assistance from Mr. Allen, myself, and two or three more, he in the course of ten days filled every bookseller's shop with pamphlets, most London newspapers, and all country ones without exception, with paragraphs, and supplied a large portion of the boroughs throughout the kingdom with hand-bills adapted to the local interests of the candidates, and all tending to enforce the principles, vindicate the conduct, elucidate the measures, or expose the adversaries of the whigs. Our appeals were chiefly directed to the Dissenters. We succeeded in allaying their suspicions, and reconciling them to their natural friends so well, that during the latter elections they were at least neutral, and in many instances zealous supporters of the whig candidates. The elections, however, were, on the whole, unfavourable to opposition.'—pp. 227-229.

To what extent this work will proceed we know not. Judging from what has already appeared, we suppose that its limits will be considerable, and that several volumes yet remain to be published. We see no reason for the long delay of the present, and hope that such as are to follow will be issued with much greater rapidity. It is advisable, also, that more attention be paid to the editorial department, with a view specially of excluding such matters as have been anticipated by Mr. Moore's Diary, or other similar works.

ART. V.—*Report to the General Board of Health on an Inquiry into the New Works of Sewerage, Drainage, and Water-supply; on the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of Tottenham, in the County of Middlesex.* By Walter Lewis, M.B., Cantab., F.G.S. 1853.

2. *Letter, Descriptive of Cultivation by Sewer and Liquid Manures in England and Scotland.* By the Hon. Dudley F. Fortescue. pp. 8. Her Majesty's Stationary Office. 1852.
3. *A Third Paper on British Agriculture.* By I. J. Mechi. London: Darling and Son.
4. *Mr. Simon's Report to the City Commissioners of Sewers.* London.

WE propose a brief glance at the two sides of the great subject of national health;—the advantage to *life* of removing the refuse

of our towns from among the people ;—the advantage to *land* of distributing that refuse economically over the soil. While America is threatening, so urgent is her necessity for guano, to take it by the strong hand wherever it is to be found, and while the Royal Agricultural Society is offering large prizes for the discovery of a substance, equal in fertilizing power to guano, at eight pounds a ton, let us continue to point out to our readers that the discovery in question has long been made, and that England is killing her people by thousands annually, because she *will* persist in running to waste the very fertilizer for whose discovery the Agricultural Society is offering such a premium, and the want of which is causing America almost to repudiate her honesty.

Among all the beautiful adaptations of the intelligible portions of this world, wherein death is so often made to subserve the purposes of life, and the various sources of disease become the springs of happiness and health, none can be more striking than the interchange of life and death between the animal and the vegetable world. Modern sanitary science is beginning to illustrate this interchange to thousands who have never thought of it before. We are already carting out our choleras and fevers, and beginning to run our epidemic diseases through our pipe-drains into the country, and to receive back into the town sleek droves of cattle and nodding wains of corn. We are beginning, and we now begin to be certain that we shall go on, rapidly illustrating the interchange of death for life, and disease for health, until at length the whole of Great Britain, and with, or after her, the whole of Europe, shall adopt the same good *new* rule and simple plan.

The Honourable Dudley F. Fortescue lately addressed a letter to the General Board of Health, Whitehall, descriptive of the present modes of cultivation by sewer and liquid manures in England and Scotland. His observations and conclusions are borne out by those of Captain Baird Smith, in his recent work on 'Italian Irrigation,' in which he treats of the application of water and sewerage to the lands of Piedmont and Lombardy. The works necessary for supplying water, and carrying off the refuse of towns,—that is to say, the 'sanitary measures' required by the Public Health Act, may be almost everywhere self-supporting. Accompanied by Mr. Ranger, Mr. Rawlinson, and Mr. Rammell, superintending inspectors under the Health Act, and of course the best judges and witnesses possible of such operations, Mr. Fortescue visited some of the famous irrigation farms near Edinburgh, Glasgow, and elsewhere, and found from four to ten crops of Italian rye-grass grown in the year, and from £10 to £30 of annual rent given per Scotch acre. Twenty years ago we

remember being told on the spot, that £40 per Scotch acre was given by the cowkeepers of Edinburgh for the irrigated meadows between Salisbury Crags and the city. The expenses of distributing the fluid manure are found to be slight in comparison to the profits realized. But this of course depends on a good system being from the first adopted. It will never pay to cart the fluid on to the land, and distribute it as is usually done. A system of open cuts and irrigation meadows or slopes, or else an apparatus of pipes, by which, as in Scotland, and more recently by the Rev. Mr. Huxtable and Mr. Mechi, and others, in England, the fluid can be quickly, evenly, and cheaply distributed over the land, will alone be found practically to answer. Young and fine grasses, as red clover, Italian rye-grass, and lucerne, with green crops intervening every three or four years, give the largest returns; but the common meadow grasses also produce enormous crops under proper sewer irrigation.

This is so very important a subject in relation to the public health, that we cannot do better than quote the following information from Mr. Fortescue's letter:—

‘The first farm we visited was that of Craigentinney, situated about one mile and a half south-east of Edinburgh, of which 260 Scotch acres (one-fourth more than the English acre) receive a considerable proportion of such sewerage, as under an imperfect system of house-drainage, is at present derived from half the city. The meadows of which it chiefly consists have been put under irrigation at various times, the most recent addition being nearly 50 acres, laid out in the course of last year and the year previous, which, lying above the level of the rest, are irrigated by means of a steam-engine. The meadows first laid out are watered by contour channels following the inequalities of the ground, after the fashion commonly adopted in Devonshire; but in the more recent parts the ground is disposed in “panes” of half an acre, served by their respective feeders,—a plan which, though somewhat more expensive at the outset, is found preferable in practice. The whole 260 acres take about 14 days to irrigate; the men charged with the duty of shifting the water from one pane to another give to each plot about two hours irrigation at a time; and the engine serves its 50 acres in 10 days, working day and night, and employing one man at the engine, and another to shift the water. The produce of the meadows is sold by auction on the ground, “rouped” as it is termed, to the cow-feeders of Edinburgh, the purchaser cutting and carrying off all he can during the course of the letting, which extends from about the middle of April to October, when the meadows are shut up, but the irrigation is continued through the winter. The lettings average somewhat over £20 the acre; the highest last year having brought £31, and the lowest £9; these last were of very limited extent, on land recently denuded in laying out the ground, and consequently much below its natural level of productiveness. There are four cuttings in the year, and the collective weight of grass cut in

parts was stated at the extraordinary amount of 80 tons the imperial acre. The only cost of maintaining these meadows, except those to which the water is pumped by the engine, consists in the employment of two hands to turn on and off the water, and in the expense of clearing out the channels, which was contracted for last year at £29, and the value of the refuse obtained was considered fully equal to that sum, being applied in manuring parts of the land for a crop of turnips, which, with only this dressing in addition to irrigation with the sewage-water, presented the most luxuriant appearance. The crop, from present indications, was estimated at from 30 to 40 tons the acre, and was expected to realize 15s. the ton sold on the land. From calculations made on the spot, we estimated the produce of the meadows during the eight months of cutting, at the keep of 10 cows per acre, exclusive of the distillery refuse they consume in addition, at a cost of 1s. to 1s. 6d. per head per week. The sea-meadows present a particularly striking example of the effects of the irrigation; these, comprising between 20 and 30 acres, skirting the shore between Leith and Musselburgh, were laid down in 1826 at a cost of about £700; the land consisted formerly of a bare sandy tract, yielding almost absolutely nothing; it is now covered with luxuriant vegetation, extending close down to high-water mark, and lets at an average of £20 per acre at least. From the above statement, it will be seen how enormously profitable has been the application, in this case, of town refuse in the liquid form; and I have no hesitation in stating, that, great as its advantages have been, they might be extended four or five fold by greater dilution of the fluid. Four or five times the extent of land might, I believe, be brought into equally productive cultivation under an improved system of drainage in the city, and a more abundant use of water. Besides these Craigentinner meadows, there are others on this and on the west side of Edinburgh which we did not visit, similarly laid out, and I believe realizing still larger profits, from their closer proximity to the town, and their lying within the toll-gates.'—pp. 3, 4.

'The pumps are worked by a 12-horse power steam-engine, which performs all the usual work on the farm, threshing, cutting chaff and turnips, crushing oil-cake, grinding, &c., and about 6-horse power is the proportion required for the service of the pumps. The pipes are of iron; mains, submains, and service pipes, five, three, and two inches in diameter respectively, laid eighteen inches or two feet below the surface. At certain points are hydrants, to which gutta-percha hose is attached, in lengths of twenty yards, at the end of which is a sharp nozzle, with an orifice ranging from one to one and a half inch, according to the pressure laid on, from which the liquid makes its exit with a jet of from twelve to fifteen yards. All the labour required is that of a man and a boy to adjust the hose, and direct the distribution of the manure, and eight or ten acres may thus be watered in a day. There are now 70 acres of Italian rye-grass and 130 of root-crops on the farm. The quantity they would deliver by a jet from a pump worked by a 12-horse steam-engine, would be 40,000 gallons, or 178 tons per diem, and the expense per ton about 2d.; but a double set of men would reduce the cost. The extreme length of pipe is three-

quarters of a mile, and with the hose the total extent of delivery is about 1,900,000 yards, or 400 acres. To deliver the same quantity per diem by water-carts to the same extreme distance would be impracticable. One field of rye-grass, sown in April, has been cut once, fed off twice with sheep, and was ready (August 20) to be fed off again. In another, after yielding four cuttings within the year, each estimated at 9 or 10 tons per acre, the value of the aftermath for the keep of sheep was stated at 25s. an acre. Of the turnips, one lot of swedes, dressed with 10 tons of solid farm manure, and about 2000 gallons of the liquid, having 6 bushels of dissolved bones along with it, was ready for hoeing 10 or 12 days earlier than another lot dressed with double the amount of solid manure without the liquid application, and were fully equal to those in a neighbour's field which had received 30 loads of farmyard dung, together with 3 cwt. guano and 16 bushels bones per acre; the yield was estimated at 40 tons the Scotch acre, and their great luxuriance seemed to me to justify the expectation. From one field of white globe-turnips, sown later, and *manured solely with liquid*, from 40 to 50 tons to the Scotch acre was expected.'—p. 6.

Many practical farmers have published reports of their success by means of irrigation since Mr. Fortescue's pamphlet appeared, and lately Mr. Mechi, of Tiptree Hall, who has introduced a very thorough system of this kind on his farm, speaks of the results thus:—

'By irrigation, I am enabled to double, if not triple, my green and root crops, and thus render them profitable, instead of unprofitable. It is quite clear that if I can double my stock, I also double the quantity of my manure, and thus effect importantly the cereal crops. If I double my green and root crops, I diminish their cost one half.' (Provided, Mr. Mechi, you do both at the same expense of cultivation). 'This is actually the fact, and therein is my present and most agreeable position. Every practical farmer knows that the losing part of his farm is the root crops (I mean in the Midland, Southern, and Eastern counties, where we have hot summers, and little rain). That root crop costs him more than the animals repay, and leaves a heavy charge on the ensuing grain crops. Irrigation changes all this, and permits each crop to be responsible for its own annual charge, thus rendering them all remunerative. I am forcibly and frequently reminded of the truth of this statement by a five-acre pasture, opposite my residence. Vainly did I try, by solid manures, to render this vile plastic clay into a useful pasture. It was like bird-lime in winter, and cast-iron in summer,—poor, indigenous, and drab-coloured grasses, choked and eradicated the finer kinds I had sown,—and the animals wandered about hollow and dissatisfied. In the space of eighteen months irrigation has changed all this; new, fine, and fattening grasses have clothed the field with perpetual verdure; it keeps three times as many animals, and the close and shaven pasture indicates their affection for it. Butter, milk, and cream, alike testify by their richness to the fertility of irrigation, whilst the animals are improved in their condition. Professor Way, in his recent valuable analysis of grasses, in the 'Royal

Agricultural Society's Journal, has revealed the astounding truth, that irrigated grasses contain twenty-five per cent. more meat-making matter than those not irrigated.' (Third Paper in 'British Agriculture'—a pamphlet.)

These are most important facts both in an agricultural and in a sanitary point of view, and are very much at variance with the ideas of old agriculturists. Solid manures are, by a very large majority of agriculturists, considered the most profitable for application to the land; and the grasses raised by sewer irrigation, growing more rankly and rapidly, are usually considered as deficient in nutritive power. Practice and science we see both declare the contrary, and we find another instance of the adaptation of the best means to the best ends in the circumstance that the mode by which the refuse of life can be best and most expeditiously removed from our dwellings is that by which it is most easily, effectually, and profitably applied to our fields. Farmers who live in the vicinity of towns, and have a little foresight, with a little hydraulic skill, have just now, therefore, a fortune lying at their feet. There can be very little doubt, that within a few years at farthest, the public will have become acquainted with its own interest, so far as to require the application of sanitary measures to all the towns of the empire, and one inevitable result of that will be the irrigation of meadows and high or garden farming, in order profitably and healthfully to use up the waste. For, the refuse which is growing fever and small-pox in our towns at present, will then be growing green crops, and causing the meadows to be 'for ever flushing round a summer sky.' Speculators have already commenced, and we should not be surprised to see this new branch of speculation become common within a year or two, and agents buying up the grass-lands near towns and contracting with the young local boards of health to rent the refuse of the towns for long leases.

The Earl of Lonsdale, in a speech addressed to the agricultural mind last autumn, questioned (if we remember aright, denied) the profitableness of this kind of irrigation; but he will probably live to discover the erroneousness of these views,—nay, if he will visit Edinburgh, or Glasgow, or any other place in which good works are in full operation, may discover it immediately. His town of Whitehaven hangs over a valley well fitted for irrigation, and, as it contains some of the most filthy and unwholesome dwelling-places in the kingdom, will afford ample means of testing the value of the system.

Meantime, in towns where great opposition to sanitary measures exists, it might help to advance the interests of health, were the intelligent and benevolent to combine, offer to lease the necessary lands, make the required works for irrigation, and apply the funds

to the relief of the indigent and sick. A considerable revenue would, under favourable leases, be the result, and there would be a sort of poetical justice (though the phrase was perhaps never put to such a use before) in making the old causes of pestilence contribute to the new plans of health.

When the monasteries were suppressed, the mendicants whom the monkish system had generated and fed, were thrown adrift without provision, and suffered great misery until the famous 43rd of Elizabeth inaugurated the old poor-law. When the commons and wastes were enclosed, a fine opportunity of providing a national fund for the destitute was thrown away, and now in the profits of the water supply, and drainage of large towns—looked forward to by many as likely to lead to overwhelming expense—there might be found profits which, properly applied (to health houses especially, for receiving infectious diseases, and so best keeping down poor-rates), would very greatly relieve the pressure of sickness and want upon urban communities.

The results of Mr. Fortescue's examination show that sewer water is the true Pactolus of modern times, and that its judicious application to the soil is uniformly attended by enriching results. All kinds of green crops, he says, and new grasses, especially the Italian rye grass, benefitted so largely by the irrigation, that four times the number of cattle can be kept on the same ground, the land being also increased in fertility. Mr. Dickinson, of Willesden, estimates his crop of Italian rye grass at from 80 to 100 tons per imperial acre per annum, and gets eight or ten cuttings according to the season. In Lombardy we have similar results.

In Scotland there is one person to seven acres of ground; in Ireland one to two acres and a half, and in England and Wales one to two acres:—not yet a crowded population. Goldsmith says—

‘A time there was ere England's griefs began
When every rood of ground maintained its man.’

Were proper use made of the waste of our towns, and garden farming, and cultivation of the bogs and low-lying moorland carried out, we might probably maintain eight men for one we do now, and the regretful fancy with which ‘The Deserted Village’ opens would become a realized fact. That will be the day of healthy towns and sanitary farming, which, would the ratepayers, or even the working men among them only combine and demand health reform, might be seen by the present generation. ‘When it is considered,’ concludes Mr. Fortescue, after stating the result of his examination into the effect of the cultivation by sewer and liquid manures in England and Scotland, ‘that such results may in the vicinity of towns and villages be most effectually brought about by the instant removal of all those matters which, when

allowed to remain in them, are among the most fruitful sources of social degradation, disease, and death, one cannot but earnestly desire the furtherance of such measures as will ensure this double result of purifying the town and enriching the country.'

The following extract from Mr. Tufnell's Report for 1852 to the Committee of Council on Education, will be found of practical value; and at the present time, when industrial schools, 'reformatory' and parochial, are occupying, very justly, so much attention, the evidence is peculiarly well worth noting. In many large establishments, situated in the country, in isolated portions of towns, or even in the heart of some of our urban populations, it may be practicable to apply some of the methods here detailed by Mr. Tufnell; and while, of course, they would never be attempted, except in places in which a satisfactory drainage works existed, they might be so constructed as to be capable of adaptation to any good system of sewers, which might eventually be adopted,—

'The land attached to the North Surrey School, and cultivated by the boys, has been extremely productive. Four acres of wheat yielded the large return of six quarters two bushels per acre. Nine acres of swedes and mangold produced 270 tons of roots; but perhaps the most profitable crop was gathered from four acres of Italian rye-grass, which afforded six heavy cuttings in the course of the year, thus feeding fifteen cows and horses from May to November. This large produce was entirely owing to frequent irrigation from liquid manure, which is distributed by means of a force-pump and hose from various tanks about the grounds. Vegetables were supplied to the house of the value of £76 13s. 10d., though the potatoes entirely failed. Great loss was sustained in the dairy stock, owing to the prevalence of pleuro-pneumonia among the cows; nevertheless, milk to the value of £342 2s. 2½d., and butter to the amount of £42 12s. 10d., were supplied to the establishment; 123 pigs were kept on the waste of the house at no expense, and were sold as porkers at a price double what they cost. The difficulties that arose from the large quantity of liquid manure flowing from the house, and the complete success of the arrangement adopted for getting rid of it, are worthy of especial note; and I will detail them more particularly, as they show how similar evils may be corrected in all large establishments, and thus what is often a cause of pestilence may be turned into a source of profit. The flow of liquid manure from a population of 700 persons, where all the operations of washing, &c. were continually going on, was of course considerable. Great part of this was used in irrigating the land, and to this the large crops were undoubtedly attributable. But the quantity was so great that there was still a large surplus, which, running down along the railroad, caused a nuisance that was much complained of, and an indictment was threatened against the board of management. In this difficulty, a tank was built of 9-in. brickwork, 20 ft. long, 6 ft. wide, and 4 ft. deep, with an inlet from the sewer near the top, and an

outlet at the other, and on a level with the bottom. At 3 in. from the bottom is placed a moveable floor of 3-in. planks, with a number of holes bored through them. On this floor is placed about half a ton of peat-charcoal, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ tons of burnt clay-ashes, in several alternate layers. The sewerage enters the tank at the top of these layers, soaks through them, and passes out at the bottom in a stream of pure and inodorous water. At the end of about three weeks the tank ceases to act, when the clay, ashes, and charcoal are removed, and a fresh supply put in. The matter removed is perfectly inodorous, has increased from four tons to eight tons, and is now a valuable manure, which fetches a considerable price. The nuisance before complained of has now entirely ceased.'

'Sewers,' says Mr. Simon, in his recent admirable Report to the City Commissioners,—a Report which has gone forth with the power of a proclamation to every part of the empire; and which is perhaps the most condensed philosophic sanitary document hitherto issued; 'Sewers, which under better circumstances, should be benefactions and appliances for health in their several districts, are rendered inevitable sources of evil.' He is speaking of drainage into tidal rivers—of the Thames in especial—but his graphic words paint the precise conditions which caused such unutterable woe in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in September last. 'From the polluted bosom of the rivers steam up incessantly, though unseen, the vapours of retributive poison; densest and most destructive no doubt, along the sodden banks and stinking sewers of lowest level, but spreading over miles of land, sometimes rolled high by wind, sometimes blended low with mist, and threatening even to their margin that curls over distant fields,' &c. And referring to some points, on which we have touched in this article, he says—'A child's intellect can appreciate the wild absurdity of seeking at Peru what here runs to waste beneath our pavements'—(would it were always *beneath*!)—'of ripening only epidemic diseases with what might augment the food of the people—of waiting, like our ancestors, to expiate the neglected divinity of water in some bitter purgation by fire. But it needs the grasp of political mastership, not uninformed by science, to convert to practical application these obvious elements of knowledge; to recognise a great national object irrelevant to the interests of party; to lift a universal requirement from the sphere of professional jealousies; and to found in immutable principles the sanitary legislation of a people.' Every word like a sledge-hammer, falling each time on the right spot!

We said that the necessary works would be self-supporting. It has now been proved by numerous examples (we refer any inquirer to the Secretary of the Local Boards of Health of Barnard Castle, Penrith, Tottenham, and other places named in the

papers of the General Board of Health), that a complete system of tubular drainage, with ample water supply at high pressure, supplying all domestic wants, sweeping away all refuse, and obviating all danger from fire, can be laid down at an average expense of twopence per week for a working man's cottage or tenement, and for other houses in proportion. This is a less sum than, in the majority of towns, is given for water and the present execrable system of drainage alone; the additional health, comfort, length of life, and security from fire, are all received for nothing in addition. In very many towns the expense of the combined works for drainage and water have been much less than the sum stated. At Tottenham, Mr. Lewis, speaking of these combined public works, says: 'They are effected in the smallest class of houses at a cost to the tenant of only 2s. 6d. a-year, a sum which many of them formerly paid for a scanty supply of impure river-water brought in buckets, at very uncertain periods, or for permission to use a neighbour's pump.' As to the working of the pipe drains he says: 'I heard no complaint of stoppages, with the exception of a few from the better class of houses. *These were always caused by quantities of grease that had escaped from the sinks through the waste and carelessness of the cooks.* In some few cases this grease had accumulated in the smaller pipes, and had caused stoppages till it ~~was~~ removed.' Thus we have the fat of the rich leading to the fevers of the poor; we have the cook of a sanitary landlord bringing disgrace on the pipe drainage, on the success of which the success of the Health Act is chiefly based; and we have an avaricious and unsanitary landlord next door taking advantage of the failure to oppose the whole scheme. Would it not be well to request—through the chief of Scotland-yard—a policeman to call on every cook, and give her to understand, that if the drains of her master's house are stopped up by her grease, the mischief must be remedied out of her perquisites? Perhaps thenceforth, in order to 'save her bacon,' she will be careful of her grease. As mischief may arise in every great town from this cause, it would be worth while issuing a circular to cooks, or (since 'Punch' states that the police force has an extensive acquaintance among the class) perhaps the majesty of the law may be best represented by the personal summons of an officer. With the exception of a few cases of the kind mentioned, the new drainage in Tottenham is acting well; everywhere the poorer inhabitants, especially the women, expressed thankfulness for the change to water-closets from the old chamber of horrors; stating that more cleanly habits throughout every member of the household were thus caused; and that the sewer atmosphere, formerly familiar in their houses, and continually causing fever and diseases of a low type, *was now gone.*

Hence Mr. Hill, whose large house, containing about one hundred inmates, has been drained in connexion with the works, states, '*These works appear to drive disease before them;*' declares his firm belief that since the Public Health Act was applied to Tottenham disease has greatly diminished, and that 'whenever he has traced out any complaints of sickness or fever of late, he has invariably found them located in those parts of the town not yet reached by the sanitary works.' What is the cost of all these invaluable privileges? 'A special district rate of 4½d. in the pound, or an average cost of 1¼d. per house per week!' Tottenham also is about to build a tank, and use up the refuse for the purposes of agriculture.

In Stratford-on-Avon also, where there has been such a foolish and wicked outcry against the General Board of Health, the officer of that Board (Mr. Austin) has just saved the inhabitants £3000 in the estimates for their works; and there, 'a cottage tenement rated at £4 per annum, will have to pay *less than a penny* per week for the complete public works of drainage, self-cleansing, free from deposit and foul gases; and of water supply, good in quality, and unlimited in quantity.' Whereas had the old big brick drain system, or the old long cesspool-drain system, for which the baffled parliamentary engineers have been fighting, been established, by means of one of the old Improvement acts, for which the baffled lawyers have been struggling, instead of the cheap pipe drainage by the cheap Public Health Act, Stratford-on-Avon would have had a larger sum to pay for her bad, foul, big brick drains alone than she has now to pay for good drainage, and an abundant supply of pure water! People are beginning to see everywhere that the officers and engineers of the Health Act (as in Mr. Austin's case at Stratford) are a cause of economy instead of expense; and that, whether they are themselves employed professionally to lay out the works, or only engaged in their capacity of inspectors of the General Board to superintend them, so as to certify to the Board of Works that they are done on sound principles, and will work well, and that therefore the money to be borrowed by the town from the Board may very safely be lent on the mortgage of the rates; in whichever capacity the engineers of the General Board have come in contact with communities, we hear but one verdict,—that 'they have done their work well and kindly; they have sometimes saved our money; they have always frankly given their best advice, and they have never impertinently interfered with our local authority;' as, indeed, any one reflecting on the matter, and not led away by designing men, will see must be the true policy of the Board and its servants, for this simple reason, that no one could be more

interested—scarcely so much as they are, to have all the works done cheaply, satisfactorily, and pleasantly. But the parliamentary barristers and engineers, and other opponents of the Act, knew well how to appeal to the avarice of some, the self-love of others, the pride of monopolist corporations, the ignorant fear of expense among the poor, the dastardly fear of interference with 'the rights of property' among the rich, and working these all well up, they had a few months ago gathered an opposition, which threatened deep and lasting injury to the cause of the people's health. Now the danger is past, every month will tell a new tale of health, comfort, and happiness, resulting from the works of the sanitary reformers; the evidence will speedily accumulate, so that no stolidity of ignorance, no sordidness of avarice, no armour of pride will be able to resist it; the baffled parliamentary barristers will be compelled to turn to some more profitable—we hope more honest—object; the parliamentary engineers will have, sulkily enough no doubt, to come out of their big foul cesspool drains, and take quietly to laying down the pipes and syphons; the health army will go on steadily, marching forward throughout Great Britain during the next few years; and then, with the fevers of our people banished, their intemperance and ignorance lessened, their energy increased—more apt for every good work, less tempted to every evil one than now—we shall have inaugurated the new era, in which, with God's blessing, every good work and worthy thought will have infinitely more power over society than it has ever since civilization began.

ART. VI.—*There and Back Again in Search of Beauty.* By James Augustus St. John. In Two Volumes. London: Longman and Co.

THE most striking characteristic of this work is the spirit of gladness which pervades every page, softening into tenderness when dealing with the sorrowful places of the human heart, and developing itself in a subdued but golden light when thrilling associations shut out the full glare of joy. Mr. St. John looks round on the Eastern world, and takes down the picture, not only in bright colours as an artist, but in the character of an engraver he impresses the whole scene on one's heart. There is never a sketch of Nature without some spiritual touch which takes it out of the category of mere painting, and carries it far down into our feelings. It is this peculiarity which gives '*There and Back Again*,' such a hold on the reader. There exists a harmony of

arrangement in the work as a composition ; but though, to use the author's own words, 'There is a music in the English language sweeter and more mellifluous than the music of mere sound,' it is something yet more than this which brings us face to face with his companions, and sends forth our spirits from the mists of an English January to listen to the murmurs of his own loved Nile, whilst imagination, fairly put into a state of clairvoyance by his magic, transmutes the autumnal breeze into the balmy and delicious breathings of the south.

Not only is Mr. St. John in search of beauty, but he finds it too where others would never dream of seeking it. After a dangerous and stormy night at sea, the rising sun, dispersing some of the heavy clouds, contrives to throw a fitful light on the still heaving and troubled waters. And how does our author view it? Not as many would, with a discontented look, turning sullenly from the trembling day-spring ; but finding beauty and joy even in a scene like this, he forgets the frightful storm, during which he had been encouraged by the whisper of a still small voice, which said, 'He brought them up safe from many waters,' and thus expresses himself. 'Nothing as yet was in sight but sea and land. The clouds in wild and fantastic masses still arched the firmament from east to west, but here and there were large rents, and through these, floods of sunshine descended on the disturbed waters. It was one of the most glorious scenes that could possibly be beheld at sea. Here and there the cloud vault was of a lurid black, deepening as it descended towards the edge of the horizon, and beneath it the sea reflected the full depth of its gloom.' Is not such darkness as this devoid of all that is dismal? And then he continues,—'Contrasted with this sombre background were large fields of laughing light vapours of fleecy whiteness, and encircling expanses of bright blue sky. The sun when disentangled as it were from the vapour looked like the god of this new world, refulgent in golden majesty, and infusing life into every thing beneath.'

'There and Back Again' is certainly a book of travels, but it is not made of the commonplace materials generally used for such volumes. Mr. St. John does not measure length and breadth and thickness, or expatiate on degrees of temperature, or on the varying nature of the soil ; he makes no deep entrance into geology, nor does he scientifically dwell on the volcanic formation of the vast mountain land through which he passed, but air, earth, sea, and sky, he contrives to incorporate with our affections, and we part regretfully from his description of mountains, though we leave them in the embrace of the loving blue sky. We feel more than half inclined, under the influence of the everyday world around us, to blush at the enthusiasm which has pene-

trated our earth-bound hearts, as, in imagination, we stand by his side in the little vessel, where he looks for the first time on Mount Etna, a mighty glittering cone of snow, towering above a sea of mist which completely conceals its base.

'It appeared to me exactly like Mont Blanc as seen early in the morning from the slopes of the Côte d'Or. No language will suffice to paint the majesty of Nature, especially when to her inherent grandeur there are added the associations of poetry and history. The influence of the deeds which have been performed at the foot of Etna has arisen, as it were, from earth, and invested it with a new glory. I could not, therefore, as I gazed upon it, disentangle the different classes of my feelings and say which took their rise from the sources of nature, and which from the works of man. Intermingled they were full of delight, for we lend consciousness to mountains, and imagine they look down upon us, as we look up to them, with a gentle and friendly recognition. Would I could transplant the thoughts of that moment into the reader's mind. Men who have seen half the world will probably smile at my enthusiasm, at the first view of Etna. Let them smile on; I have not seen much, and thank God, not enough to quench the admiration of his works within me.

'To me there was a sort of religion in the admiration I experienced. The Athenian people had fought and bled on the land stretching southward from its base. I felt a strong thrill of pleasure at approaching the theatre of their exploits and glory, which I would not have exchanged for all the self-complacency of the greatest Epicurean philosopher in the world.'—Vol. i. p. 324.

Another part of Mr. St. John's self-revelation, and which escapes from him through the medium of authorship, is his tender and delicate love of childhood. We do not become possessed of this knowledge so much through his transient allusions to his own home treasures, as from his dealings with infancy wherever he finds it.

From 'red, purple, gold, and azure, mingling and intermingling, surging upwards and spreading on all sides, from vapours which were not clouds, but semi-luminous bands or curtains, or banners fluttering around the chariot of the sun;' from 'woods, assuming every variety of indescribable hues, purple, emerald, saffron, coruscating, trembling, dying into each other,' he is led unresistingly away by the 'fairy hand of a little girl;' influenced no doubt by the thrill of home, communicated through that delicate touch. 'She ate,' he says, 'and laughed, and chatted, and rolled about, as if the world had been made exclusively for her, and it is one of the pleasant points in my destiny that I am always happy in the company of an agreeable child.'

'There is a wonderful power in childhood,' he says, 'and to be like it, even in a terrestrial sense, is to be in the kingdom of heaven. It has the most perfect faith in all things; it lies down in the arms of

man or woman, friend or stranger, and fears nothing. It feels, that there is a divinity which hedges it about, and envelops it in a roseate cloud of safety, that disarms malice, and cruelty itself, and renders them incapable of hurting it. All the grandeur of humanity seems to be concentrated and bound up in childhood—above all, when it sleeps, when it dreams, when unutterable joy fills its heart and plays about its lips. The greatest fount of inspiration on earth is the face of a sleeping child, with its long dark lashes fringing the mystery of its eyes, the colour of which you know not, the depth of which your thought cannot fathom. I looked at little Piero; he had the dark blood of Venice in him. Still he reminded me of a fair child, nearly about the same age, which I had left beyond the Alps, and which a thousand and a thousand times had occupied the place he then filled. What is it that constitutes the tie of kindred? The sweet little fellow on my knee was not mine, and therefore I could relinquish him in half an hour or an hour to his mother's arms, and forget or dismiss him from my recollection almost as though I had never seen or nursed him.

'But how different my relation to the other child. Something existed there, which neither time nor distance, nor life, nor death, could obliterate? We are all his offspring, but yet in a peculiar sense the being that emerges from your own soul is yours. There may be, for aught we know, a spiritual chain always binding together parents and child, and preventing them from ever becoming separated. Indeed, there must be; for the circle of your love becomes wide enough to embrace the whole world, when your children are far away from you, and makes you feel them still within your grasp. And so it is when they die. A part of your soul goes with them out of life, and accompanies them to whatever place it pleases God to send them.'—*Ib.* p. 190.

Another passage connected with these little ones is so exquisitely beautiful that we cannot refrain from quoting it. It relates to a little boy, 'moulded like a seraph, with lofty forehead, around which the curling ringlets hung in thick clusters.'

'There is in childhood, of whatever sex, much that is feminine, or I might perhaps say much that is angelical. In that first stage of our existence, ere the world has as yet breathed its corrupting breath upon us, we seem to be denizens of heaven transported into another sphere. Next to being a child is, in my apprehension, to love children. The heart, as we look at them, lays aside its worldliness, and yearns for whatever is pure and holy. In its utmost depths it murmurs, "Suffer little children to come unto me." Above all, this is the case when sickness has laid its heavy land on them, when their souls are about to be intercepted in the very gates, as it were, of life, and sent back, pure and unpolluted, to the source of all existence.—*Vol. ii.* p. 132.

The infant dies, and how touchingly Mr. St. John continues, forgetting his search of beauty and the traveller's note book, as he goes with his warm and gushing sympathy into the shadow of another's sorrow. 'I felt that the angel of death stood beside me in the room, that with a pencil fetched from the farthest

realms of eternity, he was painting the baby's face with celestial white, that he was preparing to wrap its little soul in his wings, and bear it to everlasting rest in the bosom of God.'

And it is not to the varying features of the natural world around him that Mr. St. John confines his search. In priest, rajah, fakir, sultan, we discover him diving for the beautiful, and he generally finds something in the character of each standing out in bold and pleasing relief against his darker experiences of life. From the simple wild-flower life of the bashful peasant girl, he draws it out, and places it bewitchingly before us. And we turn and look at the hard features and brawny arm of the coarse labourer with a strange new interest, when his inner feelings, of which, unaided by Mr. St. John, we had never become intelligible, are laid open before us.

Mr. St. John is no mere book-maker. There is a delightful irregularity throughout the whole work, as if he had nothing to do with the usual straight road of authorship. He makes a graceful and easy transition from grave to gay, and it is one of his peculiarities that his laughter never withers into sarcasm, although it sometimes melts away into melancholy. He has too deep a sympathy with human nature for his lip to be curled by scorn; and, whilst there is a perennial fount of gladness at his heart, making green life's desert places; in the break of day, or in the silvery moonlight, in the shadow of a rock, or in the sparkling of a mountain-torrent, his spirit, thrilling with softened thought, acknowledges the hand of a heavenly Father.

The author is faithful to the subject of his work, and wherever he finds beauty he places it before us. No matter whether in the crimson halo of the morning mist or in the thick white smoke of the tea-pot; whether in dimpling cheeks or rosy strawberries, we have the benefit of his research. And he is right. His work would be altogether too ethereal if it were not for a certain wholesome substantiality diffused throughout it by minute accounts of delicious coffee, excellent bread and butter, and fresh cream. When our sensations are on the verge of becoming too exalted for this matter-of-fact world, we are called suddenly down to look at broiled kidneys, mutton chops, and excellent pork.

Yet there is perhaps more method in this than one would at first suppose. How pleasing is the surprise with which we find him breaking forth, often ere the dinner-table is out of sight, into philosophical, nay, into religious reflection. Speaking of the Sabbath, he says:—

'Oh! how precious is the repose of that day. The poor look forward to it as a renewal of life, as to a season of special blessing, when they shall have leisure to recruit their strength of mind and body to

encounter the toils and difficulties of the ensuing week. Then, too, they will surely hear the voice of glad tidings, peace on earth and goodwill towards men. There is a solemn hush in the storm of worldly passions over the whole Christian world, amid which the still small voice of devotion is everywhere heard more or less distinctly. Let all those, therefore, who are toil-worn and oppressed, bless the divine institution of the Sabbath which brings to many, if not to all, glimpses of a better world, and opens by the wayside fountains of hope and gladness to refresh them during their weary pilgrimage towards heaven.'—Vol. i. p. 137.

No one who reads this work can fail to observe the peculiar communion which Mr. St. John holds with the Past. The great spirits of antiquity seem almost visible to him. When he brings his loved and glorious republic before us, it is not by the pen of the historian—for, indeed, there is no narration; but as we read, the influence of former ages insensibly steals over us, we seem to be gathering violets with the young Athenian maiden as she pauses with her classical pitcher on her morning way to the fountain of Chillirhut, and behold, in imagination, the fragrant flowers 'surcharged with dew, and drooping deliciously over the pearly grass.' As a result of this love of other times is his fervent admiration of relics. He describes a Grecian vase in the room of the virtuoso with a power which almost brings it before us. We seem to look at it as the evening light falls tenderly on its classical moulding; we scale the barrier of two thousand years, and, coming out from the monotony of every-day life, we feel that Time itself is not altogether so powerful as we imagined it to be, when thus we are brought, as it were, into contact with the familiar things of ages long passed away:—

'I can only find room to utter a few words of admiration and regret,' he writes, 'upon a Grecian vase contained among his treasures. It was adorned with a painting of which no time will suffice to efface the traces from my memory. It represented a rich, sheltered, grassy glen among the woods probably of Cythæron. Rocks rose on both sides in pinnacles from behind the trees; and in the foreground a gentle brook ran bubbling and flashing in the bright sunshine. Close upon its banks a maiden of surpassing beauty lay stretched upon the grass, obviously in the agonies of approaching death; her head supported by a man with one hand, while the other was lifted in an attitude of entreaty towards heaven. But his bosom was torn by mixed emotions: words of intense love appeared to be pouring forth from his lips—words of sufficient power to stay the fleeting soul, and keep back for a moment the king of Hades. Many a woman would esteem herself happy to die in youth, could she but thus secure to her memory the entire amount of devotion and attachment in her lover's breast. And it was this sentiment that the Grecian artist had obviously sought to portray. Celestial resignation and an ineffable calm rested on the maiden's countenance. A few transient pangs would, she felt, accomplish her

apotheosis, and set her up for ever as a divinity in the soul of the man she loved. Death in such circumstances loses his sting. The mind, strong in its affections and its purity, overleaps the sufferings of the present moment by anticipating the coming joy. Art in this case has been just to woman's love, contemplated as noblest by the noblest minds, where it is regarded as the highest step leading to the empyrean. The nation may pride itself upon its greatness, and on the possession of a poetical existence; but where a corrupt and vitiated civilization has transmuted this feeling into a mere earthly passion, the race of glory for those who thus think may be said to be run, for all that was heroic in their natures has died out.'—Vol. ii. p. 160.

We have read the work with admiration and interest, and with a persuasion that the author has introduced us thoroughly to his inner self. There is no caution in his style; he puts facts before us, with the effects they produced on his mind; and if the imaginative sometimes gives to plain sober occurrences an unreal brilliancy, it is the glow arising from his peculiar temperament, which comes without bidding, as the halo around the moon, of which that orb is itself unconscious. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to disapprove, and whilst doing so, we feel glad to catch at anything from which we can draw an excuse. When Mr. St. John's search for beauty becomes physical, and he meets with it in the contour of a form or face, his admiration is too intense, and his enthusiastic regard for the possessor of these charms deepens into a feeling which seems to us somewhat too profound. We approach the subject delicately, and can but look at the surface, without diving into the state of heart whence emotions such as he describes proceeded. There is something in his devotion to Carlotta not quite in accordance with our old-fashioned ideas of the individual nature of the one most sacred human love. 'She was very fair,' he says, 'and possessed a pearly clearness of complexion, not always found in fair women. Her eyes were of that amethystine blue which is of all colours the most beautiful. They seemed like little fragments of the sky, and had all its infinite depth and serenity.'

Then in what glowing terms he paints the effect of her voice on him.

'To describe my sensations when her voice was pouring like nectar around me would be impossible. The notes seemed to descend like drops of melody into an ocean of sound, which reverberated with infinite undulations over the soul. Had she not been beautiful and possessed of a seraph's voice, it would have signified little as far as I was concerned. But when all that is lovely in countenance or expression, and all that is graceful in the female form, are added to a voice of infinite richness, sweetness, and power, it would require a stoicism much more perfect than mine to remain indifferent.'

Mr. St. John travels on ; they are side by side in the coach, arm in arm on the highway, and unfolding opportunities reveal to him her 'exquisite sensibility, her fervent imagination, her impassioned heart.' In the midst of all this, and with his feelings yet vibrating under the united influence of music and loveliness, lo! another being of beauty, a celestial vision 'appears before him.' 'No Madonna ever painted by Raphael, no Aphrodite ever sculptured by the Hellenic chisel could equal it. To enjoy another look,' he says, 'we turned round, ascended rapidly the hill, and then came leisurely down again ; this we repeated three times, and as we last went by, I thought I saw her smile, not with pity, or contempt, or scorn, but apparently with surprise.' He then minutely describes her dress ; her eyes were not amethystine as Carlotta's, but still of the richest and brightest blue ; her features regular as Venus herself. In his search for beauty, he could not possibly have tolerated irregularity in this respect. But there was yet more fascination about her, 'an air of reverence, scarcely belonging to this every-day world ;' not a glance, not a movement betrayed in her the slightest consciousness of her surpassing loveliness. She seemed as innocent as Eve before the Fall. The effect of this vision was not transient, if we may judge by the conclusion of the fifty-fourth chapter. 'Ever since,' he says, 'sleeping or waking, the image of that face beams at times upon my fancy, refreshing and invigorating it.'

Again,—with what fervency of expression he describes Ignatia. 'Everybody has seen women who have a beauty besides that of their persons ; yet in form and features Ignatia was beyond description lovely. I should not perhaps say she was tall, though people generally thought her so ; her figure was infinitely graceful, and her walk such as I have never seen before or since. But the face, sir,'—for these glowing expressions are put into the mouth of his friend, Dr. Oriel,—'its beauty, if I may dare to say so, seemed worthy of the Almighty hand that made it. Her eyes were deep blue, the features all symmetry and softness, with an expression over them which often suggested to me the idea that she wore her pure soul about her like a veil.' Once Mr. St. John was charmed by liquid black eyes, in a tall fair Greek maiden of seventeen ; but it is to the deeply blue that his homage is generally paid.

Aglaia had, too, a rich and melodious voice, delicately-proportioned features, soft, fair, and radiant with intellect, and her beauty was sufficient to convince him that the Hellenic race had not degenerated in that part of the country.

Vaisunta could not pass by without drawing forth some admiration from the impressible author of 'There and Back Again ;' and although he apparently takes these feelings out from the

heart of his friend of large experience, 'a slight old man, about the middle height,' we beg Mr. St. John's pardon for saying that they bear the impress of his own thoughts. 'From the airy branches of the trees the nightingale sent down showers of music upon us, which were not yet half so sweet as the music of Vaisunta's voice, which thrilled through me like a combination of tones from heaven.'

But perhaps we have made a wrong estimate of Mr. St. John's feelings. Kindliness of heart, which was doubtless all he meant to show in these cases, seems as warm in him as love in others; his own love, so difficult of definition, so sacred, so holy, he left in its purity under the hallowing shadow of home. This is indicated in the following passage relative to his return:— 'No words would enable me to do justice to my own feelings, but among them was a deep and inextinguishable sense of gratitude to God for preserving so many lives, infinitely dearer to me than my own, and thus uniting us again to the blessed hearth, the holy altar of the affections, the birth-place of all that is brightest and most beautiful on earth.'

We cannot quite say there is no line which we would wish to blot. The author's exuberance of spirits and his love for the extravagant sometimes almost cause him to stand on the verge of propriety; but we must say that 'There and Back Again' is a most charming work. Whilst engaged in reading it, we are inclined to linger 'there' without any desire to come 'back again,' and in perusing its pages, the 'search of beauty' is not a long one: we soon find it.

ART. VII.—*Introductory Lessons on Christian Evidences*. Thirteenth Edition, Revised and Enlarged. London: J. W. Parker and Son.

2. *Questions Deducible from the Introductory Lessons on Christian Evidences*. By Henry Edward Joly, D.D. London: J. W. Parker and Son.

3. *The Evidences of Christianity as Exhibited in the Writings of the Apologists down to Augustine*. An Essay which obtained the Hulsean Prize for the Year 1852. By W. J. Bolton, of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.

4. *The Philosophy of Atheism Examined and Compared with Christianity*. A Course of Popular Lectures, delivered at the Mechanics' Institute, Bradford, on Sunday Afternoons in the Winter of 1852-1853. By the Rev. B. Godwin, D.D. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co.

5. *Modern Atheism; or, the Pretensions of Modern Secularism Examined.* A Course of Four Lectures delivered at the Athenæum, Thornton, Bradford. By the Rev. J. Gregory, G. W. Conder, J. A. Savage, and E. Mellor, A.M. London: Partridge and Oakey.
6. *Atheism Considered, Theologically and Politically.* In a Series of Lectures. By Lyman Beecher, D.D., late President of Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, United States. London: Cassell.
7. *Townley and Holyoake. Atheistic Controversy.* A Public Discussion on the Being of a God. London: Ward and Co.
8. *The Bible and the People.* By the Rev. Brewin Grant, B.A. London: Ward and Co.
9. *The Logic of Atheism.* By Samuel McAll, Minister of Castle Gate Meeting, Nottingham. London: Ward and Co.
10. *Infidelity: its Cause and Cure.* Including a Notice of the Author's Unbelief and his Rescue. By the Rev. David Nelson, M.D. London: Routledge and Co. 1853.
11. *Christianity and Secularism.* Report of a Public Discussion between the Rev. Brewin Grant, B.A., Editor of the 'Bible and the People,' and George Jacob Holyoake, Esq., Editor of 'The Reasoner,' held in the Royal British Institution, Cowper-street, London, on six successive Thursday Evenings, commencing Jan. 20 and ending Feb. 24, 1853, on the Question 'What Advantages would accrue to Mankind generally, and the Working Classes in particular, by the removal of Christianity, and the substitution of Secularism in its place?' Ninth Thousand. London: Ward and Co. 1853.
12. *Phases of Faith; or, Passages from the History of My Creed.* By Francis William Newman, formerly of Baliol College, Oxford. Third Edition. (Reply to the 'Eclipse of Faith.') London: J. Chapman.
13. *A Defence of 'The Eclipse of Faith.'* By its Author. Being a Rejoinder to Professor Newman's 'Reply.' London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1854.

WE have placed the titles of these several works at the head of our present observations because we wish to call attention to them on the ground of their separate claims, though it is impossible to devote to them the space which they deserve, in consequence of the accumulation of books on nearly every class of topics continually and increasingly pressing upon us. The first two are small publications of great utility in training the young to intelligent apprehensions of the reasons which wise men render for believing that Christianity is true, and that it is of God. The

third, Mr. Bolton's Prize Essay, is a volume of solid worth, the result of extensive reading, exhibiting a sober judgment in a field of research not previously occupied by the writer of any distinct treatise. It is a view of the evidences of Christianity from an ancient and foreign stand-point, illustrating the intellectual position of our Faith in the second, third, and fourth centuries, as seen in the apologetic works of the early fathers, from Quadratus to Augustine, observing a just medium between the unreasonable, unscriptural, and inconsistent elevation of the fathers as authorities in revealed truth, and the unjust and unwise depreciation of their intelligence. Here the reader will find 'that most of our present popular objections to Christianity have been anticipated' more than fifteen hundred years ago, and refuted by arguments substantially the same as those which have so much force in the writings of Grotius and Pascal, Fénelon and Paley. With capacities not inferior to those of modern believers, and enriched with the highest culture of cultivated ages,—

'They were in the heat of the battle. A multitude from every quarter of the globe, a variety from every class of enemies, surrounded them. There was the subtle and metaphysical Eastern, the strong-minded African, the imaginative Greek, the practical Roman, the elder Jew; there was Lucian classing Christianity with every kind of fanaticism and fraud; there was Celsus attacking it through the sides of Judaism with all the shafts that profane wit could command; there was Porphyry, the pupil of Longinus, with as much sophistry as learning, denying everything, save the operations of nature; and Hierocles bent, like some alchymist at his occult art, upon imitating the gold he could not but admire: there was the superstitious multitude, the interested artisan, the responsible governor, the jealous emperor, each and all to be met in their own way.

'It was likewise a *deadly* struggle: our apologists endured this great fight of affliction, not in the shape of a mere paper war, or platform controversy, the end of which is often only to "gravel" an opponent, but for body and soul, religion and character. It is plain that everything dear to the man and the Christian hung on the issue.

'And once more, it was *protracted*. The controversy was of no temporary nature, nor belonged to one generation alone. The clouds returned after the rain; and "neither sun nor stars in many days appeared." The whole term of persecution is reckoned, not by years but centuries, during which time it may be fairly presumed that every question was raised that was worth an answer.'—Bolton, pp. 7, 8.

After a brief historical account of the writers to be cited, the author observes that, 'while all the apostles and some of the apostolic fathers were born Jews, this was not the case with the apologetic writers. They were one and all Gentile converts, taken, as we should say, indifferently out of every nation;—the apologies themselves are traceable to persecution;—they

were addressed to the *chief enemies of the Gospel*—the Jewish zealots, the Grecian philosophers, and the Roman rulers. These separate observations are simply and lucidly enlarged in the ‘Introduction.’ In seven chapters, the following arguments are fully sustained:—From ANTECEDENT PROBABILITY;—from ANTIQUITY;—from PROPHECY;—from MIRACLES;—from the REASONABLENESS OF THE DOCTRINE;—from SUPERIOR MORALITY;—and from the SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL.

The illustrations of these arguments supply a compendium of proofs on behalf of Christianity, uniting the qualities of rare genius, conscious satisfaction, varied learning, and dignified superiority to the keenest attacks of sophistry and the darkest frowns of power. We cannot too strongly express our sense of Mr. Bolton’s labours, and our hope that a considerable portion of our readers will procure it and study it for themselves.

Dr. Godwin’s ‘Philosophy of Atheism’ contains a course of popular lectures delivered by the venerable author at the Mechanics’ Institute, Bradford, Yorkshire, on Sunday afternoons in the winter of 1852-3. Twenty years ago, Dr. Godwin had broken ground in this controversy in some lectures which he published. At the autumnal meeting of the Congregational Union, held in Bradford in October, 1852, the discussions on secularism led to the giving of public addresses at large meetings of the working classes by the Rev. Andrew Reed, of Norwich, and the Rev. Brewin Grant, of Birmingham. The interest excited by these addresses induced the committee of the Bradford Town Mission and many influential gentlemen of that neighbourhood to urge on Dr. Godwin the repetition of the lectures he had delivered in 1834, which were now out of print, and comparatively unknown. In compliance with the request thus urged upon him, Dr. Godwin took his former lectures as the basis of those contained in the present volume. To as many as know the author we need not say that it is a comprehensive, argumentative, learned, scientific, yet popular and convincing production, one which claims the calm consideration of all parties. We venture to hope it will have a wide circulation, not only among the men of the north, but generally throughout the British empire, and wherever the language of our country is understood.

The four lectures of the Rev. J. Gregory, G. W. Conder, J. A. Savage, and E. Mellor, A.M., at the Athenæum, Thornton, Bradford, are satisfactory proofs of the competency of local ministers to grapple with the opponents of religion in their own vicinity, and afford useful suggestions to younger men, who may be called to similar duties in other places. The themes of the separate lectures are:—‘Christianity weighed in the Balance;’ ‘Thomas Payne; his Life, Times, and Opinions;’ ‘The Rise and

Progress of Christianity;' 'The Origin of the Trinity' (not a happy mode of expression for the *doctrine* of the Trinity); 'The Dark Ages and the Dawn of Mental Light;' and 'Modern Christianity and Secularism Examined and Compared.' Though the lectures were given in the populous clothing district of the West Riding, they are worthy of universal circulation, and we shall be happy if this notice of them contributes to such a result.

Dr. Beecher is the now aged father of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of 'Uncle Tom.' His lectures are prefaced by an introduction from Mr. John Cassell, specially commending them to the 'working classes,' to whom that gentleman has rendered so many invaluable services. The lectures are vigorously conceived, and have a most important bearing on the political interests, primarily of his own country, and to a large extent of ours. He discusses—The Being of a God; Causes of Scepticism; The Perils of Atheism to the Nation; The Attributes and Character of God; The Necessity of a Revelation from God to Man; The Old Testament Favourable to Free and Independent Governments; The Identity of the Old Testament and the New; The Bible a Revelation from God to Man; The Proof of the Reality of Miracles; Objections to the Inspiration of the Bible; Prophecy; The Decrees of God.

'The Bible and the People' is a monthly periodical, conducted in a popular style by the Rev. Brewin Grant, B.A., of Birmingham, now in its fourth year, and specially connected with the editor's mission to the working classes. We commend it to all who interest themselves in the conflict now going on between the Christian and the Secularists, and indeed to all who would be established in the grounds and reasons of their own religious faith.

Mr. Townley's 'Discussion' with Mr. Holyoake, is a calm statement on both sides of the question—'*Is there sufficient proof of the existence of GOD; that is, of a Being distinct from Nature?*' Mr. Townley taking the affirmative, and Mr. Holyoake the negative. Mr. Townley very clearly states the argument from design, and satisfactorily answers Mr. Holyoake's objection—that the designer himself proves a previous design, thus pressing the argument *ad infinitum*—by showing that there is no proof, but the contrary, that the designer of the universe is an *organized* person. The rest of Mr. Holyoake's speeches consist of negative evasions ingeniously and courteously expressed. We sincerely thank Mr. Townley for the intelligence, logic, controversial skill, and characteristic Christian spirit with which he has conducted this discussion. We advise our friends to read it carefully, and to distribute it as widely as they can.

Mr. McAll's 'Logic of Atheism' is a judicious and pleasing

argument, adapted to the young and others, 'who are at once most exposed to these assaults, and the least prepared for them.' Without pretending to novelty, he cautions his readers against imagining that the Christian system is doubtful because it has been disputed, and also against supposing either that scepticism is to be treated as a crime, or that Christians have misgivings respecting their faith, because they are not always so ready as some persons expect, to enter into public debates with unbelievers:—

'It is the impression of some amongst them, that infidelity, however often refuted, will never be silenced, and that new objections will always spring up, after the old ones have been disposed of. Many serious persons question altogether the *utility* of public debate. They believe that changes of opinion ordinarily take place in hours of solitary musing, rather than amidst public and exciting discussions. A party triumph is apt to be coveted in such scenes, rather than the eliciting of truth. Besides, opposition to infidel lecturers tends to increase their audiences, and, generally, swells the funds that go to spread the opinions we are combating. In addition to this, many who are thoroughly satisfied of the truth of Christianity, and are well able to defend it in private, or with the pen, shrink from the platform, fearing that the cause might suffer in their hands through want of the readiness and tact required in public discussion. And when religious men *do* enter into the arena of debate, it must not surprise us if they speak warmly and earnestly. They contend for the existence of Him who, as they sincerely believe, is the best as well as the greatest of beings. They are pained to see the Creator robbed of His glory, and mankind persuaded to throw aside the most inestimable of their treasure. The ignorant generally assume, that in a controversy he who shows scarcely any feeling has the better cause; whereas, it might more justly be said, that the better the cause the more likely the advocate will feel excited in its defence. No debater is so thoroughly cool as the man who is quite indifferent to the interests of humanity and truth. The heartless sophist generally finds it easy to keep down his temper, just as the unprincipled gamester is usually the coolest in play. On the other hand, the sincere lover of truth, and of his fellow man, is deeply pained to see evil put for good, and good set aside to make room for evil. Earnestness in contending for religious truth ought not then to be construed as a proof of weak judgment, but rather of an honest and benevolent heart.'—*Logic of Atheism*, pp. 5, 6.

Having enlarged on these and other cautions in the first chapter, the author proceeds to describe the 'situation of the atheist,'—its boldness,—in relation to his knowledge and habits, to the obviousness of the truth he rejects, to the relation of human society and to nature. He then shows that the author of 'The Logic of Death' (Mr. Holyoake) was all that was ever meant by being an atheist; for he says, "I know nothing besides Nature, and can conceive of nothing *greater*." The atheist agrees

with the theist, in being obliged to admit the existence of the universe, and the existence of something to account for that universe.' (Mr. Holyoake, however, repudiates the obligation to account for anything.) The remainder of the treatise treats of the Argument from Design; the Absurdity of Atheistic Theories; the Bearing of Atheism on Morals, and on Human Happiness. The sincerity and good feeling which pervade the composition, deserve the serious and candid examination of the argument, which has our hearty approval.

Dr. Nelson's 'Cause and Cure of Infidelity,' might not unfairly be described as an odd book, but we have read it with peculiar interest, and have no hesitation in saying that its very oddness adds to its attractiveness, and its practical value. The author appears to have been a medical student in the United States, who became an infidel, but was rescued from infidelity in the manner which he describes. Without any apparent method, or much formal reasoning, he lays before the reader a miscellaneous mass of sensible observations, which are illustrated by facts—chiefly American—of a racy order, and applies the facts with great freshness and pertinency. We believe the book will do an incalculable amount of good.

Of the 'Report of the Discussion' between Mr. Grant and Mr. Holyoake we need say but little. The great advantage to truth and public good lies in the fact that Mr. Grant has effectually silenced the boast of the Secularists that 'The clergy dare not meet them fairly.' The arrangement for the debate was excellent, the question happily chosen, and full justice done to both parties. The personalities probably rendered the meetings more lively than they would have been, though we think that, on such occasions, the speakers would do better to bind each other to avoid them. Mr. Holyoake appeared to advantage from the coolness, subtlety, and air of confessorship which he maintained throughout; and the ingenuity with which he pressed the objections against some isolated texts of Scripture, and some caricatures of Christian belief; but our deliberate judgment, after carefully reading all his speeches in this report, is, that he has entirely failed to make any use in argument of the three positions he makes on behalf of Secularism, or either of the two objections he urges against 'The Atonement' and the 'Example' of Christ.

Mr. Grant appears to advantage from his superiority to his antagonist in knowledge, science, philosophy, and history, as well as of the Scriptures, in his quickness of perception, his fulness of illustration, and his power of unmasking hollow evasions, unraveling plausible fallacies, correcting ignorant and perverse misrepresentations, and pouring out streams of glowing eloquence.

Probably, with opponents of another kind, he might deal less freely in jests and sarcasms; but we have little doubt that he could defend himself on this score against any censure which might occur to lovers of the dignified decorum which we acknowledged to be more consonant with our own taste. On the whole, we cannot but be glad that these same 'Secularists,' as they choose to call themselves, are driven from the avowal of atheism and infidelity, are brought to the trial of practical utility, and exhibited to the public by one who knows them so well, and so fully proves that, even on their own grounds, he is more than a match for their selected champion. We are glad, too, that, instead of being in the disadvantageous position of a system that *seems* to need defence, Christianity is, as at the beginning, the assailant of false notions, and pernicious principles. In every department of labour 'practice makes perfect;' and it was well that a special mission to the working classes of Great Britain was entrusted to a gentleman so likely to illustrate, in his progress, the homely proverb we have quoted. Already he has personally addressed tens of thousands of men in England and Scotland, has stirred up not a few in several localities to follow his example, and has conveyed intelligence, argument, and entertainment to indefinitely large numbers by his periodical publications. We make these observations from a persuasion that the entire procedure to which this reported discussion belongs is looked upon by many thoughtful and excellent Christians with a dislike for which, in our humble judgment, there is not sufficient reason. With them, perhaps, the names of honoured ministers and Christian layman, who have expressed their confidence in Mr. Grant and his mission, have more weight than any argument of ours. However that may be, we feel it to be part of our own 'Mission,' in the present day, to give our best encouragement to a ministry of the Gospel, additional to the pastoral ministry,—addressing itself to the enormous multitudes now beyond the reach of our pastors, and endowed with qualifications such as those which are exemplified in this Report. We have more than once expressed our view of the desirableness of such an advocacy among the more educated classes in the Metropolis and other large cities; and we have it in our mind to keep attention alive to it, convinced, as we are increasingly, of its very great importance. We shall be prepared ere long, we hope, to bring the whole question of Religion and the Working Classes more prominently before the Christian public than has yet been done. In the mean time, we invite a large and generous sympathy with the experiment Mr. Grant is now making. For ourselves, we sincerely rejoice that he is so employed, and wish him all the success he can desire.

We approach, with sorrow, the *last* phase of what Mr. Newman

calls Faith. He speaks in the preface to the SECOND edition of 'hostile reviewers'—'cowardly trick'—'conscious weakness'—'malignant intention;' and throughout the work he represents the practises of Christians from whom he now differs as 'mischievous fraud;' sits in judgment on the *honesty* of our translation; charges those who did not agree with him in views which he has abandoned with 'bigotry' and a want of common sense; describes the 'flagrant dishonesty of divines' who differ from him in their mode of explaining the genealogies of Jesus; talks of the 'insane anathemas against opinions,' kept up by Protestants; refers to ourselves as 'candid for an orthodox critic, and not over orthodox either;' as 'one who cannot help garbling me'—where nothing that could be called 'garbling' has been said, in the words Mr. Newman professes to quote but *alters*. He represents the 'unfairness of ecclesiastical corporations' as 'habitual;' calls some of his critics 'dictatorial and insolent;' refers to one as 'always misrepresenting' him; accuses others of 'carping little short of hypocrisy'—and nicknames the believers in the divine authority of the Scriptures, 'Bibliolaters.' Since Mr. Newman deals thus freely with others, by what patent does he claim exemption from the criticism by which he is so highly irritated? While he passes by reasons which his critics give for *their* conclusions, what argumentative or moral right has he for applying such provoking epithets, for doing, as he says they do, the same thing with *his* conclusions? The man who writes as Mr. Newman does, of others, puts himself beyond the pale of literary delicacy, and vainly imagines that he can convince his readers by the stale device of a pretended martyrdom. That he is very angry is too plain. That he has reason for being so is not to us so clear. Of all the books we have ever read 'The Phases of Faith' exhibits the most painful example of dogmatic positiveness. We question not the truth of his narrative. We look upon it as a psychological curiosity. In this view it is not without interest: even the egotism which identifies his personal vindication of himself with the interests of an immensely greater argument of universal interest, is not without its value as a specimen of human nature in one of its manifold varieties. When he complains of being treated coldly for the 'sole offence' of differing *intellectually* from the parties against whom the complaint is urged, he forgets the insinuation he has just made, that *they* have never deeply and honestly investigated the matter, and are guilty of one of the gravest moral offences. This is something more than an *intellectual* difference.

There are some intellectual characteristics of this strange production which we think can scarcely fail to strike most readers, First; the writer, on his own showing, was in the habit of adopting

the opinions of his teachers simply on *authority*; so that at no time was he ever trained to the wholesome habit of examining the *reasons* by which that authority was believed by those who used it to be supported; from which he appears to draw the not very intelligent conclusion—that all who now hold the same opinions hold them with equal submissiveness to mere authority. As he insists so much on logic we will put his arguments in the form of syllogisms.

(1.) Whatever is held because it is taught authoritatively is false:—I have held sundry opinions concerning religion, for that sole reason: *ergo*—The opinions which I have been holding are false.

(2.) The opinions which I held are false because I received them as authoritatively taught:—Many persons hold the same opinions still: *ergo*—They have held these opinions as I did, merely as authoritatively taught.

In the first syllogism the major proposition is itself false both in theory and in fact; because the thing taught by authority *may* be true independently of authority; and many certain truths have been so taught; so that, however true the *minor* proposition, the conclusion, though it logically follows from the premises, is a false conclusion. The *minor* proposition of the second syllogism has no middle term, for it does not assert that all who hold these opinions hold them *for the reason for which this writer held them*, and therefore they do not come within the same category; so that, besides the falseness of his fundamental proposition, which vitiates a logical conclusion, his second syllogism is illogically constructed and has no logical conclusion at all.

We have nothing to do with the 'compulsory subscription' at Oxford: though we suppose no intelligent and honest mind would subscribe without believing. When Mr. Newman speaks of studying the Scriptures on the Sabbath question 'without bias' (p. 4), he means without being biassed by human authority. For all that he says on 'imputed righteousness,' 'vicarious sacrifice,' 'the Trinity,' 'the second coming of our Lord,' 'Christian evidences,' 'reprobation,' 'eternal punishment,' 'Calvinism,' 'science,' 'morals,' and other topics, we must refer our readers to the article, 'Foxton, Froude, and Newman,' in the 'Eclectic Review,' for November, 1850.

2. Another characteristic of the 'Phases of Faith' is the confidence with which the author represents himself as holding at the time all the opinions which he had embraced on authority. We believe this to be one of the strongholds of popery—an unreasoning adherence to all that the church declares to be true *because* she declares it. The only matter of surprise is, not that Mr. Newman followed the multitude when he was a youth in dreading to question any authorized opinion; but that, after passing

through so many 'phases' of what was no faith at all in his case, in *every stage* of his progress he is as sure that he is right as if he were dealing with primary truths of consciousness or with the demonstrations of abstract science. In one place he says—

'When the period arrived for taking my Bachelor's degree, it was requisite again to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, and I now found myself embarrassed by the question of Infant Baptism. One of the articles contains the following words:—"The baptism of young children is in anywise to be retained, as most agreeable to the institution of Christ." I was unable to conceal from myself that I did not believe this sentence, and I was on the point of refusing to take my degree. I overcame my scruples by considering—1. That concerning this doctrine, I had no active *dis*-belief on which I would take any practical step, as I felt myself too young to make any counter-declaration. 2. That it had no possible practical meaning to me, since I could not be called on to baptize, nor to give a child for baptism. Thus I persuaded myself. Yet I had not an easy conscience; nor can I now defend my compromise; for I believe that my repugnance to infant baptism was really intense, and my conviction that it is unapostolic as strong then as now. The topic of my "youth" was irrelevant; for if I was not too young to subscribe, I was not too young to refuse subscription. The argument, the Article was "unpractical" to me, goes to prove, that if I were ordered by a despot to qualify myself for a place in the Church by solemnly renouncing the first book of Euclid as false, I might do so without any loss of moral dignity. Altogether this humiliating affair showed me what a trap for the conscience these subscriptions are; how comfortably they are passed while the intellect is torpid or immature, or where the conscience is callous; but how they undermine truthfulness in the active thinker, and torture the sensitiveness of the tender minded. As long as they are maintained, in Church or University, these institutions exert a positive influence to deprave or eject those who ought to be their most useful and honoured members.'—p. 9.

Here is an open confession that he went against his conscience, and, instead of repenting of a sin, he coolly lays the blame on the 'subscriptions.' Does he not see the difference between himself and hundreds of dissenters who are excluded from the honours of Oxford because they will not involve themselves in such a 'humiliating affair' as he records? Yet this is the writer who labours to degrade our conceptions of the morality of the Bible!

3. We cannot pass unnoticed Mr. Newman's easy adoption of other men's opinions. There is the 'Irish clergyman' whom he describes so graphically—not to say satirically—and of whom he says, 'In spite of the strong revulsion which I felt against some of the peculiarities of this remarkable man, *I for the first time in my life found myself under the dominion of a superior.*'

(p. 20.) From this clergyman he received the perverse interpretation of the New Testament respecting the 'return of the Lord from heaven,' of which Gibbon had made such ingenious use, and of which Mr. Newman *now* says—'Nothing can be clearer than that the New Testament is *entirely pervaded* by the doctrine, sometimes explicitly stated, sometimes *unceremoniously assumed*; that earthly things are very speedily to come to an end, and *therefore* are not worthy of our high affections and deep interest.'

Under the same influence he resolved to be a missionary to the heathen. Disliking the church, and despising the dissenters, he became inflamed with the 'greatest admiration of Mr. Groves,' who wrote a feeble tract on principles repudiated by the New Testament. The Irish clergyman, we are told, always based his arguments 'on texts aptly quoted and logically enforced:' Mr. Newman does not say, *soundly interpreted*; and of this same logical reasoner he says, that he 'unmercifully exposed erudition to scorn, both by caustic reasoning and by *irrefragable* quotations of scripture.'

4. When separated from his 'superior,' he proceeds to study the Gospel *without bias*—the bias of a *superior*, we suppose;—for we do not impute to Mr. Newman the arrogance of professing freedom from all bias, and we see plainly that there *was* a bias. The effect of freedom from this bias was to get rid of *all* the opinions with which his Irish friend had imbued him. Because he does not find others ready to follow him in these changes, he speaks of their 'hunting him out unscrupulously,' and he lays the blame of the 'unlovely conduct' of his former years on the creed. He contrasts the 'sweetness of mind, largeness of charity, and timid devoutness' of the first Unitarian whose acquaintance he formed, with the *hatred* of his evangelical persecutors; and tells us that he gained much 'fresh insight into a part of his own mind,' and that part was '*a deeper distaste for the details of the human life of Christ* than he was previously conscious of.'

5. Having submitted all his life to human authority in religious belief, the author no sooner discovered this error than he rushes into the opposite extreme and refuses to receive any spiritual truth on any authority, and, of course 'without bias,' demolishes, in his own opinion, the whole fabric of the authority of the Bible either as authentic history, or as inspired teaching. His method of effecting this imagined destruction is not particularly ingenious, nor in any respect original. Without any *apparent* knowledge of explanations given by sound scholars, upright men, he sweeps away from *his own mind* all that they believed, and *gave reasons* for believing, in numerous portions of sacred history; sets up

his own opinion of the Old Testament prophecies against the judgment of Jesus and the apostles; agrees with his lamented friend, John Stirling, on the 'almost ludicrous arguments of orthodox divines,' stupidly or maliciously misrepresented; hastily adopts one of several theories respecting the demoniacs; follows sometimes Dr. Arnold, sometimes De Wette, sometimes Strauss, in opinions on the Bible—which we see no proof of having been *compared with other judgments*; and, professing to abandon all authority, especially the authority of our sacred books, betakes himself to logic. His logic is not *genuine*. He argues only *à priori*, and, having once made up his mind—on insufficient *data*—about his major proposition, marches on most triumphantly, as he thinks, to conclusions which are in opposition to *à posteriori* evidence. Instead of first demonstrating the inadequacy of the historical evidence for the authority of scripture, and then rejecting its teaching, he fancies that he has demolished its teaching, and then infers from his faith in his own success, that its authority is overturned.

6. All the while, it is only *his own crudely-adopted opinions* that he demolishes; yet he seems quite innocent of any apprehension that the very same opinions—we do not mean all, but some—may be intelligently held by other minds as free as his own, to say the least, for reasons which can be, because they have been, rendered. Mr. Newman does not intend merely to show that, as matter-of-fact, the process described in this volume really happened: he intends that his readers shall adopt his conclusions without passing through the same process; imagining that a mind so susceptible at one stage to the most blind submission to others,—so *morally* infirm, at another stage, in subscribing what it inwardly rejects without afterwards repenting, and then so self-relying on what it calls its freedom from *bias* and its irrefragable logic—will be accepted as a safe guide to others. We grieve to think that the offered guidance will be accepted by those whose defective culture exposes them to the danger of following implicitly a guide whose antecedents have the delusive appearance of having qualified him to be a leader of the young. It is not for us to question Mr. Newman's sincerity. We do not question it. We have no animosity to gratify in dealing plainly with his book. We are prepared for such notices as he has given of our 'candid and not over orthodox' criticism. We have not the slightest apprehension of his shaking the 'faith' of any who have been taught—as he unhappily was not—*why* they believe; but to those whose religious training has in this respect been neglected, we see in this volume a tissue of the most deplorably mischievous suggestions. The most distressing part of it is the new chapter 'On the Moral Perfection of Jesus.' Painful passages enough

may be found in previous chapters tending towards the result here boldly avowed and vindicated. Notwithstanding Mr. Newman's premonitory warning about giving 'unspeakable pain,' and the peculiar form of his remarks as belonging to an *argumentum ad hominem* answer to some strictures by Mr. James Martineau, as well as his prediction that 'hostile reviewers will endeavour, as before, to excite prejudice against me, by picking out wrong *conclusions*, and carefully stripping off every *reason* which I assign, as well as every qualifying and softening addition,'—a proceeding which he attributes to 'a malignant intention,'—we mean to adopt our own course, against which he has no right to complain, in giving our readers our judgment on this chapter, in which, whatever may be said of his reasons, we do not 'pretend anything,' but leave others to judge whether the author or the reviewer be guilty of what he calls outraging the readers. If Mr. Newman thinks, as of course he does, that he has sufficient reasons for what he advances on the moral character of Jesus, we have no interest in suppressing them; but we must be permitted to say that we cannot forget the preparations which his mind has been undergoing for allowing any weight to these reasons; nor can we be blind to the *animus*—having nothing to do with merely intellectual judgments—which breathes throughout his seventh chapter. Adhering to the errors which he learned in Ireland as to the meaning of certain precepts of the New Testament, he not only denies the 'absolute perfection of Jesus,' but distinctly charges him with puerility, injustice, folly, dishonesty, blundering self-sufficiency, affectation, mystical assumption, vain and vacillating pretension, fanaticism, mischievousness, moral unsoundness, egregious vanity, committing a breach of the peace, exasperating his enemies for the purpose of provoking them to commit a crime, and falling 'far below vast numbers of his unhonoured disciples.' Mr. Newman cannot deny that such are his 'conclusions.' He does not say that they are *merely* logical deductions from the Gospels, but gives the impression—we should be happy to know that it is not a correct one—that *such is his estimate of the character of Jesus*. He knows that it differs entirely from the estimate of that character entertained by evangelists, apostles, and by the professors of the Christian faith, by Mohammedans, and by not a few who profess no religious faith whatever. But he says, 'Give my reasons.' Here they are. His reasons are, *first*, the necessarily finite moral excellence of man as a creature; *second*, Jesus always called himself the Son of Man, and by so doing, claimed for himself 'the throne of judgment over all mankind,' spoken of by the prophet Daniel; *third*, that he 'enunciated as a primary duty of men to learn submissively of his wisdom, and acknowledge his

supremacy; *fourth*, to give such a teacher is a deviation from God's ordinary course; *fifth*, we have no criterion for establishing the absolute wisdom of such a teacher; *sixth*, there is no genuine and trustworthy account of his teaching; *seventh*, if we must judge of the claims of Jesus to be the Son of God, we cannot abandon free thought on his teaching and acting; *eighth*, the general conduct and discourses of Jesus exhibit all the evil properties attributed to his character. No one understands better than Mr. Newman that to *sift* these proffered reasons is beyond the province of a brief review, and we hope he will admit that we have 'some conscience' to keep us from purposely mistaking them, or weakening their force, in this necessarily brief epitome of them. Granting that his opinion of the character of Jesus—if it be his opinion—logically follows from judgments previously formed, how is it that no intellectual intimation is given that there is *another side* to that character, no expression of admiration, or confidence, or sympathy, for what is good, no indication of the possibility of honestly drawing other conclusions, no doubt as to the probable unsoundness of the theory which rejects all the views of Jesus which are expressed by Paul and Peter, and James and John in their epistles? *Could* an avowed enemy of Jesus—*did* his most malignant adversaries—say stronger things against him? If Mr. Newman really believes that this determination to support his previous insinuation against the 'Moral Perfection of Jesus,' this silencing of all the evidence on one side, and twisting to his purpose the facts which the common sense of mankind, whether highly educated or not, have always understood in a different sense,—all we can say is, that we must have other proofs of his qualifications as a critic before we can, for a moment, think of accepting his decisions, or attaching any importance to what he calls his 'reasons.' As to the 'qualifying and softening additions,' of which he makes mention in his preface, all we can say is that we have looked for them, but cannot find them. The author, as we have said, is not charged by us with any one of the evil qualities which he ascribes so pointedly to the great body of Christians, and even to him whom we adore as our Teacher and Lord. But, in all good faith, we ask him whether he considers it just to the English public to give the sanction of his recognised position to the propagation of such outrageous attacks on all that is held sacred by every body of religionists, whether Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish, as those in which his recent publications abound? Is it fair, honourable, manly, consistent with the implied contract on which University College is based, to retain a position which adds to the weight of his character, attainments, and abilities, while he deems it his duty to inoculate the nascent mind of England with what he

knows to be in the highest degree offensive to the best feelings of the best men?

Having no personal acquaintance with Mr. Newman, we are using the freedom without which our functions would be a farce, in making an appeal to which we know what answer we should give ourselves.

In this third edition of the 'Phases,' Mr. Newman has added a chapter in 'Reply' to the 'Eclipse of Faith.' Our estimate of that work has been given, and repeated on the appearance of a second edition. We therefore read, with some curiosity, Mr. Newman's 'Reply.' In answer to that 'Reply,' the able author has published a defence, which supersedes the strictures we had prepared. Our readers will, probably, be more edified by some account of the 'Defence' than by our criticisms on the 'Reply;' and as we have not space for both, we make our selection on that principle.

Mr. Newman complains of the writer's flippant tone in the 'Eclipse'—his puerile and self-condemning plan of fictitious dialogue—his venting his own opinions in the name of Harrington—caricaturing Mr. Newman in the person of Mr. Fellowes—his application to Mr. Newman of the term 'infidel'—his 'systematic, continuous, and stealthy misrepresentation'—gross garbling—and of entertaining the notion that God has no consistent or trustworthy moral character. He describes him as 'one, who wraps a Pagan heart in a Christian veil; who scowls down and mocks at other men's piety; who constructs sophistical arguments, to leave them no alternative between his own paganism, which is to them detestable, and an atheism, which they deprecate indeed, but feel to be preferable to degrading heart-hardening devil-worship; and as one who, after the outward washing of Christian baptism, has gone back into the mire of Pagan demonry, and to this Pagan demon-worship.'

Mr. Newman decidedly recommends diet to the soul, *not* exercise to the intellect. 'Let him cast away scorn and self-sufficiency; let him cultivate a little more of that charity which he calls 'bastard;' let him not think that questions which pertain to God are advanced by boisterous glee, and facetious scoffs, and personal antagonisms; let him chatter less and watch over his own heart more; let him cherish more truthfulness and directness, and much more tenderness of conscience.'

Now how does this facetious Pagan devil-worshipper take these gentle admonitions from his spiritual censor? Our question is answered in one of the most masterly refutations of every personal charge, most thorough exposures of incoherent speculation, and most triumphant vindications of the Gospel against its modern assailants in English literature. When it so pleases

him, the author is as facetious as ever, yet without substituting jests for arguments, or witty allusions for serious appeals. His criticism is keen, logical, destructive. His moral indignation is gravely, but not bitterly, expressed. His ridicule is positively withering. His devout feeling is calmly, moderately, yet freely uttered. His general views of the great questions touched in this controversy are comprehensive; while, at the same time, his analysis of his opponent's reasonings and statements is pursued to the utmost extent of minute examination. His style is pungent in satire, rigid in argument, playful when dealing with the ludicrous, refined at repartee, and masculine in serious discussion. With much of Mr. Newman's classic elegance, he soars immeasurably beyond him in grasp of intellect and power of reasoning. In rebuke he is terrible, by reason of the moral vitality and religious earnestness with which he writes. We do not hesitate to say that he has utterly demolished his antagonist. From such a work it is not easy to make extracts, but we must make room for the following:—

‘And now, what, after all, does all the carping criticism of this chapter amount to? Little as it is in itself, it absolutely vanishes,—it is felt that the Christ here portrayed *cannot* be the right interpretation of the history, in the face of all those glorious scenes with which the evangelical narrative abounds, but of which there is here an entire oblivion. But Humanity will not forget them; men still “wonder at the gracious words which proceeded out of Christ's mouth,” and persist in saying, “Never man spake like this man.” The brightness of the brightest names pales and wanes before the radiance which shines from the person of Christ. The scenes at the tomb of Lazarus, at the gate of Nain, in the happy family at Bethany, in the “upper room,” where He instituted the beautiful feast, which should for ever consecrate His memory, and bequeathed to His disciples the legacy of His love: the scenes of the Garden of Gethsemane, on the summit of Calvary, and at the sepulchre; the sweet remembrance of the patience with which He bore wrong, the gentleness with which He rebuked, and the love with which He forgave it; the thousand acts of His benign condescension, by which He well earned for Himself, from self-righteous pride and hypocrisy, the name of “the friend of publicans and sinners;”—these and a hundred things more, which crowd those concise memorials of love and sorrow with such prodigality of beauty and of pathos, will still continue to charm and attract the soul of humanity, and on these the highest genius, as well as the humblest mediocrity, will love to dwell. These things lisp infancy loves to hear on its mother's knees, and over them age, with its grey locks, bends in devoutest reverence. No; before the infidel can prevent the influence of these compositions, he must get rid of the gospels themselves, or he must supplant them by fictions! Ah! what bitter irony has involuntarily escaped me! But if the last be impossible, at least the gospels must cease to exist before infidelity can succeed. Yes, before infidels can

prevent men from thinking as they ever have done of Christ, they must blot out the gentle words with which, in the presence of austere hypocrisy, the Saviour welcomed that timid guilt that could only express its silent love in agony of tears;—they must blot out the words addressed to the dying penitent, who, softened by the majestic patience of the mighty Sufferer, detected at last the Monarch under the veil of sorrow, and cast an imploring glance to be “remembered by Him when He came into His Kingdom;”—they must blot out the scene in which the demoniacs—or the maniacs, if the infidel will, for it does not help him—sat listening at His feet, and “in their right mind;”—they must blot out the remembrance of the tears which He shed at the grave of Lazarus, not surely for him whom He was about to raise, but in pure sympathy with the sorrows of humanity, for the myriad myriads of desolate mourners, who could not, with Mary, fly to Him and say, “Lord, if Thou hadst been here, my mother, brother, sister, had not died;”—they must blot out the record of those miracles which charm us, not only as the proofs of His mission, and guarantees of the truth of His doctrine, but as they illustrate the benevolence of His character, and are types of the spiritual cures His gospel can yet perform;—they must blot out the scenes of the sepulchre, where love and veneration lingered, and saw what was never seen before, but shall henceforth be seen to the end of time,—the tomb itself irradiated with angelic forms, and bright with the presence of Him “who brought life and immortality to light;”—they must blot out the scene where deep and grateful love wept so passionately, and found Him unbidden at her side,—type of ten thousand times ten thousand, who have “sought the grave to weep there,” and found joy and consolation in Him “whom, though unseen, they loved;”—they must blot out the discourses in which He took leave of His disciples, the majestic accents of which have filled so many departing souls with patience and with triumph;—they must blot out the yet sublimer words in which He declares Himself “the Resurrection and the Life,”—words which have led so many millions more to breathe out their spirits with child-like trust, and to believe, as the gate of death closed behind them, they would see Him who is “invested with the keys of the invisible world,”—“who opens and no man shuts, and shuts and no man opens,” letting in through the portal which leads to immortality the radiance of the skies;—they must blot out, they must destroy, these and a thousand other such things, before they can prevent Him from having the pre-eminence, who loved, because He loved us, to call Himself the “Son of Man,” though angels called Him the “Son of God.”

‘It is in vain to tell men it is an illusion. If it be an illusion, every variety of experiment proves it to be inveterate, and will not be dissipated by a million of Strausses and Newmans! *Probatum est.* At his feet guilty humanity, of diverse races and nations, for eighteen hundred years has come to pour forth, in faith and love, its sorrows, and finds there “the peace which the world can neither give nor take away.” Myriads of aching heads and weary hearts have found and will find repose there, and have invested Him with veneration, love, and gratitude, which will never, never be paid to any other name than His.’—pp. 142-144.

ART. VIII.—*Die Caucasische Militärstrasse, &c.* (The Caucasian Military Road, the Kuban, and the Peninsula of Taman; Reminiscences of a Journey from Tiflis to Crimea). By Professor Dr. Charles Koch. Leipzig: Frederic Fleischer. 1851.

2. *Reise nach dem Caucasischen Isthmus fut.* (Journey to the Caucasian Isthmus in the Years 1836-1838.) By Dr. Charles Koch. Stuttgart. 1853.

3. *Russland und die Tscherkessen.* (Russia and the Circassians). By Dr. Charles F. Neumann. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta. 1840.

4. *The Caucasus.* By Ivan Golovin. London: Trübner and Co. 1854.

THE war between Turkey and Russia directs once more the attention of Western Europe to the Caucasus, and to the nations which inhabit the country around that mountain range. Ivan Golovin's publication could not, therefore, appear more opportunely. The author is a Russian exile of high connexions, the son of a Russian general who has served in the Caucasus. His volume contains valuable information about the native inhabitants of the Russian dominions between the Euxine and the Caspian, and many important facts on Shamyl and the wars of the mountaineers with Russia. As he is a foreigner, we make, with pleasure, some allowance for the abruptness of his style, and the incomplete form of his publication. Dr. Koch, the Bavarian naturalist, gives us some very interesting hints about the social condition of the Caucasian nations; whilst Dr. Charles Neumann, the celebrated ethnographer, of Munich, has collected all the information of ancient medieval and modern authors up to the year of the publication of his compilation in an agreeable and amusing volume.

The actual features of the Isthmus between the Euxine and the Caspian explain all the ethnographical peculiarities of that country. The Caucasus is an extensive steep and high mountain range, with many towering peaks covered by eternal snow. Dividing the plains of Northern Russia from the undulating country of Georgia, it runs from sea to sea in a south-easterly direction like a continuous wall, interrupted only in its very centre by the narrow pass of Dariel, celebrated in history and tradition as the Caucasian Gate. Many deep ravines and torrents intersect the mountains, and divide the fertile plateaux from one another, where elms, oaks, fruit-trees, encircled by luxuriant vine, grow freely, whilst the industry of the inhabitants produces chiefly Indian corn and millet for food, and raises a considerable quantity of cattle.

These deep ravines, steep mountain peaks, and lovely dales, bound by rocks, are a great hindrance to the social and commercial intercourse of the mountaineers. They necessitate a life of seclusion for every dale and plateau, and prevent the tribes from becoming a compact nation. But this seclusion has maintained likewise the liberty, independence, and peculiarities of tribe-government, with all those hereditary feuds and border forays with which we meet wherever the strong bond of common nationality are not acknowledged. No country on earth, of an equal extent, contains, therefore, so many nationalities and idioms as the country between the Black Sea and the Caspian. 'Every tribe in the Caucasus,' says Bestusheff, 'has its own way of carrying on war; its own manners and customs; its own prejudices and its own enjoyments.' Seclusion maintains ignorance, rudeness, and traditional peculiarities, whilst at the same time it promotes the feelings of independence and love of liberty. Even kindred tribes and idioms become, in the course of centuries, foreign to one another by want of intercommunication. Such was the condition of the Caucasus in the times of the Roman empire; such it is now. Strabo relates that, according to the Greek seafarer, Timosthenes, there were three hundred tribes all different in language and manners, who used to come down to the mart of Dioscurias (now Iskuri in Mingrelia), to exchange their products for Greek commodities, and especially for salt, of which they were in great need. Though Strabo doubts the accuracy of so exaggerated a statement, still he believes that there were about seventy different nationalities occasionally visiting the place. And this statement seems not to be overdrawn, for even now, we are informed, by Russian authors and German travellers, that the inhabitants of one valley often do not understand their nearest neighbours on the adjacent plateau, and that it is nearly impossible to find out all the different dialects and languages of the people, though there is one language by which all the tribes can communicate, since they all understand, more or less, the Tartar or rather Turkoman language, the mother of the Turkish—that tongue which is understood all over Central Asia, from the eastern shores of the Adriatic to the sources of the Yellow and Blue rivers in China.

We are accustomed in Europe to designate all the mountaineers of the Caucasus by the name of Circassians; but this is not correct. Only the Adighe tribes, the most handsome of the Caucasians, an aristocratic princely people, who inhabit the eastern slopes of the Caucasus, from the north-eastern edge of the Black Sea to the Upper Kuban, and to the sources of the Kuma, are called 'Tsherkess' by their neighbours. They have all made their peace with the Russians; they acknowledge the supremacy of the Czar; the sons of their nobles serve in the Muscovite

army, and form a most picturesque corps of horsemen, clad in coats of mail, and in the native costume of the Caucasus. We have seen them at the second battle of Waitzen, in Hungary, where they could not resist the impetuous charge of the Hungarian hussars. Their manners are aristocratical, and the ranks of society among them are distinguished by their attire. The numerous princes wear red boots, the noblemen yellow ones, the peasants, a less well-shaped class than the aristocracy, black shoes. As the nearest neighbours of the Russians, they visit the Russian forts for the peaceable exchange of their products, and this commerce has resulted in diminishing hatred between the two nations. The Adighe princes, therefore, soon submitted to the Czar, though they are not reliable subjects; whenever one of them feels offended by a Cossack or Russian officer, he goes over to the independent tribes. On the whole, their contact with the Russians has not been beneficial to the Circassians. Dr. Koch, the German naturalist, says:

‘Circassian princes and noblemen learned, by a more intimate acquaintance with the Russian lords, that the lower classes in Russia are slaves. Cunning as they are, they immediately made use of this knowledge, and not only took formal possession of the soil of their territory, but likewise pretended that they had a right of property in the Circassian peasant who had settled on their domains.’

‘Serfage, which formerly had never existed in the Caucasus, unfortunately now prevails there. Thus Russia has enriched the native princes at the expense of the people; and in the belief that she had secured the devotion of the former, she has lost the sympathy of the bulk of the population.’—Vol. i. p. 352.

The neighbours of the Circassians, on the western slope of the Caucasus, in the narrow angle between the Black Sea and the mountains, are the Usbichs and Dshigetes, who form the Shapsugh confederacy. They continue the war with Russia, and though they have been cut off from communication with the Black Sea by a chain of Russian forts, they do not submit to the Czar. These forts watch the country, but cannot keep it in subjection. No Muscovite dares to leave the fort after sunset, and the troops must always move in large columns lest they be cut off by hostile mountaineers. The tribes of the Shapsugh confederacy are republican; they could not be induced to acknowledge a common chief, since they fear he might be bribed by Russia to sell the independence of their country. Next to them we find the numerous tribes of the Avgasses, or Abhasians, on both slopes of the Caucasus, on the Black Sea, and on the sources of the Kuban and Kuma. Their sixteen dialects are all of the Adighe stock; they always have lived under monarchical forms; and of all the mountaineers they are the most peaceable and sub-

missive to Russia. The Ingushes, Tshetshenes, and Karabulaks inhabit the steep fastnesses above the gates of the Caucasus, their territory being bounded by the river Sunja and the lesser Kabarda. They speak kindred dialects, and are united for carrying on a war of depredation against the encroaching Russians. Often defeated, they always rise again; and are never disheartened by the destruction of their farms and fields. The Ossetes, likewise inhabitants of the Northern Caucasus, but friendly to the Russians, call themselves Iranians, and are taken by German authors for the descendants of the Teutonic people of the Alans, whilst the Russians derive them from the Slavonic Jazyks, and the Hungarians recognise in them their kin, the Jass. Their language, divided into different dialects, is, of course, neither Teutonic, nor Hungarian, nor Slavonic, but belongs to the Medopersian family. The Suans are a Georgian race, but, because living in the mountains, less cultivated than their brethren in the plain.

Daghestan, the great triangle between the Southern Caucasus and the Caspian, has been, since 1830, the principal seat of the Circassian war. The inhabitants of that mountainous but fertile country are Lesghians, who acknowledge the supremacy of Shamyl Bey, and defy the armies of the Czar. In a war of twenty-four years he has not been able, either by arms or bribes, to subject this people, though their number does not exceed 400,000. Less handsome in their features, and less picturesque in their attire, they are superior to the Circassians by their intrepidity, love of liberty, and industry. They are all freemen; the only slaves among them are the prisoners of war.

Besides the mountaineers we find many different nationalities on the neck of land bound by the two seas. Turkoman tribes, Kumyks, and Nogai Tartars, pitch their tents on the rivers Kuma and Terek, and till the soil on the river Kuban. A colony of fireworshippers has settled at Baku, around the naphtha springs and natural gaz-jets of the Caspian Peninsula Apsharon. Again, a few German villages were built, in 1818, by Suabian emigrants, in the neighbourhood of Tiflis, at the time when enthusiasm for Russia was universal, and it was believed the country of liberty and prosperity. Portuguese Jews, and some Karaites, who do not acknowledge the Talmud, are to be met with at all the markets of Transcaucasia. A considerable number of Armenians dwell on the southern highland at the foot of Ararat. They mostly emigrated thither after the treaty of Gulistan, in 1827, which stipulated for those who feared to be punished for the attachment which they had shown to the Russians during the war, that they should be free to depart from the dominions of the Shah. Many other Armenians, who were not compro-

mised, followed them, allured by Russian promises, and the emigration amounted to 30,000 families. But the Russians failed to fulfil their pledges, the principal of which was a national Armenian administration; and this nation, therefore, like the Jews, continue to be a wandering people on earth, without a home, their country being divided, like Poland, between three powers. Those who remain in the land of their fathers and its neighbourhood, around Ararat, are the most wretched of all; for in the cities of Persia and Turkey the Armenians belong to the moneyed classes,—they are the bankers of the East.

The greatest portion of the inhabitants of the Caucasian Isthmus belong to the Grusian, or, as it is likewise called, Georgian race, which is divided into four distinct portions: the Grusians, the Mingrelians, the Imeritians, and the Suanes. The Suanes only, who live in the mountains, are pagans; the other three kindred nations are, from times of old, Christians of the Armenian Church. The kingdom of Gurriel, or Grusia, retained its independence, though lying between the great Mussulman empires of Turkey and Persia, up to the beginning of the present century. But when it came into contact with Russia, the 'orthodox' Czar proved more encroaching than the Sunnite Sultan and Shiite Shah. Heraclius, the King of Gurriel or Georgia (the Jorjan of the Orientals) put his kingdom under the protection of the Emperor Paul, in order to obtain assistance against the Lesghians and Persians, and the 'magnanimous Czar, Alexander, who never aimed at territorial aggrandizement,' prevailed on the idiotic king, George XIII., to deliver up his kingdom, which, in 1802, was proclaimed to be a province of Russia. Annexation in these countries is of more ancient date than in America. The King of Imeritia, Alexander, and the King of Kachetia or Mingrelia, Alexander II., took, already in 1650, the oath of allegiance to the Muscovite Czar, but the descendants of these princes retained a shadow of sovereignty until the disinterested Czar, Alexander, declared likewise Imeritia and Mingrelia to be Russian provinces in the beginning of our century, and united them to Georgia under the title of 'the Transcaucasian government.' The families of the sovereigns of these kingdoms were all transferred to St. Petersburg, to augment the number of the countless princes of the Russian empire. Society pays them royal honours by courtesy, but they have no other privileges than those of all the noblemen of Russia.

The Georgians, Mingrelians, and Imeritians, are a handsome but indolent and apathetic race; and the sovereignty of Russia has not in any way improved their condition. Their aristocracy spend their income at Tiflis now, at the court of the Russian Commander-in-Chief, whilst it formerly was at the

court of their native king. This is all the difference between their former and present condition, since, except the great military road from Tiflis to Mosdok, through the gates of the Caucasus, no works of public utility have been built here, no culture of any new staple-article for commerce has been introduced. It is only the Kachetian wine which finds now more customers than before by the increased demand of the many army officers who carry on the war against the Tshetshenes, Lesghians, and Shapsughes. The energies of the native population have not been roused by the Muscovite government; the Russian has no propensity for colonization, and does not disturb the natives. But even if he had the restless temper of the Anglo-Celt, the institution of serfage which binds the great bulk of the nation to the soil, would prevent the extension of the empire by the migration of the inhabitants. All the conquests of Russia are, therefore, political conquests by the sword of her army, or by the cunning of her diplomacy; her history has not to record peaceable conquests by the plough. Transcaucasia, for half a century under the direct sway of the Czar, has not been transformed into a New Russia; the inhabitants have all remained what they were, their commerce and industry have not increased beyond the average growth before the incorporation: the Armenians regret their rash immigration to Russia, though a quarter of a century might have repaired their losses, and befriended them to the government, to which they had originally been attached by sympathy, and the mountaineers have not yet been either conciliated or crushed.

The only colonization familiar to the Russians is a military and penal colonization. The Caucasus was to be watched and its inhabitants to be fought, and the Cossacks of the Don, the Volga, and Lesser Russia were therefore forced to settle in its neighbourhood in military colonies. A chain of forts has been built around the mountains, and peopled by Cossacks and by political offenders, whose crimes were not serious enough for Siberia. In 1831 the nobility of the Ukraine had raised and equipped, at its own expense, four Cossack regiments for the war of the Czar against Polish independence. Two of these regiments were in 1833 transferred to the Caucasus, and settled there as Cossacks of the line; thus they have been transformed into forced colonists from temporary soldiers. According to the valuable facts and figures of Golovin, there are about 40,000 Cossacks in Caucasia, one-sixth of whom are in active service. This is a small number, if we consider that it was Peter the Great who established the first five Cossack military stations along the Terek. Russian colonization is, until now, of no importance for the historian of the progress of human civilization.

But why is it then, that the Czar is so intensely bent upon the

subjection of these wild mountaineers, and that he spends more treasures on the Caucasian war in ten years than all the province of Transcaucasia could repay in a century? We find the answer in the official description of Transcaucasia. 'The value of the provinces beyond the Caucasus,' thus runs the official report, 'does not consist in their extension, but in their climate, the nature of the soil, and their *geographical position*. A deep political interest is connected with the occupation of that country, and with the safety of communication with the other provinces.' Of course it is the only high road for Russian armies to Persia and to Asiatic Turkey, to the plateau of Kurdistan, which is the key to both the great Mussulman empires of Turkey and Persia. Whoever is the master of these elevated regions, is virtually the master of Asia Minor and Azerbaijan; and since the plans of Russia are not those of internal development, but of continuous extension and conquest, her desires do not stop even with Asia Minor and with Azerbaijan. Well, therefore, may the Czar exert all the resources of his empire, to keep open the gates which leading to those countries, which from time immemorial, have been regarded as the garden of the world.

We do not deny that the mountaineers of the Caucasus have predatory habits;—that, like all primitive people, they do not know an intermediate state between war and amity. All the foreigners, therefore, with whom no amity has been made are regarded as enemies, with whom the mountaineers are in a state of hostility. But the horrors of this primitive state are considerably softened by the habits of hospitality, which have become a sacred institution. Any kindness shown to the Circassian is rewarded by an adoption into the nation, and every guest is invested with a sacred character; his host pledges himself for his safety. The Circassian dwellings are isolated like the cottages of the Anglo-Saxons; everybody builds his hut on his property, where he finds it most convenient, the houses therefore do not stand close to each other, nor do they form streets. A Circassian farm consists in several small cottages of clay or freestone, thatched with straw. The best of these buildings forms the centre, and is called the house of the guest, destined beforehand for the foreigner; round it are the dwellings of his master, his wives, children, and servants; about thirty persons belong on an average to a farm. When guests arrive, the host always places them round the table, but whatever be his own rank, even if far superior to that of his guests, he never sits down, and remains at a respectful distance, anxious to anticipate the wishes of his friends. There is no instance of a Circassian having violated the rights of hospitality, yet whoever comes into their country, without having secured a host, and by him the amity of

the tribe, becomes a slave (Neumann, p. 123). This is the fate of all the Russian deserters; the Poles are better treated. As soon as it is ascertained that they are really Poles, they become guests.

With the Circassians, slavery does not imply social degradation. No stain is attached to a freed man, he becomes an equal to all the free. The father, as with the Romans, is the uncontrolled master of his children; he may sell them into Turkish slavery. No young man or girl regards it a great misfortune to be sold, for they know that the slave in Turkey becomes a member of the family, and, if distinguished by talents, may rise to the highest posts in the Ottoman empire. Half of the present ministers of the Sultan, and both his brothers-in-law, have been originally slaves. As to the girls, they know that the Sultan is the son and the husband of a Circassian slave. This is the reason why many of this people—so jealous of their independence—themselves give their assent to be sold as slaves to the haughty Turk or to the effeminate Persian.

Boys are seldom brought up in the house of their parents; all the tribe has a right to their training. Whoever of the nation feels himself able to bestow education in the Circassian manner, may claim to be the fosterfather of a child, and to take it to his home. Should more than one warrior announce this intention, then umpires are named who have to decide how long each of the claimants is to have the superintendence of the boy. It happens even that such fosterfathers abduct their pupils, if they cannot get them by fair means; and provided that the abductor be of known bravery, such a deed is not punished in the mountains. The parents have no right to decline offers of education; therefore they immediately after the birth of a boy name from among their friends or kin a fosterfather for him, who selects one or more nurses for the child. From that moment the parents have lost the right of arranging for the training of their son; and it is taken as an evidence of weakness if the father utters even the wish of seeing his child.

Education consists with the Circassian in the development of bodily strength and skill:—

‘The stripling is taught to fight, to manage wild horses, to wrestle, and to shoot with the bow, pistol, and musket. He is taught how to behave at incursions in the country of the enemy and in stealing; he learns to endure hunger, thirst, and harassing marches. Great care is likewise bestowed on the development of their poetical and oratorical powers, in order to get influence at the popular meetings. This kind of training was so highly prized that, according to the Mohammedan authors, the khans and grandees of Crimea often sent their sons to the Caucasus to be brought up by Circassians. When the education is finished, the young man is brought in triumph to the house of his

parents by the fosterfather, who is remunerated by the family according to the attainments of the pupil, and remains for ever a friend and relative. The son belongs now again to the father and mother. Adoption is likewise often resorted to in Circassia. In such cases, the person to be adopted, whether a stranger or foreigner, touches the breast of his future mother with his lips, and gives some presents to the family. Thus even the foreigner gets all the rights and privileges of the Circassian; he can marry a daughter of the country, and take part in the deliberations of the tribe.'—Neumann, p. 114.

Another noble feature of the Circassian is his respect for women. They enjoy more liberty and greater honours than anywhere else in the East:—

'The wives and the daughters of the princes and noblemen are present at the public meetings, where the policy of the country is discussed. When a horseman meets with a female on a footpath, he vaults from the horse and offers her to mount it. Should she refuse, he is bound by custom to accompany her on foot as far as their way is the same. The women never abuse their freedom; their modesty and chastity is acknowledged by friend and foe; they are industrious, and have to do all the in-door work of the household.'—Neumann, p. 115.

As to the industrious habits of the mountaineers, we quote Golovin:—

'Gardens are very numerous, and rich in a variety of fruit-trees. Those orchards formed in artificial terraces on the rocks are an evidence of the extraordinary perseverance of the inhabitants, for the earth has often to be brought from a great distance on the backs of asses. One sees narrow enclosures rising one above the other like so many steps. . . . Canals are numerous for irrigation; many of them extend to two and more miles, and the water of them is raised by water-wheels to the higher grounds.'—p. 161.

But all these good qualities of the Circassians do not impress deeply the mind of the Russian poets and novelists, who, almost without exception, observe only the dark side of the character of the mountaineers, to whom they apply the words of Byron:

'Sad as the accents of lovers' farewell

Are the deeds which they do and the tales which they tell.'

Indeed, hereditary vengeance, as Golovin remarks, is one of the most striking features in the Caucasus:—

'Certain families in Daghestan have, from time almost immemorial, been engaged in a deadly struggle for mutual destruction. An offence or treason is visited with vengeance, and that retaliation, which is punished in its turn, superinduces a series of cruelties perpetrated successively by both parties.

'The Russian government has as yet done nothing to repress that destructive propensity; on the contrary, it has turned it to its own advantage; for those who are offended apply to it for the destruction of their enemies. A Russian captain, who commanded the district Wel-

kent, on the road from Derbend to Kisliar, lent, in 1836, his residence to the princes of the family of Kaitach, for their mutual slaughter. The vestiges of the fight are still shown in a small room where it took place, and where thirteen persons were murdered. Elder-Bey, it is said, had repudiated a woman, and her brothers swore to avenge the deed. Moreover, Cetz-Bey, of Kaitach, had been exiled to Siberia, through the accusations of an uncle of his, who had been killed by his brother, so that it was retaliation or thirst for vengeance that led to one of the most extraordinary massacres on record.

‘However, money or cattle is accepted as compensation on many occasions. Sometimes, in order to restore peace between two families, children are transferred, in order to equalize the number of victims on both sides, and those children are wantonly and unmercifully murdered.

‘Shamyl has done everything in his power to uproot and render execrable that law of blood which ravages the ranks of his warriors.’—pp. 165-166.

Such is the people with whom the Russians carry on an unmerciful war; every deed of blood results in retaliation, and the contest becomes endless. It is true the Russians plead that they have begun it in order to stop the slave-trade, and to repress the robberies of the mountaineers, who carry off the cattle, and the wives and daughters of the Don Kossaks settled in their neighbourhood by the order of the Czar. But in 1845, Count (Prince) Woronzoff reestablished the slave-trade, which is now openly carried on with the assent of the Russian government. It was thought a concession to the Circassians which might soothe their enmity. As to their plundering habits, nobody denies them. But it is difficult to state who has begun the warfare of destruction and abduction, which has been carried on for nearly a century. Golovin tells us (page 81), ‘That the first Cossack colonists of Caucasia, the garrison of the Stanitza-Czervenaja (the Red Fort), carried away Circassian women, and that their union has produced a population fewer than that of their neighbours.’ And again we are told by the same author, that—

‘No quarter is given in the battles between the Russians and the mountaineers, and if a village is surprised by the troops of the Czar, it is destroyed, the men killed, the females and children, together with the cattle, carried away, and distributed among the Kossaks.’

‘Peace,’ say the Russian military men (we quote again Golovin), ‘cannot be obtained unless all the inhabitants of Daghestan are slaughtered (!) This measure has always been resisted by the Russian government, which plumes itself on its humanity, but which shows so little concern for the chronic effusion of blood, caused by the protracted war.’ . . . ‘Colonization,’ says the same author, ‘might be effective, but the population of Russia is not sufficiently numerous to colonize the Caucasus. Besides, the inhabitants of the plain are not willing to

leave their fertile fields in order to go and cultivate the rocks in the mountains.'—p. 156.

Again he says :

'It is difficult to determine which of the two belligerent parties is more harsh towards its prisoners. Those taken by the Circassians become slaves and must work in the fields, or are shut up in prison, and are often flogged until their ransom arrives. Siberia, on the other hand, and the prisons of the South of Russia, are filled with Circassians, called Brigands, whilst their great crime in general has consisted in heroically fighting for the defence of their country.'—p. 151.

The following proclamation of Shamyl, issued in 1844, to the two Kabardas,—districts which have partially submitted to the Russians,—gives us more insight into the character of these mountaineers, than any elaborate essay. It is published by Golovin, whose work on the Caucasus is full of the most interesting facts:—

'Do not believe that God favours numbers! God sides with good men, and they are always less numerous than the wicked. Carry your eyes around you, and everywhere you will find the confirmation of what I am telling you. Are there not less roses than ill weeds? Is there not more mire than pearls, more vermin than useful beasts? Is not gold more scarce than common metal? And are we not nobler than gold and roses, than pearls and horses, and all the useful animals taken together? For all the treasures of earth are transient, whilst we have been promised an eternal life.

'But, if there are more ill weeds than roses, are we, instead of extirpating them, to wait until, by their growing and increasing, they have stifled noble flowers? And if our enemies are more numerous than we are, is it wise to allow them to take us in their nets?

'Do not say,—Our enemies have subdued Tcherkey, conquered Akhoulgo, and taken all Avaria! When the thunder strikes a tree, do other trees bend down their heads and fall, out of fear of being struck in their turn?

'Oh! you, little in your faith, follow the example given you by the greenwood! Indeed, the trees of the forest would have made you ashamed of yourselves, if they had a language and could speak.

'Moreover, when a fruit happens to be gnawed by worms, do other fruits rot out of fear of being eaten by worms?

'Do not, therefore, be astonished at infidels increasing so quick, and sending always fresh troops to the field of battle, to replace those which we have destroyed. For I tell you, a thousand mushrooms and venomous plants grow out of the earth before a single good tree has reached maturity. I am the root of the tree of liberty; my Murides are the trunk, and you are the branches. But do not believe that the rottenness of one branch will cause the decay of all the tree. God will cut off bad branches, and throw them into the fire of hell, for He is a good gardener.

'Come back, therefore, full of repentance, and enlist in the ranks of

those who fight for our faith, and you shall obtain my favour, and I will be your protection.

‘But, if you continue to believe in the seductions of Christian dogs, and in flax-hair, more than in my exhortations, then I will accomplish what Ghasi Mohammed promised you formerly. My huntings shall invade your aouls (Circassian villages), like the gloomy cloud of the storm, in order to obtain through force what you refuse to kindness. Blood will mark my road; terror and devastation will follow me; for what the power of speech cannot accomplish, action must be at hand to perform.’—p. 36.

As to the religious feelings, they do not seem to be very deeply rooted with the Circassians. In the time of the Byzantine empire they were converted to the Eastern Church. Some traces of Christianity are even now to be met with among them. On the ancient tombstones the monogram of Christ is yet visible; the missionaries of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries describe them as being nominal Christians; they never drank wine at their feasts without invoking the saints, and even now, according to Major Taush, the Avghasses believe in a Creator, a Mother of God, and several heavenly powers which they call apostles. They believe in immortality, and in eternal reward or punishment. But, says Major Taush, they do not care much for future life, and rather try to make the present one comfortable. The forests are their temples, and a cross forms their altar, under which they sacrifice a sheep, goat, or bull. Any one of the elder persons uncovers his head, takes a torch, singes the hair of the animal, and pours a drink, made of fermented millet, on the head of the victim, which is killed immediately. The head of the animal remains on a pillar near the altar; the skin belongs to the sacrifice; the meat is eaten by all those present. The priest takes then a piece of bread in one hand, and a full tumbler of the millet-drink in the other, he raises them, utters a prayer to God, blesses the bread and drink, and hands them to the eldest man present. The next offering is accompanied by an invocation of the Mother of God, and then of the apostles; after which he announces when the next meeting is to be held, always on a Saturday, Sunday, Monday, or Tuesday. The great bulk of the other tribes, and principally of the Tshetshenes, have been converted to the Islam of the Sunnite form; yet there is no fanaticism amongst them. The Suans believe in the migration of souls; polygamy is not tolerated among them, and every man is obliged to marry the widow of his brother, like the ancient Jews.

‘The Ossetians,’ according to Golovin, ‘offered formerly resistance to the attempts of their conversion by the Russians. But in our days the number of converts is greater than that of the population; that is to

say, since the Russian government offers one silver rouble (two shillings) a silver cross, and some garments to every mountaineer who embraces Christianity, many make it a trade to be converted several times, and at different places; and this imposition is facilitated by the carelessness with which the Russian priests keep their registers. Since the time of Khasi Mullah (1830), who preached the war against Russia, the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, a revival of Mohammedanism has taken place. Shamyl is not only the chief of the Tshetshenes, but likewise their prophet; the precepts of the Koran are taught all over the mountains. But the fundamental principle which is inculcated now, is love of independence, and hatred to Russia!—p. 84.

The struggle of the mountaineers with the Russians is of old date; in fact, it has never ceased from the time that they came in contact with Russia. Sheikh Mansur led them in the last century, but after six years of victorious struggle he fell into the hands of the Russians at the storming of the fortress Anapa, in 1791, and died shortly afterwards in prison. His death did not stop hostilities, but for a long time there rose no such chief among the Circassians as to become important and dangerous to the Russians. But about the year 1820 a sect of religious enthusiasts sprang up among the Ulemas, or Mohammedan clergy of the Caucasus. Sheikh Mansur was the forerunner of this sect.

‘Nearly thirty years after his death,’—[we quote from Count Gurovski’s able essay on the Caucasus, which appeared in the ‘New York Tribune,’ Feb. 8th, 1854]—‘Khasi-Mullah or Khasi-Mohamet, standing upon the new creed, raised the standard of religious fanaticism for the defence of the national independence. The principal feature of this new theology is the belief in a certain perfectibility of the worn-out forms of Islamism. Khasi-Mullah claimed to be immediately inspired and advised by God—and the revelations thus received were communicated by him to his immediate companions called *Murides* or *Murshides*, who formed a warlike priesthood and a kind of body-guard for the prophet. He was soon surrounded by numerous believers from all the parts of Daghestan, and especially from among the Lesghians and Tschetschenes. Khasi-Mullah warred for two years against the Russians, but finally, at the storm of the village of Himry, in 1832, he met the death of a hero and of a prophet, fighting to the last, and even after he had fallen, exciting his companions by inspiring songs. All the Murides fell with him on the battle-field. Among them was a young man named Shamyl. Struck by two balls and pierced by a bayonet, he lay there bathed in his blood among the corpses of his companions.

‘The history of Shamyl’s escape after this battle is still unknown. A few months from the catastrophe of Himry, he was the first Muride near the new Iman named Hamsad-Bey, who was assassinated by some of his rivals in 1834. Shamyl succeeded him, raised the standard of Khasi-Mullah, and the war of extermination began. He was born in 1797 at the same village of Himry, and at the age of thirty-seven became the chief of the Tschetschenes. In person he is of medium size, with light

hair ; his eyes, covered by long and bushy lashes, are full of fire ; his beard, though white, does not give him the appearance of age. He is very abstemious, eats little, drinks water, and sleeps but a few hours. For a long time the fastness of Akulcho was his residence, whence he darted upon the foe. "Mahomet was the first, Shamyl is the second prophet of Allah!" is the war-cry of Daghestan.

'In 1839, the Russian general, Grabbe, attacked Shamyl in his retreat of Akulcho. The fortress was dismantled by heavy artillery, but the Tschetschenes did not suffer at all. Sheltered in vaults and crevices, they rushed out to fire their deadly rifles, and then disappeared. Several assaults were thus repulsed by them, but finally the rocks were mined, and at the fourth assault, after horrible bloodshed, the Russians took the fortress on the 22nd of August. But Shamyl was not to be found among the dead. With a few Murides he had retreated to the caverns of the mountain. There they constructed a kind of raft which they threw into the stream at the foot of the rocks. They leaped on this floating conveyance while they were fired at from both banks of the river. All perished but one, who plunged into the current, reached a sure spot, and disappeared in the mountains. This was Shamyl. After this defeat he visited the western tribes of the Caucasus, and preached among them the holy war against Russia, but without success. On his return he selected a new abode in the fortress of Dargo, situated in an almost impregnable position. Grabbe attacked him there in 1842. When the Russian army had completely entered the primitive forests and defiles around Dargo, it was surrounded by the troops of Shamyl and more than half of it destroyed. This was the most terrible defeat sustained by Russia during this whole protracted contest.

The war continued to be disastrous for the imperial troops. The commanders were changed again and again, and finally Prince Woronzoff was sent there with unlimited powers. At that moment the power of Shamyl was absolute and extensive. He ruled the Leaghians, the Tschetschenes, the Awars, the Kists, and the Kumiks. Shamyl, not only a warrior but a legislator, had established over the unruly princes of these tribes, a kind of theocratic monarchy; he had united tribes hitherto hostile to each other, organized a numerous military force, and in 1843 commanded above 5000 of the best cavalry in the world. His body-guard was then 1000 men. When Woronzoff took the command of the Russian army, his first idea was to avenge the defeat sustained at Dargo. He cut roads through the forests, and indeed felled the trees entirely for miles of country. Heroic feats signalized this campaign on both sides, but Dargo was finally taken and destroyed in the course of the year 1845. Yet his spirit was not broken. In 1846, Shamyl descended with nearly twenty thousand horse upon the western side of the Caucasus, invaded the Kabardians, and not being able to bring them to his side, pillaged the country, and returned to Daghestan without the Russians overtaking him.

Since that time the Russians have not undertaken any great expedition into the Plateau of Daghestan, but Prince Woronzoff

has slowly proceeded to inclose Shamyl and his Lesghians in a circle, and to narrow the area of their activity. In 1850, the mountaineers were defeated; in 1852, they were victorious. The war, however, has not been continued on a large scale; but according to the scanty information which oozes out from the official papers of St. Petersburg, in October last, Shamyl rushed from his retreat upon the enemy, and broke through the chain of forts which surrounds the mountains. One of his lieutenants received arms and ammunition from the Turks, in November, on the Avghassian shores, and conveyed them safely to Daghestan; we may therefore soon get tidings of new victories won by Shamyl-Bey, the enthusiastic warrior and wise legislator of the Lesghians, who is perhaps destined to become the sovereign of the Caucasus, and to secure the independence of his country against the encroachments of Russia.

Brief Notices.

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The Works of John Bunyan. With an Introduction to each Treatise, Notes, and a Sketch of his Life, Times, and Contemporaries. Imp. 8vo. Vol. III. Allegorical, Figurative, and Symbolical. Edited by George Offor, Esq. London and Glasgow: Blackie and Son.

THE most ardent worshipper of Bunyan cannot well desire a more honorable monument to his fame than such an Edition of his Works as the Messrs. Blackie have now supplied. The want of a creditable collection of his treatises has long been the disgrace of our theological literature. Many attempts have been made to supply it, but they have all failed, from various causes. Happily, the deficiency is now supplied, and it has been accomplished in a style which sets rivalry at defiance, and must constitute the standard edition of an author whose name is as imperishable as our language. We no longer complain of the delay; we rather rejoice in it, as it has probably induced Mr. Offor to give himself to his editorial work with an enthusiasm rarely equalled, and a

laboriousness and intelligence never certainly surpassed. The first two volumes of this edition were noticed in our Journal for March, 1852; and we have now great pleasure in reporting that the third and concluding volume fully justifies the terms we then employed. The contents of the volume are indicated on the title-page. It includes, with several other works, 'The Pilgrim's Progress,' 'The Holy War,' 'The Heavenly Footman,' 'The Holy City,' 'Solomon's Temple Spiritualized,' and 'The Life and Death of Mr. Badman.' A more attractive companion, therefore, cannot well be imagined. Some of the treatises in question are amongst the most bewitching in our language. They are equally fascinating to the old and the young; are favorites alike in the nursery and the study; and constitute the admiration of the learned and the delight of the illiterate.

These treatises are now, for the first time, presented with due editorial oversight. Some of them have indeed previously been given to the public in a style befitting their worth; but, *as a whole*, they have never till now been introduced in a form suitable to their character and merits. They are accurately reprinted from Bunyan's own editions, and all obsolete words, and ancient customs, are carefully explained. Each treatise has an appropriate 'Introduction' and Notes, furnishing all needful bibliographical information, and throwing light on whatever may be obscure in the language or allusions of the author. We have never met with an instance of editorial labor bespeaking information so full, ready, and diversified. Mr. Offor has evidently devoted himself heart and soul to his work. No inquiry has been too trifling, no fact too unimportant, to be thoroughly sifted, if it bore only the remotest connexion with the views and history of Bunyan. Several illustrations of this might be specified, but it is needless. Every page bears witness to the diligence and scrupulousness with which he has discharged his trust.

A 'Memoir,' extending to twenty-nine double-column pages, is prefixed to this volume, which leaves nothing to be desired in the way of Bunyan's biography. Future laborers in this department may supply more elegant sketches, but the most diligent will fail to make any material addition to the facts narrated by Mr. Offor. He has imbibed largely the spirit of his hero, and is evidently pervaded by a profound veneration for him. This feeling may, possibly, on some occasions, almost border on superstition, but we share it too largely to be severe judges.

The publishers have done their part admirably, and the numerous *illustrations* supplied are executed in superior style, and are in good keeping with the work. We need scarcely say that the Christian world is greatly indebted to Mr. Offor, and that his edition of Bunyan must at once, and permanently, supersede all others.

Letters of Lady Rachel Russell. Two Volumes. Post 8vo.
London: Longman and Co.

WE recently noticed a new edition of Lord John Russell's 'Life' of his distinguished ancestor, and have now the pleasure to announce a

greatly improved edition of the 'Letters' of Lady Rachel Russell, who has shared so largely in the affectionate veneration with which Englishmen cherish the memory of that patriotic and high-minded nobleman. The popularity of these 'Letters' is honorable to our countrymen. It has not arisen from literary eminence, or from any great historical value. They have no brilliancy or wit; do not deal in the gossip of the day; and never affect the character of reflecting the lights and shades which then flitted across the surface of English society. As Miss Berry remarks, in her advertisement to the 'Life of Lady Russell,' 'They will be found devoid of every ornament of style, and deficient in almost every particular that constitutes what are generally called entertaining letters. They are sometimes overcharged, sometimes confused with a repetition of trifling details, and sometimes the use of words antiquated in the signification here given to them add to this confusion.' Notwithstanding all this, however, the 'Letters' have been eminently popular, if popularity is to be judged of by wide and enduring circulation. Several editions have been called for, and the demand is now as general and earnest as at any former period. The edition before us is greatly superior to its predecessors, whether external appearance, or the completeness of the collection, be considered. Several additional letters are given to the public, a few of which are anterior to Lord Russell's death, but most of them were penned subsequently to that melancholy event. The whole are pervaded by the subdued and softened temper of a Christian lady, whose loveliness wins affection, while her solitary musings invest her simplest words with a melancholy charm which more joyous emotions could not command. 'The Letters of Lady Russell,' says her noble editor, 'as originally published, contain but one topic and one resource—that topic the judicial murder of her husband—that resource the strength of a soul sustained by all the fortitude of a heroine, and by all the piety of a saint.' Amongst the letters now published for the first time is one (Vol. II. p. 72) addressed to her children, on the 21st July, 1691, 'a day of sad remembrance,' wherein it is difficult to say which is most conspicuous, maternal love or earnest piety. We have always revered the character of Lady Russell, but never had so high an estimate of her christian excellence as this letter has inspired.

France before the Revolution; or, Priests, Infidels, and Huguenots in the reign of Louis XV. By L. F. Bungener. Authorized Translation. 2 vols. Fcap. 8vo. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Co.

Two translations of this work have already appeared;—one entitled 'The Court and the Desert,' in 3 vols. post 8vo, price £1 11s. 6d.; the other 'The Priest and the Huguenot; or, Persecution in the Age of Louis XV.' in 2 vols. 12mo, price 12s. The present edition, in foolscap 8vo, is published at 7s. only, and the author, *which we are always glad to report*, has an equal interest with the publishers in its success. The edition moreover is a very neat one, and the translation reads with the ease of an original. Under such circumstances there

can be no doubt as to which of the three editions should be preferred. To Englishmen we need not say one word on this point. Their own good sense will instantly determine their preference.

It will be more pertinent to speak of the work itself, though this is scarcely necessary, as it is already known to many of our readers. Last month we noticed another work of M. Bungener, 'The Preacher and the King,' referring to an earlier period of French history. The one now before us displays the same happy combination of historical knowledge and enlightened evangelicism with vivid imagination and great descriptive powers. It is designed to illustrate the ecclesiastical history of France from the publication of the persecuting edicts of Louis XIV. to the commencement of the age of infidelity in the seventeenth century. Louis XV., and Madame de Pompadour, ministers of state, Jesuit fathers, an impoverished exchequer, a prison and the stake, the consultations of the encyclopædists, and the faith and hope of the children of the desert, constitute the machinery employed. The main interest however centres in Bridaine the missionary, Rabaut the preacher, and Bruyn the recovered apostate. The character and views of each are well brought out, and their parts are consistently sustained. Bridaine is the most questionable on this latter point. The Christian and the priest fearfully struggle, but the former happily prevails, though the latter seems to check somewhat the flow of christian sympathy and love. There are passages in the book of thrilling interest, and the whole is pervaded by a deep sense of the inviolability of conscience and the wickedness of persecution.

Curiosities of London Life; or, Phases, Physiological and Social, of the Great Metropolis. By Charles Manby Smith, Author of 'The Working Man's Way in the World.' pp. 408. London: William and Frederick G. Cash.

'TRUTH is stranger than fiction,' says the proverb, and if any doubt this, we advise their reading the volume before us. The narratives it contains are deeply interesting. They pertain to a portion of human history not frequently penned, and reveal phases of society which few have the opportunity of scanning. Mr. Smith does not address himself to a morbid and prurient curiosity, much less does he seek popularity by catering to the vicious propensities which frequently underlie the decorum and superficial morality of our times. He writes like an intelligent and benevolent man, who for many years past has regarded the streets of London 'as an open book, in which he that runs to and fro may read as he goes along, gathering not merely amusement and excitement, but valuable instruction too, from its ever varying pages.' 'I have cautiously refrained,' he tells us, 'from knowingly overstepping the limits of fact, because whatever merits a work professedly descriptive of human life and conduct may possess, it cannot lack fidelity and be of any real value. The reader may rely upon the truth of the details he will here peruse. The only fictions are those harmless and transparent ones in which the writer has chosen sometimes, for obvious

reasons, to involve both himself and some designations of persons and places which it would not have been prudent to call by their real names.' This is as it should be, and there is nothing in the volume which shakes our confidence in the Author's statement. He has collected together a large fund of information respecting the many classes into which the poorer inhabitants of London are divided, and lays this before his readers in a style at once chaste and pleasing. The information communicated is what all covet, but few possess; and the manner in which it is conveyed attaches us to the author, while it deepens our sympathy with the children of poverty and wretchedness. Few volumes are more sure to be read through, or are better suited to give a practical direction to the floating philanthropy of the day.

History of the Protestant Church in Hungary, from the Beginning of the Reformation to 1850. With Reference also to Transylvania. Translated by the Rev. J. Craig, D.D., Hamburg. With an Introduction by J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D.D. 8vo. pp. 464. London: James Nisbet and Co.

THE history of Hungarian protestantism is little known in this country. Our attention has been almost exclusively directed to the German and Swiss branches of the Reformation, and we have consequently failed to understand some bearings of the great question, or to appreciate rightly the events which led to it, or the difficulties it had to encounter. This deficiency is well supplied, so far as Hungary and Transylvania are concerned, by the volume before us, which has been prepared with much care, displays extensive research, and is pervaded by a discriminating and conscientious spirit. The student of ecclesiastical history will be gratified by its painstaking labors; while the more general reader will gather from its pages a large mass of information, for which he must otherwise search through many bulky volumes. The author, as every historical writer should do, has indicated the authorities on which his statements are founded, and has thus furnished his readers with the means of correcting his errors, and of supplying his omissions. The work is anonymous, which we regret the less, as the names of Drs. Craig and Merle D'Aubigné are given. The latter has prefixed an Introduction, in the course of which he says, 'The Author is a man possessed of enlightened piety, sound judgment, integrity, faithfulness, and christian wisdom. He has obtained his materials from the most authentic sources. Government edicts, protocols, convent visitation reports, and official correspondence, have all been consulted with scrupulous attention, as is proved by the numerous quotations which he cites. He has thus sought to place the authenticity of his book on an indisputable basis, and at the same time to render it impervious to the shafts of hostile criticism.' From such a quarter this is high praise; but no attentive reader of the volume will be inclined to question its correctness. As filling up a chasm which has long existed in the history of Protestant Christianity, and intro-

ducing to our acquaintance many noble witnesses to 'the truth,' we receive the work with thankfulness, and cordially recommend it to our friends.

The Political Annual and Reformer's Hand-Book for 1854. Fcap. 8vo. pp. 96. London: A. and S. Cockshaw.

THIS little volume must not be confounded with the *Almanacks*, of which so many are now published at the close of each year. It has a higher aim, and will prove much more serviceable. It commences with an analysis of the parliamentary session of 1852, 1853, extending to twenty-three pages, which is executed with much skill and distinctness. The Census Returns on 'Religious Worship' are also analyzed, and their main points lucidly exhibited. A list is furnished of the county and borough members, with a return of the population, the inhabited houses, and the number of electors in each. The anticipated Reform Bill, the Ballot, the Braintree Church-rate decision, and various other matters of general interest, are also introduced, and appropriate information and counsel respecting all are given. The value of such a *Manual* cannot easily be overrated. It is published at one shilling, and every reformer should have it within reach, as he will frequently need just such information as it communicates.

Daily Bible Illustrations. Being Original Readings for a Year, on Subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology. Especially designed for the Family Circle. By John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A. Evening Series. Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Sons.

WE have frequently had occasion to speak of the work of which this volume forms the completion. It is amongst the most useful of Dr. Kitto's numerous publications. Indeed, we question whether it will not be more widely circulated than any other, and be more lastingly, though not perhaps so obviously, beneficial. The present volume is devoted to 'The Apostles and Early Church,' and is adapted to the closing three months of the year,—the plan of the work being to supply a chapter for each evening of that period. 'The historical intimations,' says Dr. Kitto, 'contained in the Epistles, have been carefully gathered up, and interwoven with the leading matter from the Acts of the Apostles. The conclusions exhibited are founded on a critical reading of the sacred text,—the special results of which are, whenever necessary, or when peculiarly interesting, explained; but are more frequently embodied in the statement or recital, without remark.' We congratulate Dr. Kitto on the completion of an undertaking which is so admirably suited 'to promote the knowledge of God's Word, by rendering the *apprehensive* study of its contents a labor of love to many.'

The Case of the Manchester Educationists. Part II. A Review of the Evidence taken before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in relation to a Scheme of Secular Education. By John Hinton, M.A. 8vo. pp. 99. London: John Snow.

MR. HINTON truly remarks that 'Parliamentary Blue Books are rather like graves in which the most precious things may be buried, than mines out of which people at large will take the trouble to dig them.' He has, therefore, rendered a very acceptable service in preparing this analysis, which affords a ready means, to all who are interested in such matters, to ascertain the views, and test the reasonings, of the advocates of a *secular* system of education. His *review* is full, searching, and most able. It brings out in distinct relief the conflicting opinions of some of the chief witnesses of last session; and exhibits, with admirable force and completeness, the superior advantages of what is popularly termed 'Voluntary Education.' Could our representatives be induced to master the facts of this question, we should be spared the miserable exhibitions of ignorance and superficial philanthropy which are now frequently visible in St. Stephen's. We thank Mr. Hinton for his painstaking, and cordially recommend the extensive circulation of his pamphlet. Taken in connexion with his analysis of the Evidence of a former session, it is better adapted than any other publication with which we are acquainted, to show the present condition of the educational controversy, the views of different parties, and the simplicity, expansiveness, and capability of the voluntary system.

The Despot of Eastern Europe. By the Author of 'The Revelations of Russia.' Third Edition. Three Vols. 12mo. London: T. C. Newby. 1854

A NEW edition of this eloquent description of the state and literature of sixty to seventy millions of men, subject to the Emperor of Russia; and of the political condition of thirty millions more of kindred races under Austria, Prussia, and the Porte, now threatened with a fearful war, comes out opportunely at a great crisis. It will help to settle widely divergent opinions. The author insists that the Turkish government is more favourable to its Christian subjects than the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian governments are to theirs. This judgment establishes a capital point in the present crisis, that civilization will not gain by the overthrow of the Sultan, as planned for a century and a half by the Emperors of Russia. Reserving the elaborate developement of this point to an early opportunity, we turn to another side of the vast picture so well drawn in this work—namely, to the political state of the Finns, whose country Russia seized in what was ludicrously called the *settlement* of Europe forty years ago. The author gives a clear view of the weakness of the Czar on that side, and our Baltic fleet will soon put that weakness to the test. The Emperor of Russia has broken faith with the people of Finland exactly as the German governments madly refused their promised

constitutions to the millions who, in 1818, nobly helped to save them from Napoleon: and the misruled Finns and mortified Swedes are ready to second an attack upon the Russians. 'Whatever may be the political condition of Sweden, no government could resist the popular movement, which would compel it to join with England, and invade Finland, if, in the event of war between Russia and England, the prospect of recovering that principality were held out to the Swedes.'

So much for the disposition of the Swedes. Then, as to the Finns themselves, they have been outraged by violent measures to *Russianize* them, and to substitute a corrupt and arbitrary system of administration in the place of the equitable government that existed when Finland was a Swedish province. The point of invasion is shown to be *Cronstadt*, built on a Finnish island; and, though fortified with care, incapable of resisting the means of attack at our command. Cronstadt is the only defence of St. Petersburg, which capital will be at our mercy after we have occupied Finland. But, be it remembered, Cronstadt is said by Lord Londonderry in his 'Northern Travels' to be impregnable.

The author's survey of the dangers that threaten Russia upon all her vast frontiers is justified by the present conjuncture of affairs; and his anticipation of a union of France and England in a war against that aggressive power is singularly sagacious.

These volumes display the oppressed condition of all the Slavonian races under Austria, Prussia, and Turkey, too, as well as of those under Russia. He even predicts the early overthrow of these despotisms 'before the mere volition of Western Europe,' and they are fatally menaced 'on the side of France by an avalanche of eager bayonets. . . . Another ten years,' he added, in the edition of this work of 1846, 'will not pass without the outbreak of that political tempest of which the elements in Eastern Europe, arrested by despotism, are accumulating like dammed-up waters, to burst through all bounds.'—Vol. iii. pp. 342, 349.

And it is upon this volcano of social discontent that the Emperor of Russia has cast the fresh materials of mischief, religious bigotry, and ruthless ambition.

The Legendary and Poetical Remains of John Roby, Author of 'Traditions of Lancashire.' With a Sketch of his Literary Life and Character. By his Widow. pp. 376. London: Longman and Co.

MR. ROBY belonged to the small class of English gentlemen who have connected the exact business habits of a banker with the agreeable pursuits of art, science, and literature. Endowed with a mind of rare vivacity and versatility, his talents had the advantage of early development and diversified practice, in the midst of much domestic happiness, and surrounded by admiring friends, for whom his instructive and playful conversational powers had more than common charms. Our personal recollections supply many confirmations of the 'Sketch,' in which Mrs Roby has reviewed his literary life. Whatever he did he

did with ease, and there were few things that he could not do. As an accountant he was pronounced by competent judges to be unequalled, yet he was passionately fond of the supernatural. His skill in music, his facility of versification, his extraordinary love of system and punctuality, his love of nature, his command of the pencil, his quick observation of character and manners, his engaging cheerfulness, and in later years his humble christian piety are modestly portrayed by his affectionate biographer. The loss of the Orion steamer on the west coast of Scotland, near Port Patrick, on the 8th of June, 1850, is described. Mrs. Roby and his daughter were among those who escaped, but the husband and father was seen no more.

The 'Remains' in this volume consist of an original piece of sacred music; nearly seventy 'Lyrics;' 'The Duke of Mantua,' a tragedy; and three 'Legends.' They exhibit great variety of poetical fancy, feeling, and art. The tragedy is a very rich and powerful production. We commend the entire volume to our readers as one of unusual interest.

Review of the Month.

PARLIAMENT WAS OPENED BY THE QUEEN IN PERSON ON THE 31ST OF JANUARY, and the *Speech* of her Majesty on the occasion has been received, so far as we can judge, with more than usual satisfaction. The composition of the Ministry, and the partial revelations supplied by the resignation of Lord Palmerston, had led men to regard with more than ordinary curiosity this piece of state ceremonial. It is simple justice to say that enemies are disappointed, and true friends gratified, by the announcements made. We should have been gratified by a more decided expression of opinion on the Eastern question. This would have consisted with dignity and self-respect quite as much as the very guarded phraseology employed. However, we are willing to make all due allowance for the difficulties of their position, and taking into account the views subsequently broached in both Houses by Ministers, are ready to give an acquittal for whatever has been erroneous in the past, if their future course be unequivocal and vigorous. It may be wise to go to the extreme of moderation in preliminary measures—Lord Aberdeen's cabinet has evidently done so—but now that negotiation has failed, a bold and vigorous course of action is the only one suited to the occasion, or likely to bring the struggle to an early and successful termination. The other topics embraced in the Queen's Speech are full of promise. The coasting trade is to be opened 'to the ships of all friendly nations;'

the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are to be reformed; the system of admission into the Civil Service of the Country is to be improved; testamentary and matrimonial jurisdiction is to be transferred from the Ecclesiastical to the Civil Courts; the law of settlement to be amended; the House of Commons to be reformed; and 'more effectual precautions' are to be taken 'against the evils of bribery and of corrupt practices at elections.' Such are the topics commended by Her Majesty to the two Houses. The bill of fare is good; we wait to see how the dishes are served up. If the performance is equal to the promise, we are entering on a session which will be noted in parliamentary history. It were easy to specify other topics which we should like to have had embraced, but where so much is proffered it would be ungracious to complain. We are encouraged by the announcement promptly made by Mr. Hayter of the order in which the government purpose to submit their several measures to the House. Such an announcement wore an air of sincerity and earnestness; it betokened forethought and preparation; and was welcomed as a good augury of the business character of the session.

WE ARE NOT SURPRISED AT THE EFFORTS MADE IN BOTH HOUSES to deter ministers from the fulfilment of their promise respecting parliamentary reform. The attempt was made in the Lords on the 10th inst., by Earl Grey, and as matter of course, was supported by Lord Derby. The ground taken was the imminency of war, and the consequent necessity of united and vigorous action. The reply of the Premier was distinct and unequivocal. '*Her Majesty's Government have felt that their character is at stake, and depends on the introduction of that measure.*' We are glad that such a reply was elicited, and only regret that it was in answer to the son of the author of the Reform Bill of 1832. We do not suspect Earl Grey of abandoning the principles of Lord Howick; but regard his position as infelicitous, and as adding another to the many illustrations previously supplied, of the crotchety character of his lordship's mind. A similar attempt was made in the Commons by Lord Jocelyn, and was met in the same spirit by Lord John Russell. His lordship accordingly proceeded on the 13th to move for leave to bring in a bill 'further to amend the laws relating to the representation of the people.' The main features of this bill are the disfranchisement of nineteen boroughs returning twenty-nine members, the population of which is below 5000, and the number of electors less than 300; and the taking away one representative from thirty-three other boroughs where the population is less than 10,000, and the electors below 500. It is thus proposed to diminish the number of representatives by sixty-two, and, on the other hand, taking population as the basis of his arrangements, his lordship proposed to divide the West Riding of Yorkshire, containing nearly 800,000 inhabitants, and the southern division of Lancashire, with about 500,000, and to give to each of these divisions *three* representatives, and an additional one to thirty-eight other counties, the population of which exceeds 100,000. The number of county members will thus be increased forty-six. Eight towns having more than 100,000 inhabitants

are also to receive an additional member each, and the borough of Salford, with upwards of 80,000, at present returning one member, is to send two. Three towns, Birkenhead, Staleybridge, and Burnley, with a population exceeding 20,000, are to have one member each; Kensington and Chelsea are to constitute a borough, and return two members; the Inns of Court, two; and the London University, one.

The following is a summary of the manner in which it is proposed to distribute the 62 seats now to be cancelled, and the 4 seats—Sudbury and St. Albans—previously disfranchised:—

Counties, and divisions of counties	38
West Riding	4
South Lancashire	4
Three new boroughs, one each	3
One new borough	2
Nine boroughs, one each additional	9
Inns of Court	2
London University	1
Scotland	3

The franchise is to be greatly extended. In counties, £10 householders are to have a vote, provided—except in the case of residence—the building on which their claim is founded be of the annual value of £5; and in boroughs a £6 rental, with two-and-a-half years residence, is to be a qualification. Several new classes of voters are to be created. A yearly salary of £100; dividends to the amount of £10 annually on Government, Bank, or East India Stock; the payment of 40s. a year income or assessed taxes; the being a graduate in any University within the United Kingdom; or a deposit of £50 in a Savings Bank for a period not less than three years, will each confer a right of voting. The payment of rates and taxes prior to voting is abandoned; freemen, with due regard to existing interests, are to cease; and the necessity of vacating seats on the acceptance of office is to be annulled. Another provision of the measure, which is perfectly novel, is the representation of minorities. In those places, whether counties or boroughs, which return three members, it is proposed ‘that, in giving their votes, the electors shall vote as they do at present, only for two candidates out of the three, so that when the minority exceeds two-fifths of the whole number of electors, they will be enabled to have one representative out of the three who are to be returned.’

Such are the provisions of the measure introduced by Ministers, and we are free to confess that it exceeds our expectations. We could readily take exception to some of them, and are sorry that others—the ballot, for instance—are not included; but looking at the measure as a whole, we hail its appearance with unfeigned satisfaction, and trust that nothing will be done by liberal members to endanger it. Let the utmost efforts be made to improve its details, but better take the Bill as it is than endanger its success by too pertinacious an opposition to some of its provisions. The representation of minorities is an involved as well as a novel scheme; the large increase of county

members is seriously objectionable, but will be greatly modified by the reduction of the franchise from £50 to £10; the term of residence in a borough, not *house*, is much too long; and the exemption of members from the necessity of vacating their seats on the acceptance of office, though convenient to statesmen, is adverse to popular influence. To these and some other features of the measure strong objections may be urged; yet we are glad to find that, at a meeting of about fifty liberal members held on the 21st, 'it was unanimously resolved, *after a discussion of three hours*, to support the second reading of the bill.' Various and very strong opinions were expressed respecting some of its clauses; but the conclusion was favourable to unanimity, and so far strengthens our hope that the measure will pass.

The Bill has been read a first time, and the second reading is fixed for the 13th of March.

WHEN THE NAVIGATION ACT WAS REPEALED ABOUT FIVE YEARS SINCE, our coasting trade was exempted from the operation of the new system. The measure originally included the *coasting* as well as the *foreign* trade, but on the representation of the authorities of the Custom House, Ministers excluded the former from their bill. Subsequent experience has convinced them of the groundlessness of the fears expressed, and the beneficial working of the measure has led the present government to bring in a bill extending its principle 'to the removal of the last legislative restriction upon the use of foreign ships.' This was done on the 3rd by Mr. Cardwell, in a speech which clearly established the salutary operation of free-trade in shipping, and placed beyond reasonable question the expediency of carrying out a principle so auspiciously commenced. We take the measure as an earnest of the good faith in which Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet are prepared to redeem their pledges, and do not anticipate much difficulty in its passage through Parliament. With this measure the President of the Board of Trade coupled another, having for its object a consolidation and amendment of the various laws passed, since the Navigation Act, for the benefit of British shipping. Taken in conjunction, the two measures cannot fail to operate most usefully in raising the character of our seamen, contributing to their comfort, diminishing the danger of their vocation, and in meeting the requirements of an ever-extending commerce.

THE ADMISSION OF JEWS TO PARLIAMENT has been matter of discussion for some years past. Session after session a bill has been introduced into the Lower House in order to legalize it, but the party spirit of many, and the personal hostility of a few, have hitherto insured its rejection. The same object is now sought in another mode, and by a more comprehensive measure. This is as it should be. We rejoice in the step, and await the result with anxiety, yet not without hope. On the 6th, Lord John Russell moved that the House should go into Committee with a view of considering 'the oaths at present administered to members of parliament on taking their seats, and also to persons taking office.' The oath of allegiance his lordship correctly described as 'plain and intelligible,' but those of supremacy and abjuration were meet dangers not now existing, and are, consequently, worse

than useless. He also proposed to omit the Roman-catholic oath imposed by the 10th George IV., chap. 7, and the words 'on the true faith of a Christian,' which have prevented Baron Rothschild and Mr. Alderman Salomons from taking their seats. In lieu of these oaths his lordship proposed the following, the terms of which are as intelligible as their import is free from reasonable objection:—'I, A. B., do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and will defend her to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever which may be made against her person, crown, and dignity, and that I will do my utmost to endeavour to disclose and make known to her Majesty and her successors all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against her and them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend to the utmost of my power the succession to the Crown, which succession is established by an act intituled "An Act for the further regulation of the Crown, and the better security of the rights and privileges of the subject," as it stands limited to the heirs of the Princess Sophia; and I do hereby abjure allegiance to any other person claiming a right to the Crown; and I do declare that no foreign prince or potentate hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, directly or indirectly, in this kingdom. So help me God.'

At the conclusion of his speech, Lord Russell clearly intimated that, if his proposition was rejected, 'it may hereafter be a question for the House whether it should not prefer the course taken in the case of Mr. Pease to that which has since been taken with respect to gentlemen of the Jewish persuasion.' We are glad that his lordship is prepared fairly to look at such an alternative: it will go far to determine several votes. Sir F. Thesiger opposed the measure, and announced that he should divide against it on the second reading, as he 'believed it would be of a most mischievous character.'

LORD JOHN RUSSELL ON THE 10th OBTAINED LEAVE TO BRING IN TWO BILLS, one 'to consolidate and amend the laws relating to bribery, treating, and undue influence at elections of members of parliament;' and the other, 'to amend the law for the trial of election petitions, and for inquiry into the existence of corrupt practices at elections of members to serve in parliament.' We cannot do more, for want of space, than briefly indicate some of the leading provisions of these measures. The pecuniary penalties attaching to bribery are so high as to operate in the way of preventing convictions. 'The attempt,' said his lordship, 'to inflict a fine of £500 upon a poor voter, who perhaps receives 5s. for his vote would be utterly impracticable, and that no object is gained by maintaining these penalties.' It is therefore proposed by the ministerial measure, that bribery be still subject to punishment, by fine and imprisonment, as a misdemeanor, but that high pecuniary penalties be not maintained. All persons guilty of bribery are to be 'for ever incapable of being elected members of parliament;' those guilty of treating, of exercising undue influence, or of making illegal payments, are to be disqualified for voting 'for the same place and during the same parliament;' and electors receiving bribes are to be struck out of the register of voters, and their names to form a

separate list, to 'be printed and publicly affixed in the same manner as those in the register of votes, so that they might for ever after appear as disqualified.'

The main features of the other measure proposed by his lordship are that all petitions alleging bribery, &c., be referred to a preliminary committee of fifteen members, 'which should be in the nature of a grand jury.' If they report that there is sufficient ground to proceed, an election committee is to be appointed in the usual manner. This committee is to investigate the case, and if satisfied that the petitioner has proceeded on probable grounds, costs are to be defrayed out of the public exchequer; otherwise he is to pay the expenses of the member whose seat he has assailed. When a successful candidate is proved to have been elected by bribery, his opponent, if he has obtained two-thirds as many votes, is to be declared elected; where the general prevalence of bribery is shown, the Crown is to be empowered to issue a commission, and—to ensure uniformity in the decisions of election committees—to appoint barristers of ten years standing as assessors. Further, on any person being convicted of bribery by an election committee, the Attorney-General, at the instance of the Speaker, is to prosecute without other formality being required. Such are the main features of these measures, and they constitute undoubtedly a great improvement on the existing state of things. Like most, however, of the measures proposed, they fail in some important respects. Though we do not regard the *ballot* as a *panacea*, we are satisfied that it is absolutely needful to an eradication of this evil. It may not suffice, by itself; but without it no other means will be effectual. Neither do we think the evil will be corrected while the House retains in its own hands the cognizance of such cases. Let the charge of bribery, like other charges, be preferred before the ordinary tribunals of the kingdom, and a more effectual check will be imposed than by all the complicated machinery which parliament can devise.

We shall not dwell on Sir Fitzroy Kelly's measure submitted to the House on the 16th, as we can scarcely regard it in a serious light, and it wears no one aspect of practical efficiency. As the 'Nonconformist' observes, 'The thing is about as feasible as confining an offensive smell by means of garden-netting.'

A BILL FOR ABOLISHING THE TESTAMENTARY JURISDICTION OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS, AND TRANSFERRING IT TO THE COURT OF CHANCERY, has been read a first time in the House of Lords, on the motion of the Lord Chancellor, and with the marked approval of the Law Lords generally. When Lord Brougham brought forward his measure in 1833, the state of the Court of Chancery was such as to make the transfer now thought so satisfactory a proposal simply inadmissible. And the mere transfer is even now perhaps the least of the advantages of Lord Cranworth's bill. There are but few questions which can arise upon a testamentary document. Is it really what it purports to be? Is it valid? What does it mean? What property does it affect? To decide these questions we have employed the Court of Chancery, the Supreme Courts at Westminster, the Courts at Doctor's Commons, and 386 courts dependent upon the last, which

are scattered throughout the country. Not one of all these jurisdictions is competent to entertain more than one, or perhaps two, of the above questions, or it is only competent to entertain one of them in certain cases. It is obvious that nothing can be done to any purpose until the *actuality* of the will is settled. This rests sometimes with one or more of the 386 local courts, and sometimes with one of the higher courts at Doctors' Commons. The test is usually the locality of different portions of the property; and, as the legal locality is not generally the place of physical position (we are picking our words as carefully as we can), and as the executors constantly discover the existence of property affecting the jurisdiction *after* the decision has been obtained, probates have to be recalled, and proceedings upon them elsewhere to be rescinded; wills get lost; and property gets spent. If the testator has landed property as well as personalty, the result of the proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts settles nothing as to the land: and, though it hardly ever happens that the decisions are contradictory, the necessity of a double procedure to carry out the same clause of the same will is itself an enormous grievance. We say, therefore, that the mere transfer of jurisdiction is as nothing compared to its consolidation. This is now to be effected. The Court of Chancery is to have complete jurisdiction over every question arising out of a will—*ab ovo usque ad mala*. Most earnestly do we trust that nothing will be suffered to defeat or delay the measure.

NOT AMONG THE LEAST MEMORABLE OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH is the rejection by the House of Commons of the MANCHESTER AND SALFORD EDUCATION BILL. For the third time, and certainly with a laudable perseverance, has this bill been introduced into parliament. In 1852, its introduction gave rise to the appointment of a select committee, a view of the result of whose unfinished labours was given in the 'Eclectic Review' for February, 1853. Last year its progress was obstructed by the introduction of the government measure; but at length the sense of the House has been expressed upon it. Brought in as a private bill, the first which the House or the public heard of it was the announcement of the second reading, which was fixed for Tuesday, the 21st of February, and which gave rise to a debate of considerable length and importance. The second reading was moved by Mr. Adderley, and the motion was met by an amendment by Mr. Milner Gibson, to the effect that legislation on the subject of education by public rate ought not to be effected by a private bill; and this amendment, modified, in order to meet the feeling of the House, by the introduction of the words 'at the present time,' was, after nearly seven hours' debate, carried by a majority of 29, the numbers being 105 for, and 76 against it. We confess ourselves satisfied of the justice of this vote. Several members exclaimed against getting rid of a measure on an important subject by a sort of technical objection; but we agree fully with those who maintained that educational legislation involves great principles of public policy which ought first to be determined by the House itself, and after the fullest discussion, before any private bill whatever relating to it should be entertained. Mr. Walpole strongly denounced the system of a school-rate as a practical revival of

the church-rate, with more than the mischiefs of the church-rate, because without its prescriptive antiquity; and Mr. Wigram exposed with much force the proposal contained in the bill to legalize the violation of school trusts. Mr. Hume and Mr. Fox took occasion to advocate their favourite scheme of secular education, but they were effectively met by Lord John Russell and Mr. E. Ball, on the ground of the repulsiveness of such a system to English feeling, and its utter inadequacy to secure the objects for which education itself is desired. The educational voluntaries were represented in the debate by Mr. Peto and Mr. Miall; the former of whom gave a brief but compact and effective statement of the facts which exhibit the present aspect of the question; and the latter threw some rays of vivid light on the palpable darkness of the House as to the principles of the voluntary educationists themselves. We tender our thanks to both these gentlemen for their well-timed and efficient service; we believe also they were well sustained by the votes of those who hold similar opinions. On the whole, the debate was interesting, and we do not doubt it will be useful. We understand it is not likely that the promoters of the rejected bill will make any further parliamentary effort; and from the manner in which their scheme was noticed in the House, we should doubt whether the advocates of secular education will find much encouragement to bring forward theirs.

THE CALUMNIES AGAINST PRINCE ALBERT, admitting as they did of no suitable refutation during the recess, met with an ignominious extinction on the first night of the parliamentary session. These calumnies exhibit in an unprecedented degree the fickleness and unscrupulous licence of some portions of the British press. The 'Morning Advertiser' was the first to publish these rumours; and for weeks, if not months, they may be said to have constituted the staple material of their daily intelligence and animadversion. Awakened by the din, the 'Daily News,' and even the 'Morning Herald,' availed themselves of the same topic during the dearth of news which prevails in a parliamentary recess. No charge against His Royal Highness was too outrageous for publication. He had biased the Queen against the interests of this country, opened despatches, intrigued with our ministers at foreign courts, and surreptitiously conveyed information to foreign potentates. He had tampered with the Horse Guards, prejudiced her Majesty against certain of her advisers, and to crown the whole, was to be sent to the Tower for treason! This bubble, the blowing of which had occupied so long a time, and had attracted so much of public attention, especially among the lower classes, exploded in a single hour, on the 31st of January, leaving its authors covered alike with ridicule and shame. Although it was obviously inconsistent with the position of the prince consort to reply to anonymous writers in newspapers, yet her Majesty's ministers indicated a wise regard for popular feeling, however misled, in resolving to set it aside by one conclusive declaration. In that solemn averment, ministers present and past, and of all parties cordially concurred. It was held by the premier, that His Royal Highness being possessed of the confiding affection of her Majesty, could not but converse with her on all public

matters to which her attention was directed. It was maintained, that as a privy counsellor, this was part of his duty; but Lord Campbell's *dictum* on the constitutional law of the question, declared that he had this right, not merely as a privy counsellor, but as an *alter ego*. It was shown that this cognizance (for it has never been interference) of political and diplomatic business was earnestly recommended by Lord Melbourne, and heartily sanctioned by every subsequent minister. Indeed, the late Duke of Wellington (to our great surprise), urged that His Royal Highness should succeed him as Commander-in-chief. Yet notwithstanding all these incitements to an undue interference with political departments, cabinet ministers of all parties have testified to his wisdom, moderation, and reserve. The advice of so well informed and upright a man has frequently been requested and given; but it is demonstrated that not one letter has ever been written either to foreign courts, or to our representatives there, upon any political or international topic. That the husband of our Queen should receive his first intimations of her Majesty's deepest anxieties from the morning papers is simply absurd. That he has never made an improper use of the natural confidence of her Majesty is sufficiently evident. Meanwhile the peccant newspapers enjoy a happy immunity from flagellation,—the 'Morning Advertiser' from its inferiority of literary ability and political influence; the 'Morning Herald' because the Derby party disclaim any connexion with it; and the 'Daily News,' between the two stools, falls upon an easy cushion. Thus ends the melodrama of Prince Albert's treason.

THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY OF LONDON was publicly conferred on the 9th upon Mr. Layard, the celebrated discoverer of the Nineveh antiquities, and member for the borough of Aylesbury. While the corporation are undergoing the ordeal of a royal commission, and while, for the second time within two years, they are seeking in conformity with their chartered rights to supersede the functions of that commission, by assimilating their institutions to the requirements and the spirit of the present age, they have, we think, acted wisely in adding the name of Layard to that illustrious list, including Nelson and Wellington, Brougham, Denman, Peel, Russell, Napier, Grey, and Hardinge, on whom they have publicly conferred the honour of the municipal freedom. This occasion was rendered especially interesting by the singularly eloquent address of the chamberlain, Sir John Key, and by the manly and noble reply of the learned and enterprising man on whom this honour was conferred. Both have been published verbatim by the order of the corporation. We cannot refuse the tribute of our admiration to the remarkable ability and beauty of Sir John's address. As a mere piece of oratory, it is deserving the highest praise; while not only its bold and eloquent advocacy of the principles of civil and religious freedom, but also the graceful and reverential homage which it pays throughout to the accumulating evidence which modern science and discovery are bearing to the truth and authenticity of the Scriptures, invest his oration with a charm which rarely attaches to official speeches delivered in the routine of these occasions. These admirable sentiments were echoed, though with less rhetorical beauty, in

Mr. Layard's reply. The chief point in the latter was a eulogy on the liberality of the Sultan's administration. The learned gentleman stated that he had spent some years as a subject of that monarch. He testified to the benignity of his government, and the wisdom of his ministers, to which he mainly attributed his success in excavating the valuable remains of Nineveh, and making them the property of the British nation. To the same causes he ascribed a confident prospect that the Christian religion would ere long take a powerful position amidst the superstitions that now predominate in the territories of the Sultan. He concluded by contrasting the enlightenment and civilization of Turkey with the social condition of Russia, and by urging on the British people the most vigorous and determined opposition to the Czar in those lawless attempts which are now imperilling the peace of Europe.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE DEPUTIES OF THE THREE DENOMINATIONS—Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist—was held at the Guildhall Tavern, London, on the 24th of January, when a report was presented detailing the proceedings of the body during the past year. Want of space prevents our referring to the various topics embraced, but it is obvious from the report, and from the interview subsequently held with Lord Palmerston, that the 'deputies' are alive to the importance of the present crisis, and are disposed earnestly to discharge its duties. The subjects adverted to by the deputation were 'Church Rates,' the 'Dissenters Marriage Act Amendment Bill,' and the 'Religious Worship Registration Bill;' and making due allowance for official reserve, the statements of his lordship were not only courteous in tone, but satisfactory in substance. Referring to church-rates, Lord Palmerston stated that it was the intention of her Majesty's government to introduce such a measure as they deemed practicable; that the subject was then before him; and that he would shortly communicate with the deputation respecting it.

We are glad to see this ancient body bestirring itself. It has rendered good service to dissenters in past times, and only needs to be kept abreast of the spirit of the day to command their continued and zealous co-operation. In common with many others, we have regretted its recent supineness. Perhaps we have been mistaken. Viewing it only at a distance, we may have been ignorant of many of its movements, and have rendered it, in consequence, less than justice. But we are not alone in the opinion that it has sometimes failed in promptitude and vigor, and has consequently been superseded in public confidence by other and younger associations. Now we have no objection to a conservative element in our movements. Let it by all means be mingled in fair proportion with more energetic forces, that our measures may be distinguished by steadiness and wisdom, as well as by activity and zeal. All that we object to is an exclusive conservatism. Not indeed that we believe such to have been the recent policy of the dissenting deputies; but there has been an apparent want of strong conviction and earnest action, which has enfeebled our measures and prevented vigorous action. We rejoice in the appearance of a better state of things. Incapable, from its constitution, of becoming, without radical change, a

representative of British dissent, the body of 'deputies' may yet, in all ordinary circumstances, greatly mould its character;—may foster its supineness, or stimulate its zeal.

The tory press is not unobservant of what is passing amongst us. For some time there has been a lull of misrepresentation. We have been indulged only with occasional sneers. The downright abuse of a former day has been exchanged for not less virulent insinuations. The same spirit of detraction is evidently rife, but its expression has been restrained by the improved temper of the age, and the uncertain position of political parties. Directions have probably been issued from head-quarters to refrain from the stereotyped slanders with which our youth was familiar, in the forlorn hope that neutrality, if not active service, might be secured in the event of a tory advent to power. The discretion maintained has, however, at length been discarded, and, strange to say, the object of tory misrepresentation and abuse, is a gentleman against whom the shafts of enmity are specially pointless. If there is one public man in the kingdom who unites, in a greater degree than any other, a large and generous temper with strong personal convictions, that man is the honorable member for Norwich. Whatever narrowmindedness and asperity may be suspected in the composition of other dissenters, Mr. Peto is confessedly free from such taint. His spirit is as catholic as his dissenterism is sound. He knows nothing of what many deem the hereditary prejudices of non-conformity. His wealth has been at the service of all good men, whatever their ecclesiastical views, and their plans have engaged both his sympathies and prayers.

Such is the man on whom the vials of tory wrath have lately been poured out, and the fact is most significant. We have now before us 'The Morning Post' of the 6th, and 'The Liverpool Mail' of the 11th inst., and we refer to them only as specimens of what may be expected from the fairness and candor of our opponents. Both these journals refer to the Annual Meeting of the Deputies, and it would be difficult to cull, even from the worst times, more reprehensible specimens of misrepresentation and calumny. 'The stars of the dissenting interests,' says the former, 'the Pellatts and the Petos, like the old sinner just mentioned (Falstaff), mix figures and facts in much about the same proportion, and gull the credulous chapelarians, whose champions they are, with theories which have no truth, and prospects which can never be realized while truth has any voice in the legislation of this country.' The tone of the meeting is said to have been 'one of complacent self-esteem and cool impudence,' and the chairman, Mr. Peto—here reader is the *gravamen* of the offence—maintained, we are informed, 'the right of nonconformists to deal with church property, which he considered as national property, and that it as much belonged to him as to any other man in this country.' Mr. Peto's meaning was sufficiently obvious. It was known to the writer of the 'Morning Post;' yet by a most discreditable perversion, he represents it as confounding things essentially distinct, and seeks to strengthen the prejudice thus awakened by a piece of scurrilous witticism of which the merest tyro should be ashamed.

We need not go far to explain Mr. Peto's meaning. It was precisely identical with that of Sir James Mackintosh, who tells us 'That the lands of the Church possess not the most simple and indispensable requisites of property. They are not even pretended to be held for the *benefit* of those who enjoy them.' That any member of the Church of England should question this fact is indicative either of marvellous ignorance or of equal hardihood. Roman Catholics may do so with a better grace; but the whole title of the Protestant hierarchy is parliamentary. Its revenues were received from the State, which has exercised, again and again, the same right of control as enriched protestantism at the expense of popery in the days of Henry and Elizabeth. If Church property is not national, and, as such, *to be used for the benefit of the nation*, then the Church of England has no right or title to it whatever.

The 'Liverpool Mail' improves on its London contemporary, in a leader, which repeats, with a still larger infusion of bitterness and misrepresentation, the calumnies of the latter. The tone of the article may be gathered from the following, which can be designated only by a term that gentlemen shrink from using:—'*Mr. Peto, the knight-errant of their chivalry, does not hesitate to declare boldly and openly that he has abandoned the voluntary principle. Indeed he lectures Mr. Baines, the great apostle of the voluntaries, as being sadly behind the age, and as clinging to antiquated and exploded absurdities.*' This is bad enough. It is simply untrue, as every well-informed man knows, and our wonder is that any journalist would venture on so reckless a statement. But there is another passage, whose flagrant untruthfulness enwraps so gross a libel that we cannot acquit the writer of intentional misrepresentation. If there is one point on which the views of all classes of dissenters have been more clearly and repeatedly expressed than any other, it is that *in no case, and under no circumstance*, would they receive the least fraction of what is termed Church property. In every possible variety of phrase they have affirmed this, and there is nothing in their procedure to involve this denial in doubt. Yet the 'Liverpool Mail,' speaking of dissenters, coolly affirms that '*The Church property is to be voted the property of the State, and each denomination is to participate therein according to their relative numerical positions. This is their great political game—robbing the Church to endow sects.*' It were futile to reason with such an opponent. It is clear that logic has nothing to do with his conclusions, and we have no disposition to contend with bad faith, or envenomed feeling. We turn away from the spectacle of such miserable partisanship, and hope the time will yet come when truth and justice will be deemed primary elements of religious controversy. It will be no matter of surprise to our readers that so gross a misrepresentation of our views should be closed by an equally inaccurate version of the strength of the Church. '*We have no doubt,*' says this veracious and well-informed journal, '*that four-fifths of the whole population of England and Wales are members of the Church of England: in other words, the Establishment is still the Church of the Nation.*' What will the Registrar-General say to this?

THE EASTERN QUESTION HAS ADVANCED, though not in the direc-

tion we could wish, during the past month. The Czar has declined the terms proposed by the four mediating powers, his ambassadors have left London and Paris, and the representatives of France and England have, in consequence, been re-called from St. Petersburg. Our Foreign Secretary, in scarcely adequate terms, represents us as 'drifting towards war,' while in the Lower House the language of Lords Russell and Palmerston is far more decided, and, as it appears to us, better suited to the occasion. The political opponents of the Ministry, while professing much moderation, have sought to damage its character by reflecting on the manner in which its negotiations have been conducted. We are not surprised at this. Our only regret is that some grounds have been furnished for their criminatory charges by the credulity and want of resolution which have been displayed. Had the earlier movements of the Czar been met by an explicit avowal of British feeling, we do not believe that the Pruth would have been passed. We are fully alive to the fact stated by Lord Palmerston, and admit its force, that, after all, this 'is but an opinion,' and had it turned out groundless,—'had Russia,' as his lordship remarked, 'instead of submission, urged us on to the point at which we now stand, we should have been justly chargeable with a grave political mistake.' We admit all this, yet we are still of opinion that, from the best motives, the policy of the Cabinet has contributed to war rather than to peace. They sought to avert the evil by negotiations which their opponent misinterpreted. He deemed them proofs of weakness and irresolution, and replied, therefore, to all our overtures, in the tone of a haughty and insulting dictatorship. One thing is evident, and we are glad that it has been distinctly enunciated,—throughout her communications with this country, Russia has acted with systematic bad faith.

Our reading has not supplied us with a parallel charge to that which Lord Palmerston advanced against a power with whom war is not yet proclaimed.—'When Count Nesselrode asserted, at a later period,' said his lordship, on the 20th, 'that our government had known from the outset what were the whole demands of Russia upon Turkey, he asserted that—I am bound to say it—which was utterly at variance with the fact. It is painful to speak of a government like Russia in terms of censure or reprobation, but I am bound to say, on behalf of the English government, that the Russian government, by itself and its agents, has, throughout these transactions, exhausted every modification of untruth, concealment, and evasion, and ended with assertions of positive falsehood.' The language of Lord John Russell was equally distinct. 'The whole of her conduct,' said his lordship, speaking of Russia, 'was no doubt a deception. There were concealment and deception on the part of Russia towards the government of this country.' There is no mistaking this language. Before it could be uttered by cabinet ministers, all hope of a peaceful settlement must have been abandoned. As a last effort, doubtful perhaps, in form, though well meant, the Emperor of the French addressed a letter to the Czar, the reply to which, we are informed by the French official journal, 'destroys all chance of a pacific solution.' French and British troops have been

consequently despatched to the aid of Turkey, and a powerful fleet is being formed for operations in the Baltic. The formality of a declaration of war must speedily follow. France and England have exchanged notes 'promising to co-operate in giving assistance to Turkey, and declaring on the part of both powers that no selfish interests, and no increase of territory or power is sought for.' A treaty with Turkey is also about to be proposed, of the acceptance of which Lord Russell speaks most confidently, by which she will bind herself not to make peace with Russia, 'while we are giving our aid and assistance, without our consent and concurrence.'

In the mean time many are asking what are the intentions of Austria and Prussia. Lord Russell distinctly admitted, on the 17th, that 'they are not bound to us to resist in any manner the acts of aggression on the part of Russia;' yet expressed his conviction that these acts had 'at length aroused both in Austria and Prussia a sense that they must consider the welfare of Europe before consulting the will of the Emperor of Russia.' That these powers, and especially the former, have a deep interest at stake cannot be doubted. But is Austria in a position to take an independent part? Are not her obligations to Russia too recent and too weighty to permit her having any other rule than the will of the Czar? As to the reported failure of Count Orloff's mission to Vienna we have our doubts, and the same feeling attaches to the hopes expressed by Lord Russell. Is not her concurrence thus far purchased by an engagement, forced on the Sultan by England, to arrest and retain in captivity at Kutayah the ex-governor of Hungary and his immediate friends, should they present themselves at Constantinople? Such a report is abroad, and we fear there is some truth in it. To whatever extent this may be it indicates the policy of Austria. While peace is maintained she is willing, with such a proviso, to act with the western powers: but let hostilities be commenced, and we have no faith in her help. Sooner or later she will be arrayed with Russia, and then will come the time for Hungary and Italy. We have no fear for the result, however we may deplore the contest. England has too frequently been arrayed on the side of continental despotism; she is now happily engaged in a better cause. The Emperor Nicholas is 'the wanton disturber' of the peace of Europe, 'and it is for mankind,' said Lord Russell, with unusual warmth, 'to throw upon the head of that disturber the consequences which he has so flagrantly, and I believe, so imprudently evoked,' 'May God defend the right,' was the closing language of his lordship; and will be the fervent, daily prayer, of every Christian Englishman.

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APRIL, 1854.

- ART. I.—*Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles.* June 24, 1852.
2. *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles.* June 28, 1853.
 3. *Reformatory Schools.* By Mary Carpenter. London: Gilpin. 1851.
 4. *Juvenile Delinquents.* By Mary Carpenter. London: W. and F. G. Cash. 1853.
 5. *Social Evils: their Causes and Cure.* London: Nisbet and Co. 1852.
 6. *An Account of the Reformatory Institution for Juvenile Offenders at Mettray, in France.* From the French of M. Augustin Cochin, LL.D. By the Rev. George Hans Hamilton, M.A., Chaplain of the Durham County Gaol. London: Whittaker and Co. 1853.
 7. *Plint on Crime.* London: Charles Gilpin. 1851.
 8. *Report of the Proceedings of a Conference on the subject of Preventive and Reformatory Schools, held at Birmingham, the 9th and 10th Dec., 1851.* London: Longman and Co.
 9. *Report of the Proceedings of a Conference on the Subject of Preventive and Reformatory Schools, held at Birmingham, the 9th and 10th Dec., 1853.* London: Longman and Co.
 10. *Three Charges.* By the Recorder of Birmingham, Matthew Davenport Hill, Esq., delivered to the Grand Jury of that Borough at the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions for the years 1850, 1851, and 1853. London: Longman and Co.
 11. *Prize Essays on Juvenile Delinquency.* By Micaiah Hill, Esq., and C. F. Cornwallis, Esq.

It is said that the people of England never move in the way of the reform of an abuse, or the correction of an evil, until they are made so uneasy by either the one or the other, that

quiescence is no longer practicable. It may then be safely affirmed, if this theory of the national character be true, that the thinking and benevolent portion of the English public are unusually uncomfortable as respects the extent, character, and evils, direct and indirect, pecuniary and moral, social and political, of juvenile crime. Within the last seven or eight years the legislature has passed many enactments for the better administration of the law in respect of offences committed by juveniles, and the government has adopted various new methods of discipline, correction and punishment, in the gaols appropriated to juvenile offenders. The subject, too, has occupied both Houses in various ways, in discussing measures proposed but not adopted, and especially in hearing evidence on the whole question of juvenile crime, its sources, forms, and remedies. Out of doors, prize essays on the subject have been written and published. Recorders, magistrates, and barristers have communicated their views through the press. The benevolent Miss Carpenter has laid society under deep and lasting obligation to her by the publication of the two eloquent and powerful works quoted above; whilst an active, earnest, and influential association, comprising members of both Houses of Parliament, and of the bar, chaplains of gaols, and public men, of mark alike for talent and benevolence, has brought the whole question before the national view, at two great gatherings in the central town of Birmingham, and have thereby so strongly attracted the attention of reflecting and practical men to it, that it may now be regarded as one of those problems, on the solution of which society is bent with a fixedness of purpose, so strong, that the ANSWER is only one of time.

A few years ago the *cry* was loud that *all* crime was fearfully on the increase, and there wanted not statistical evidence, at least up to 1843, in the number of committals to the assizes and quarter sessions, and of summary convictions, that such was the *fact*. The large decrease, however, in these classes of judicial administration in the three following years, 1844, 5, and 6, and the actual diminution in the ratio of crime to population, comparing 1850, 1, and 2, with 1840, 1, and 2, has led to a more minute investigation of all the phenomena; the conclusions from which may be thus briefly stated:—that crime is narrowed in its area, though more intense within that area,—that its amount, in relation to the general population, is dependent on other causes than such as are specifically moral,—and that even when those causes are identical in force, the actually detected crime, or the recorded violations of public law, are not to be taken as the exact measure of the national morality, comparing the convictions of one year with another. Still the idea

is, as it were, stereotyped in the public mind, that *juvenile*, as distinct from *adult* crime, *has increased and is increasing*; and although several of the most careful observers are of a contrary opinion, it is nevertheless true that there is a growing, nay, a fixed conviction, that other than existing means are required to meet the evil. The *necessity* of such new appliances is not denied; but it may be well, on the very threshold of the subject, to give some reasons why the fact need not excite either so much surprise or so much alarm as it undoubtedly did a few years ago, and as it still does, in the minds of *many* of the ardent and energetic friends of juvenile reformatory schools and houses of refuge. There is no longer any dispute that the aggregation of the population in large towns and cities is accompanied by the development and rapid growth of certain forms of crime; nor is it less a question of dispute that a criminal class, *per se*, is one distinctive feature of all such populations. The activity and frequency of crime is proportioned to the almost absolute dependence of that class on violations of public law for its very existence and perpetuation. It is in very fact a recognised section, and a well-known section too, in all towns of great magnitude, and *once established*, it is a class more removed from all ameliorating influences, more invulnerable to moral suasion and social sympathies, than any other. It constitutes a new estate, in utter estrangement from all the rest, and in dangerous antagonism to their peace, happiness, and well-being. It would not be philosophical to say that large towns and cities *generate* the criminal class. *The cause why* the class exists at all lies far deeper than any incidence of mere density in the population, or even of the degree to which secular instruction and *moral training*, even, pervade the community, though its numbers and character will be affected more or less as these latter influences are more or less abundant, and are co-extensive or otherwise with the whole social area; still it is undoubted that its distinctive features, and especially its marked *isolation* in the midst of society, are consequent on the facilities which large cities present for concealment, and the innumerable temptations and opportunities which they afford for the practice of depredation and outrage of every kind on the property and rights of all the other classes. The terrible licentiousness, and almost bestial habits of the entire class, are the necessary consequence of its isolation, and its seclusion in holes and corners, out of the view of all that is orderly, and pure, and good, as if it hated the sight; and surrounded by all the incentives, physical and mental, to the most sensual indulgences. Large towns, in fact, are a kind of moral cesspool, into which whatever is morally foul and putrid seems to descend, and to engender, by proximity and contact, a fouler putridity still. From

the isolation of this class, so aptly designated 'CITY ARABS,' and the total absence of all humanizing and moral influence within it, whether in the *domestic* circle, *where such exists*, the common lodging-house, and the low neighbourhood where it lurks, arise those peculiar characteristics of juvenile delinquents which at a glance reveal to the experienced eye of the gaol authorities and the police, the parentage and tutelage of the young offender, wherever he is met with. It is scarcely possible to realize, with sufficient distinctness and vividness, the negative conditions under which the child of the adult criminal, in such places as London or Liverpool, is brought up. Parental love and tenderness he scarcely knows, or knows only as manifested in maudlin fondness in the moment of half-drunkenness, or of mad revel after some successful feat of pocket-picking or burglary. Example, alas! he knows only in its worst forms of obscenity, blasphemy, unbridled passion, dishonesty, and perhaps brutal violence and murderous savageness of temper. Around him is nothing with which he is in contact, or with which he can hold converse, better than himself; it is the contact of wretchedness, ignorance, and immorality, with its like or worse; it is converse that sweetens not, or cheers, or improves. Society at large he regards with interest only as it presents materials for plunder, and therefore for his subsistence. The gay dreams and bounding joys of childhood he knows not; nor as he grows up to the age and stature of the youth, does life open with bright promise, or his mind expand with earnest effort towards its realization. He is in antagonism to society, not simply as he lives by defying its laws and wasting its property, but far more, as with whatever is 'pure and lovely, and of good report,' he is at war. He gazes on the spectacle presented in the happier condition of industrious and moral life; its domestic tenderness, peace, and love; its energetic and honourable toil; its high efforts in the walks of benevolence, and public usefulness; its swelling peal of lofty joy and gratulation in some moment of national success or common rejoicing, only to envy what he cannot possess or participate in, or to hate all that tells him he is an outcast and an alien. Sad as is this picture, it is but too faithful a delineation of hundreds, nay, thousands, born and nurtured amidst the filth, and vice, and crime of all kinds, in the dark, damp, and dolorous by-lanes and nooks, the horrid dens and caves, unknown but to the police and to the devoted missionary of our great cities. He is not simply a rude and uncivilized being; he is a perverted and evil-taught one. He has no counterpart in savage life, for it has its strong affections, its healthful occupations, and some rude institutions to maintain independence, and safety, and order. It is a *mal-condition*, so to speak, in whatever relates to the body, the intellect, the

emotions, or the conscience ; all that should be vigorous and energetic, inert, benumbed, or dead ; all that should be held in with the strong rein of discretion, and prudence, and disciplined affection, and a quickened conscience, rampant, unbridled, and uncontrollable.

If any doubt whether this mournful delineation be true, let them take up the Reports of the Commons for 1852 and 1853, and turn to the Appendix. It is no 'short and simple Annals of the Poor' they will meet with, but a most painful and harrowing biography of infant and juvenile life ;—a tale of brutal parentage or outcast orphanage ; of tender childhood, familiar with the lowest debauchery, with obscene scenic representations, with the cold midnight air under the shelter of a cart-body, or the portico of some wealthy man's abode ; of precocious mental activity and proficiency in all the arts of deception, fraud, and thievery ; of callous indifference to pain or shame ; of young hearts, hard as the nether mill-stone, or burning with the intense hatred and malignity which, even in the old and scarred criminal, affect the mind with an emotion almost too painful to be borne, and which terrifies whilst it pains, as though we were in contact with a 'spirit of evil.' A sad record of sorrow, wretchedness, vice, and guilt it is, and no less true than sad.

It is not surprising that benevolent men at the bar and on the bench have been startled and horrified by the disclosures of juvenile crime made in our Courts of Session and Assize, and have supplicated society, in earnest and eloquent terms, to save them from the harrowing spectacle, by adopting some reclaiming and reformatory means. Well might the benevolent Recorder of Birmingham, Matthew Davenport Hill, Esq., in concluding his speech at the Birmingham Conference of 1851, exclaim, on behalf of the bench,

'We implore you, then, to aid us with all your might in the great work we have in hand. . . . We pray you, on behalf of the whole judicial establishment of England, although we sit on its lowest bench, to shield us from the reproach of being the agents of a cruelty at once so odious and useless ! Help us, we beseech you, to reach that moral elevation, compared with which all social distinctions are as nothing, which we shall have gained when we feel ourselves the ministers of enlightened justice,—justice guided by knowledge, and tempered with mercy.'

Society has been so horrified by the spectacle of juvenile crime in such forms of revolting depravity, that its fears have been unduly excited, and for a time the erroneous conclusion extensively prevailed, that our whole juvenile population was being corrupted and ruined. The evil, both in its extent and character, is now more accurately measured ; and although statements are yet

put forward, giving a most appalling idea of the vast extent of the class, *destitute and criminal children*, the leading men of the movement are arriving at more correct views. Lord Shaftesbury stated at the Birmingham Conference, that the whole number of children in the metropolis, in training for a life of crime, did not exceed 3000; a very different number to that so frequently quoted by writers and speakers on the subject,—namely, 30,000! It is not the less imperative on society to grapple with the evil, which, as the same noble lord said, ‘was in our grasp,’—a definite quantity, which might be compassed about, and so beset with appliances, penal and reformatory, as to be reduced to a *minimum*. That it will ever, and in any possible or probable condition of the world, be rooted out, and extirpated, may be believed by Optimists and Latter-day Saints, but *ought not* to influence the conduct of the philanthropist and legislator. He must deal with it as with all forms of social evil, as one of the conditions incident to man’s being and to social organization, to be obviated and prevented as far as possible on the one hand, or to be counteracted and kept down on the other. It is the latter process which the active and earnest men and women connected with the Birmingham Conference are now intent upon. Their motto is, Reformatory Discipline,—not deterrent; the melting and subduing power of kindness,—not the stern correction and punishment awarded by inflexible justice; the awakening of dormant sensibilities and latent powers of mind, and above all, of an all but dead conscience, as the basis on which a new life can be reared,—the starting place from which a new and happy and virtuous career may be run.

It is assumed by these persons, and their whole effort would be useless or impertinent without such assumption, that the existing appliances of our penal and corrective system are greatly defective, if not, as many affirm, altogether inapt or absolutely mischievous. This much is, at the least, absolutely certain,—that the police station, the gaol, the penal ward, and the separate cell, fail to prevent the repetition of crime in nearly all cases where the delinquent belongs to the dangerous and destitute classes, the criminal and *vagabond* class, as they would be termed in America; nay, worse, it is all but certain that the youth *once in prison* will be found there again and again, until the last sentence of transportation shuts him up for a long term of years in Millbank, or a ticket of leave transfers him to another hemisphere and another zone, to spend, perhaps, the whole remainder of his life. Two distinct returns will place this fact in a clear point of view. The Rev. G. B. De Renzi, Chaplain of the Leeds Borough Gaol, laid the following table before the committee of the Commons:—

Number of male offenders under 17 years of age committed to the Leeds Borough Gaol betwixt the 11th of October, 1847, and the 10th October, 1848; *also*, their subsequent re-committals during the following four years up to October, 1852:—

	Offenders.	Committals.
Committed once	35	35
„ twice	14	28
„ thrice	18	54
„ four times	19	76
„ five times	8	40
„ six times and upwards	21	153
	<hr/> 115	<hr/> 386

It appears from this table that out of 115 juveniles committed in 1847 and 1848, 80 were re-committed in the four following years, twice, thrice, and upwards, three and a-half times each, or in the aggregate, 270 times.

The Rev. W. C. Osborn, Chaplain of the Bath Gaol, delivered to the same committee the following table:—

	1847.	1848.	1849.
No. 1. Children committed to prison for the first time	7,345	7,992	7,816
2. Juvenile old offenders	3,850	3,764	4,314
3. Total number of Juveniles committed	<hr/> 11,195	<hr/> 11,756	<hr/> 11,630
4. Juvenile old offenders—number of their offences	7,815	8,048	8,509
5. Total number of committals and re-committals of the children in prison	<hr/> 19,010	<hr/> 19,804	<hr/> 20,139

On the average of the three years, there were 7,551 first committals, and 12,100 re-committals, being as 1 fresh committal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ re-committal. Or, the fact may be put in another form. The average number of juvenile old offenders, in the three years, was 3976, and of their offences 12,100, so that each of the old offenders committed three offences yearly and was three times committed to prison; and the proportion of the old offenders to those committed for the first time being as 4 to $7\frac{1}{2}$, whilst their offences were as 12 to $7\frac{1}{2}$, it follows by another proof that the old offenders were three times as criminal as the former class. Similar tables could be produced from the records of every gaol in the kingdom, and it is admitted, even by those who cling tenaciously to the existing system of penal discipline for juveniles, that a young child once admitted for a term of two or three weeks within the four walls of a prison, and accustomed to its rules and become but too familiar with its evils and influences,—almost inevitably comes back again, sooner or later, until stopped in more mature life, or just at adolescence, by transportation. The system is, in one word, utterly powerless as a means of reformation, nay, it hardens, corrupts, and destroys.

The unfitness of our past and existing means of penal discip-

line to effect the reformation of juvenile criminals has long and loudly been asserted by those who are now taking the lead in seeking the establishment of industrial and reformatory schools. The witnesses examined before the Commons' Committee, excepting such as are identified with the existing system, were unanimous in opinion on this vital point—vital because the whole effort now making to establish a different system is justifiable only as the present one is proved to be inefficient or mischievous. It would only weary to quote these recorded opinions in detail ; and it would be a work of supererogation, inasmuch as the Select Committee, after hearing both sides of the question, has solemnly put on record its deliberate judgment. The third, fourth, and fifth resolutions adopted by them run thus:—

3. 'That it appears to this committee to be established by the evidence that a large proportion of the present aggregate of crime might be prevented, and thousands of miserable human beings, who have before them, under our present system, nothing but a hopeless career of wickedness and vice, might be converted into honest, virtuous, and industrious citizens, if due care were taken to rescue destitute, neglected, and criminal children from the dangers and temptations incident to their position.

4. 'That a great proportion of the criminal children of this country, especially those convicted of first offences, appear to require systematic education, care, and industrial occupation, rather than mere punishment.

5. 'That the common gaols and houses of correction do not generally provide suitable means for the educational or corrective treatment of young children, who ought, when guilty of crime, to be treated in a manner different from the ordinary punishment of adult criminals.'

Looking to the composition of the Select Committee, it may now be safely affirmed that the Commons' House of Parliament, *at least*, and reflecting and benevolent men out of Parliament, are agreed on the fundamental basis of future action, namely, that existing legal and judicial appliances are inadequate or inefficient, one or both. The moot points now raised are two—first, the kinds of reformatory discipline to be adopted ; and, second, who shall conduct and superintend it. There the divergence of opinion commences. On the one hand are those who maintain that no government action will prove effectual if it extends further than to the supplying of the funds and a vigorous inspection. These persons maintain that the class of administrators and teachers required in order to the successful management of destitute and criminal children, cannot be provided by any government ; that the ordinary tests of fitness for the office of teacher will not avail to secure the proper class of men and women ; nay, more, that it is in the very nature of all

government action, having a moral end for its object, to be cold, official, and perfunctory, and, therefore, to be either useless or mischievous. At the Birmingham Conference, the Earl of Shaftesbury, whilst admitting that 'voluntary effort would be inadequate to so great an undertaking,' asserted 'that government aid, *if alone given*, would soon become cold, formal, and ineffective.' The whole evidence of the Recorder of Birmingham goes to show that no mere government action will suffice; that the work demands earnest, benevolent, and religious men to conduct it; that in any other hands its results will be disappointing; and he emphatically states 'that all existing establishments, at home and abroad, for the reformation of criminal children which have proved successful, have had a large infusion of the voluntary principle.' Miss Carpenter's evidence and her two admirable volumes are but an elaborate exposition of the same opinion. On the other hand, governors of prisons, prison inspectors, and gaol chaplains and schoolmasters cling to official action, and, despite the acknowledged failure of all it has done, advocate amendments and alterations which, as they think, will make it effective. Both parties have now put forward their plans—that of the advocates of government action, in the resolutions of the Commons' Committee. The plan of the advocates of the voluntary system, aided by government money or local rates, and under government inspection, is given in Miss Carpenter's work, 'Juvenile Delinquents,' page 331. It is the plan of the Birmingham Conference of 1851. It requires provision to be made for three classes of schools—

1. Free day-schools.
2. Industrial feeding schools, with compulsory attendance.
3. Penal reformatory schools.

These schools are projected to meet the conditions of three distinct classes of juveniles—

'First. Those who have not yet subjected themselves to the grasp of the law, but who by reason of the vice, neglect, or extreme poverty of their parents are inadmissible to the existing school establishments, and consequently must grow up without any education, almost inevitably forming part of the perishing and dangerous classes, and ultimately becoming criminal.

'Secondly. Those who are already subjecting themselves to police interference by vagrancy, mendicancy, or petty infringements of the law.

'Thirdly. Those who have been convicted of felony or such misdemeanour as involves dishonesty.'

THE LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS NEEDED TO BRING SUCH SCHOOLS INTO OPERATION ARE—

"For the Free Day Schools, *such extension of the present govern-*

ment grants, from the Committee of Council on Education, as may secure their maintenance in an effective condition.

'For the Industrial Feeding Schools, authority to magistrates to enforce attendance at such schools, on children of the second class, and to require payment to the supporters of the school for each child from the parish in which the child resides, with a power to the parish officer to obtain the outlay from the parish, except in cases of inability.

'For the Penal Reformatory Schools, authority to magistrates and judges to commit juvenile offenders to such schools, instead of to prison, with power of detention to the governor during the appointed period, the charge of maintenance being enforced as above.

*'All the three classes of schools, the conference declares, will be best conducted by individual bodies, with close and rigid inspection from the state.'**

Their views, however, have been somewhat modified. At the second Birmingham Conference, held in December last, the following resolutions were passed:—

'That before proceeding to the consideration of legislative amendments required in the treatment of morally destitute and criminal children, this Conference takes the opportunity to express its cordial adoption of the opinion of the select committee of the House of Commons, "That it appears to this committee to be established by the evidence, that a large proportion of the present aggregate of crime might be prevented, and thousands of miserable human beings, who have before them, under our present system, nothing but a hopeless career of wickedness and vice, might be converted into virtuous, honest, and industrious citizens, if due care were taken to rescue destitute, neglected, and criminal children from the dangers and temptations incident to their position."'

'That, properly to effect the great object contemplated in the preceding resolution, this Conference is of opinion that the country requires legislation for the encouragement of reformatory schools for children convicted of crime or habitual vagrancy; and that such schools shall be founded and supported in the manner pointed out by the resolution of the committee of the House of Commons—viz., partially by local rates, partially by contributions from the state.'

'That in the opinion of this Conference, every encouragement should be given to reformatory schools, supported by voluntary contributions, for the benefit of destitute and criminal children, and that power should be given to government, and to counties and boroughs, to contract with the managers of such institutions for the education and maintenance of criminal children therein; such institutions to be under government inspection.'

'That power should be created for sending children, convicted of crime or habitual vagrancy, to reformatory establishments for sufficient time for their reformation or industrial training, or until satisfactory sureties be found for their future good conduct.'

* The *italics* are in the original.

‘That, as a check to any possible encouragement offered to parental negligence, a portion of every child’s cost of maintenance at a reformatory school should be recoverable from the parents.’

‘That powers should be conferred, in certain cases, to apprentice boys on their leaving reformatory schools, or to adopt other measures, at the public cost, of enabling them to commence a course of honest industry.’

The true scope of these resolutions will best be understood by coupling with them the ‘resolutions of the Commons’—6 to 11—which run as follows:—

6. ‘That various private reformatory establishments for young criminals have proved successful, but are not sure of permanent support; and are deficient in legal control over the inmates.’

7. ‘That penal reformatory establishments ought to be instituted for the detention and correction of criminal children convicted before magistrates or courts of justice of **SERIOUS OFFENCES**.’

8. ‘That such penal reformatory establishments ought to be *founded and supported entirely at the public cost, and to be under the care and inspection of the government*.’

9. ‘That reformatory schools should be established for the education and correction of children convicted of **MINOR OFFENCES**.’

10. ‘That such reformatory schools should be founded and supported partially by local rates, and partially by contributions from the state, and that power should be given for raising the necessary amount of local rates.’

11. ‘That power should be given to the government to contract with the managers of reformatory schools, founded and supported by voluntary contributions, for the care and maintenance of criminal children within such institutions.’

Comparing the two sets of resolutions together, it seems pretty clear that the Conference approves the recommendation of the Report in resolution 8, that **PENAL REFORMATORY SCHOOLS** should be entirely at the public cost, and under the care and inspection of government. In the management of such schools, *voluntary action* would have no place; that must be confined to reformatory schools for the correction and education of children *convicted of minor offences*.

That voluntary effort would have a wide field here, there is no question. What it will have to do, and how far it is competent to do that, will be seen—if first, the physical, mental, and moral condition of the children whose reformation is contemplated be considered; and, second—if the results of the experiments made both in England and other countries be developed.

The characteristics of the child of criminal parents, in other words, of the criminal child, *per se*, have already been noticed. But the children for whom reformatory schools are to be provided, are not all of that class, nor do they constitute even a majority

of it. They are those described in the *first* and *second* heads (page 393), and it will be useful, and is indeed indispensable to look at this class more minutely, and to inquire what it is, and whence derived. The suitableness of the reformatory means will be best tested when the conditions of mental and moral disease are accurately described and thoroughly comprehended.

If a map were constructed to show the proportions in which the several classes are located in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Bristol, different colours being used to distinguish the localities inhabited by the respective classes, say, red for the upper or wealthy class, blue for the middle class, green for the operative class, and black for the criminal class, it would be found that the red would be principally dotted round the extreme circumference of such plan, or in adjoining suburban villages and hamlets; that the blue would mark the best-built, and most healthy portions of the city or town, properly so called, and run along the outer edge of the main streets devoted to business; that the green would fill up the courts and alleys betwixt the main streets, and even large spaces in those parts of each town or city, where manufactures or small trades were carried on, with an occasional dot here and there of red or blue, and more frequent patches of black. The several classes would be seen to be separate and distinct in their localization, save that the criminal class would be in close proximity to, and be in fact, dovetailed in with the operative class.

This allocation of the classes has its specific evils. Classes, like individuals, rise by contact with something higher and nobler than themselves, or by the gradual development of some inherent germ or principle of growth. But the position of the preponderating class in London, Manchester, &c., is that of *isolation* or *distinctness*, in respect to the more refined and educated classes, and of close *contact* with the very lowest—the criminal class. Nor is there any redeeming feature in the degree of direct intercourse which arises out of the relation of employer and employed. The operatives are employed in large masses, and there is little and infrequent interchange of kind greeting or good offices; the manifestation of personal kindness on the one side, and of personal respect and attachment on the other. Here and there some master in whom benevolence is largely developed, takes a deep interest in the mental and moral advancement of his work people; but, save this, the intercourse of the two classes is only maintained through the ministration of the Sabbath-school teacher, the town missionary, and the minister of religion. Although the class is, in the main, intelligent, honest, industrious, and well-ordered in all things, there will be, and are, not a few idle, dissipated, and disorderly, neglectful of their children, and

especially of their education, whether scholastic or otherwise ; given to sensual or vicious gratification, and especially in periods of distress—coarse, quarrelsome, or worse—obscene and profane. The dregs of the class are continually settling down into the ranks of confirmed and habitual criminality, there preparing for themselves and their children a qualification for the police-station and the gaol. As death, by disease or accident, carries off either one or other, or both the parents, or some serious offence separates husband and father from wife and child, the exposure of the unhappy children to demoralizing influences becomes more serious and fatal. Need it excite surprise that the juveniles of this class supply our bridewells and houses of correction with their inmates? That such is the fact, there is only too abundant evidence to prove. Of 192 juvenile prisoners in Bath Gaol September 30, 1848, to September 30, 1849, 33 were orphans; 17 had a father *only* living; 43 a mother *only*; total, 93 of *fatherless* or *motherless* children, or orphans. In the Liverpool Borough Gaol, 1845, at one time there were 66 juveniles, 48 families were visited, and this was the result:—

- 3 No parental care.
- 7 Homes plentiful and sufficient, *but parents, one or both, given to drink.*
- 4 Fatherless: had decent but barely sufficient homes.
- 4 Homes barely sufficient, *owing to the drunkenness of parents.*
- 7 *Each parent of bad character.*
- 8 *Parents following occupations unfavourable to morality.*
- 15 Parents decent; homes comfortable.
- 5 Homes plentiful and sufficient.

Miss Carpenter sums up the whole case in the emphatic and comprehensive sentence (p.155)—‘ That the great mass of juvenile delinquency is to be directly and mainly attributed to the low moral condition of the parents, and to their culpable neglect of the early training of their children, or their incapacity to direct it.’ If, as Miss Carpenter elsewhere says, ‘ a well-conducted family is the *order of Providence*, and is more calculated to develop the human being than any school can do,’—that must be the *most unfavourable* condition of infant and juvenile life, in which the family is ill-conducted, and when, besides, a thousand influences of evil in the neighbourhood, and in the sphere of daily life, tempt the *ill-taught*, or the *evil-taught* and neglected child, to a life of vagabondism, licentiousness, and crime ! That such influences do surround and beset children thus neglected is too true. The child who prefers the streets and such associates as he meets with there, to home, or the school, will encounter temptation at every turn, and the first compliance will inevitably entail a second and a third. He will meet there the young criminal,

who will allure him to petty thefts, for the sake of the gratifications of sense he may thereby procure. The next step will be the resort to the low theatre, with its deeply debasing and corrupting influence; and to escape punishment for stopping out late, the low lodging house will be resorted to, and ere long will be his home, when he is not in jail! These steps of downward progress have been realized in hundreds and thousands of instances, in the cases of *almost* infants and juveniles born and brought up in the lowest and densely crowded localities of all our large towns; and when to all the influences described there is added brutal and unfeeling conduct on the part of drunken and debauched parents, or *step*-parents, it will be a miracle almost if the child escapes utter and final degradation and ruin.

It is this class, daily exposed to crime, or just committed to it by minor offences, such as petty thefts, &c., which the reformatory schools, founded and conducted by voluntary effort, are intended to save from a life of confirmed criminality, and the final excision from society by confinement in the jail or transportation to the penal colony.

With regard to such children the whole work of a right education is to be begun. What of intellect is developed, is active only for evil purposes, and, indeed, such knowledge as exists is of beings, and habits, and practices, which are perverted and evil—perception of right principle, obedience to moral law, there is none. Desire, appetite, or passion, are the ruling impulses to action; an ungoverned, undisciplined self-will the only law of life. It is no mere secular education, no official routine of the pauper school, that will meet the case of such children. There is much, very much to undo, as well as much to do, and, as a preliminary, altogether indispensable to the effectuation of either, the confidence, if not the affection of the child has to be won.

None but teachers who enter upon the duty under the resistless impulse of Christian love, *can* succeed. The heart which has never been opened to kindly emotion, or has had its fresh emotions of tenderness and love, rudely checked, suppressed, or choked, is to be brought to look on the hand which guides whilst it restrains, and may be punished, as outstretched in pure benevolence to save. But who can or will struggle with the waywardness and obstinacy of the nascent criminal, or wait and watch for the first movement of awakened conscience, the first perhaps feeble and half-repressed response of affection, save such teachers? Well might Miss Carpenter exclaim, after eloquently sketching the *ideal* of the Reformatory Teacher, 'No government money can purchase, no government appliances and tests can make or find such. Such, however, have been found, or, to speak more correctly, such men, moved by the misery, and wretchedness, and deep

degradation of the class of juvenile criminals, have voluntarily undertaken the task of reclamation and restoration, repulsive as it is in so many of its features, and HAVE SUCCEEDED.' That juvenile criminals *can* be reclaimed has been proved by these devoted Christian men and women, when government failure was so complete that statesmen and judges, the senate and the bar, each and all confessed their impotence to deal with the evil.

It is impossible within the compass of a review to give even an outline of the *system* pursued in the voluntary Reformatory Institutions of France, Germany, Belgium, Hamburgh, the United States, and our own country. Those who desire a complete mastery of this part of the subject will find abundant information in the report of 1852; and chiefly in the evidence of David Power, Esq., the recorder of Ipswich; of George Bunsen, Esq., son of the Chevalier Bunsen; A. Thomson, Esq., the well-known patron of the Aberdeen schools for ragged and destitute and criminal children, and the coadjutor of Sheriff Watson, in that eminently successful attempt to suppress mendicancy, and cut off crime at its source; in the evidence of Mr. William Locke, the honorary secretary of the London Ragged School Union, and of the Rev. S. Turner, the enlightened chaplain of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School at Red Hill, near Reigate. There is also an elaborate paper on the farm-school system of the Continent in the appendix to the Commons Report of 1853, page 402, &c., by the late J. Fletcher, Esq. Those who desiderate a more popular account of these schools and their results, may consult with advantage Miss Carpenter's two volumes, and especially the sixth and seventh chapters of the one entitled 'Juvenile Delinquency;' and also the interesting little volume, by Mr. Thompson, 'Social Evils; their Causes, and Cure.' It must suffice here to say that it has been demonstrated, that from seventy to eighty per cent. of the perishing and neglected children of the vicious classes, the 'moral orphans' of society, as Mr. Hill terms them (a term too mournfully apposite), may be permanently restored to society as useful and virtuous, instead of destructive, dangerous, and vicious members. Attention has been so forcibly drawn to the subject of juvenile crime, its source, and remedies, that legislation, as well as voluntary action, will inevitably be strongly directed to abate, if not extinguish, juvenile crime; and it behoves all *public men*, at least, to be prepared to give a wise and well-considered verdict on the measures which may be proposed.

Those measures will be of two kinds:—*First*, the establishment of PENAL REFORMATORY SCHOOLS for juvenile criminals, solely under government management; and, *second*, REFORMATORY SCHOOLS for destitute, neglected children, either just on the borders of crime, or already guilty of petty offences,—these

schools being under the management of voluntary associations, but aided by grants out of the national Exchequer, or local rates, and under strict inspection by the government. The first class of schools being intended for such juveniles as have been convicted of *serious* offences, it may safely be concluded that the legislature will not allow of any admixture of voluntary agency. It will rely on gaol governors, chaplains, and schoolmasters, and the teachers of agricultural schools, on codes of prison discipline, and on prison inspectors, as heretofore; and whether successful, or otherwise, all who know how tenaciously the legislature clings to whatever device, administrative, fiscal, or judicial, it may have adopted, and how strong are the interests which oppose all change in established routine, will conclude that the system will have a protracted trial. It is, then, matter of deep moment to the final success of reformatory appliances for juvenile delinquency, that those who have worked out the experiment so *far*, should take most especial and jealous care that no element be allowed to enter into the instrumentality hitherto so successful, which shall dis-arrange, or weaken, or destroy its adaptation and right action to the end contemplated. Now, there are two distinct points, of vital consequence, on which government and voluntary action differ in reference to the question of juvenile reformation. First. The government is not likely to abandon the resort to punishment, as a means, *per se*, of effecting this great end. The questions put to the witnesses, and the evidence of these latter, go to show that an opinion extensively prevails amongst public men, that punishment is part and parcel of the moral order of judicial action,—the proper inevitable sequence of a violation of the law of the community; that it is a necessary assertion of the majesty and supremacy of law, and a vindication of its moral rectitude, *as well* as a means of moral discipline and reform. Without entering into the abstract question involved in this view, it may suffice for the present purpose in noticing it, that, *as respects juvenile offenders*, the opinion of those who have, for the first time, shown *how* these may be reclaimed, is totally adverse to the use of *direct* punishment, or to any punishments but such as are common in the discipline of a family; and that they repudiate, as means of reform, all appliances but such as act by the constraint of love, the melting of kindness, and the suasion of religious principles and sanctions. The second point of difference respects the instruments or agents of administration. Supposing the government to adopt, in its penal schools, the entire theory of reformatory action, as developed at Mettray, the Rauhe Haus, or at Redhill, it is maintained by high authorities that it would not secure the same class of administrators, and, therefore, that its action would either fail altogether, or fall very

far short in its results of the action of voluntary societies. The reason why government *does* not secure the same class of administrators is not an occult one. Government offices are matters of patronage, and are obtained, but too often, through influences not corrupt, but having rather reference to personal obligations and the desire to serve friends and partisans, than to the actual fitness of the applicant. But were it not so—were all appointments made with the strictest impartiality, and a single aim to the public interest and welfare, government has no tests which will reach further than to discriminate intellectual fitness and attainment, and certain conventional moral proprieties, in the candidates for office. It is, besides, an unavoidable circumstance, that such appointments are sought as a means of comfortable livelihood, and not always and absolutely because they open a wide field in which a warm benevolence and an ardent love for the souls of men can find room to expand. On the other hand, the voluntary labourer, in any walk of Christian effort, is so because love constrains him, and his conscience will not be satisfied unless the duty be discharged, and the call to usefulness be obeyed with all his might.

If these views are just, government action will fail as applied to juvenile reformation. It is therefore of infinite moment not to entrust *all* to the government in the management of reformatory schools until government has shown in the PENAL reformatory schools that it can realize the reformation of mind and conduct exhibited in the pupils of the VOLUNTARY REFORMATORY SCHOOLS of Continental Europe and England. Experience in a field of operation closely analogous—the pauper and industrial schools of the land—is unfavourable to the expectation of success. There was a marvellous unanimity of opinion amongst all the *non-official* witnesses that such schools are complete failures, and just for the reasons already named. It will be said that it is not intended to hand over all the schools to government care. Granted; but is it certain that government participation and inspection does not include, as an ultimate and inevitable sequence, government supremacy, nay, more, government absolutism? It will be well to take no leap in the dark, but to exhaust this question fully before committing the whole business of juvenile reform to the ‘cold, *official*, and *formal* action of government.’ The benevolent and earnest men who are now asking for public money that they may have ‘room and verge enough’ for the exercise of their zeal, and to submit to inspection as the price of aid, may live to realize the fable of the ‘Horse, the Man, and the Stag,’ in other words, to find they have got a master and not an auxiliary. Government inspectors are, as a

class, given to theories, and covetous of power; no men so confident that if the world would move in their groove, all would work easy; and the woes and sorrows, and vices and crimes which make it so sad and doleful, would cease. They are also, to a man almost, animated by the *esprit de corps*. There is no help out of the pale of their ministrations. Will they rest satisfied with inspection? Let the zealous friends of the movement be quite sure they have good grounds for an affirmative answer before committing themselves.

This caution does not originate in any mere anxiety for the fate of a theory, or to protect a pet crotchet, but in order that contending theories may, for once, have a fair trial. Let the government establish its penal reformatory schools; it may do that without much additional cost, and in part, at least, with existing appliances. On the other hand, let voluntary associations establish reformatory schools for the SECOND CLASS of children before described, independent of government money and government inspection. The voluntary system of juvenile reformation has not yet had full trial in this country. Its supporters are only now beginning to make an impression on the public mind, and just when they have bespoken the public ear, and with perseverance may fairly calculate on a general response, they turn to the government, and ask its aid. The conclusion has been somewhat hastily arrived at, that voluntary liberality will not supply the needful funds; and as if to ensure that result, the government is resorted to ere the general mind has been awakened to the importance of the work to be done, and the exact adaptation of the means proposed to effect it. It is a fact that inquiry has extensively been awakened, and men are working out the problem in their minds; this once solved, action will as assuredly follow as it did the conviction that slavery was a heinous crime in the sight of God and a foul wrong upon man; or that free trade was at once just, wise, and beneficent. No device could be imagined better calculated to stop inquiry, and to damp the benevolent zeal of those classes from whom almost all ameliorating and humanizing influences have emanated, than, at the critical moment of a final decision, to take the work, in part or whole, out of the sphere of voluntary action. There surely could not be any difficulty in sustaining three or four model schools, by which the comparative merits of government and voluntary management could be fairly tested, and should the result be decisively in favour of the latter, we have faith in the life and vigour of the national benevolence to accomplish the whole work. If the government does the work better, it ought to do it; and will not only be permitted, but be urged and importuned to do it. By one or the other it must be done, for neither regard to the safety

of the other classes of society, nor the promptings of Christian charity and love, will permit the class of destitute and criminal children to lie weltering in their blood, whilst the remedy is sovereign in power and of world-wide notoriety.

ART. II.—*History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, &c.* By James Seaton Reid, D.D., M.R.I.A., Professor of Ecclesiastical and Civil History in the University of Glasgow. Continued to the present time by W. D. Killen, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology for the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. Vol. III. London: Whittaker and Co. 1853.

DR. REID, the author of this history, was a native of Lurgan, in the county Armagh, being the twenty-first child of his parents. On the 20th of July, 1819, he was ordained minister of Donegore, from which he removed to Carrickfergus in 1823. In 1827 he was unanimously chosen Moderator of the Synod of Ulster, though then but a young man, and in 1830 he was elected its clerk. He resigned his charge in Carrickfergus on being appointed to the newly-erected chair of Ecclesiastical History in Belfast, in 1838. In April, 1841, he was nominated by the Crown, Professor of Ecclesiastical and Civil History in the University of Glasgow. He died at the seat of Lord Mackenzie, near Edinburgh, on the 26th of March, 1851, in the fifty-third year of his age. In consideration of his valuable contributions to historical literature, the Crown, since his death, granted a pension of £100 a-year to his family. While he remained in Ireland he enjoyed a large share of influence in the body to which he belonged, his character and talents being held in high esteem by all parties. He was better informed than any of his brethren in the history of the church and the forms of ecclesiastical procedure. He was well fitted, both by the cast of his mind and his official position, for historical investigations. Destitute of imagination and the graces of style, he was industrious, methodical, exact, sagacious, and conscientious. As a zealous Presbyterian, a cool-headed evangelical, and a moderate whig, he sometimes argues against facts, but he never suppresses them. He availed himself largely of MS. authorities and other original sources of information in the State Paper Office, London, in Trinity College Library, Dublin, and in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, &c. As a historian he is fairly entitled to the praise of diligent research, accurate knowledge, clear judgment,

tiality, perspicuity in his narrative, and a judicious treatment of political affairs in their relation to the dissenters of Ireland. The history of that body had never before been fully written. This work, therefore, possesses great value at the present time. It throws much light on various questions now occupying the attention of the legislature.

This is the third and concluding portion of the work, the former volumes having been published many years ago. Of the present, not much more than half proceeds from the pen of Dr. Reid. The MS., which was scarcely sufficient to form a volume, ends very abruptly. Referring to the subject of education, he had written at the bottom of the page, part of the word ministerial, ('min—') which he was not permitted to finish, as death terminated his work on earth after a few weeks' illness. Under these circumstances his executors intrusted the materials which he had collected to Dr. Killen, his successor in the chair of Ecclesiastical History in Belfast. This gentleman was well-qualified for his task. It is seldom that historical continuations are successful; but this of Dr. Killen matches well with what went before. It is executed in a very satisfactory manner. While the style flows freely, there is no falling off in the more solid qualities which give value to the work of Dr. Reid. The interest of the history, too, becomes greater as it approaches our own times, and deals with the parties, movements, and controversies, whose effects are still visible in the social system. Indeed, those who read this volume will be surprised to find the history of Irish dissent since the Revolution of 1688 so interesting and instructive.

On Saturday, the 14th of June, 1690, King William landed at Carrickfergus. He immediately mounted on horseback and rode through the main streets, amidst an innumerable crowd of people, who received him with continual shouts and acclamations. He then proceeded to Belfast, where he attended divine service in the parish church. On Monday, the Rev. George Walker, Governor of Derry, accompanied by a number of Episcopal ministers, presented him with an address from 'the Clergy of the Church of Ireland now in Ulster.' The Presbyterian clergy were equally forward to testify their loyalty to the Protestant Deliverer, and three of them presented an address from 'the Presbyterian Ministers and those of their persuasion in the North of Ireland.' These addresses were very graciously received. On Thursday the King proceeded to Hillsborough, which was the head-quarters of the army, and there he issued the well-known order, addressed to Christopher Carleton, the Collector of the Customs of Belfast, authorizing the payment of £1200 yearly to the Presbyterian clergy of Ulster. This was the origin of *regium*

donum, or royal bounty. Having referred to the address which had been presented from the ministers, the king adds, 'And calling to mind how early they also were in their address unto us on our arrival in England, and the promise we then made them of a pension of £800 per annum for their subsistence, which by reason of several impediments hath not yet been made effectual unto them; And being assured of the peaceable and dutiful temper of our said subjects, and sensible of the losses they have sustained, and their constant labour to unite the hearts of others in zeal and loyalty towards us; we do hereby, of our Royal Bounty,' &c. It is curious that there is not the least allusion to religion or to protestantism in this grant. It was bestowed, not on the ground of protestantism, but of loyalty. However, as there were legal difficulties in the way of the payment by the Collector of Customs, in September of the following year, letters patent, in the names of William and Mary, placed the bounty on the Irish establishment, and made it payable out of the Exchequer.

The Presbyterian professions of loyalty to the House of Orange were certainly much more consistent and trustworthy than those of the Church of England. Her clergy had entered on their benefices by subscribing the declaration, 'that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king.' While James's power was in the ascendant in Dublin, they prayed for King James, and for confusion to all his enemies, William included. But when the legitimate king had fled, they hastened to alter the collects, and substitute *William*, whom they had been devoutly reprobating as a usurper, and who had placed himself at the head of rebels. In fact, as one of themselves afterwards alleged, 'they had been four times in one year praying forward and backward, point blank contradictory to one another.' Nevertheless, the bishops assured William that during James's residence in Dublin they had been 'guilty of no compliances but such as were the effects of prudence and self-preservation.'

After a gloomy interval of thirty years, during which, though half the ministers had fled to Scotland, and a number of the meeting-houses had been levelled, the people held together, and multiplied, the Presbyterian cause began rapidly to revive. In 1692 the nonconformists of Ulster were much more numerous than the members of the established church. Leslie, a Protestant dignitary of the time, writes, 'Some parishes have not ten, some not six, that come to church, while the Presbyterian meetings are crowded with thousands, covering all the fields. This is ordinary, in the county of Antrim especially, &c. Upon the whole,' he adds, 'they are not one to fifty.' The number of Presbyterian congregations were now one hundred, with e^t it^v

ministers. But the public worship of dissenters, though connived at, was not only unsanctioned, but legally prohibited under severe penalties.

‘At this period,’ says Dr. Reid, ‘the respective legal positions of the English and Irish nonconformists were very singular and anomalous. In *England*, the worship of the dissenter was legalized, but he was personally incapable of holding any public office, however humble, unless he would qualify for it by taking the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper in his parish church. In *Ireland*, on the other hand, the dissenter was eligible to all public offices, but his worship and discipline were absolutely prohibited by law, and were only connived at in deference to the known sentiments of King William.’—Vol. iii. p. 22. Note.

Notwithstanding an abortive attempt made by the Irish bishops to get the Sacramental Act extended to Ireland, the nonconformists lived for some time unmolested in the exercise of their religious rites, generally maintaining relations of amity with their Episcopalian neighbours, and rapidly rising in social influence. All the protestant ministers cordially co-operated in repairing the effects of the war on the religious habits of the people, avoiding polemics and invidious attempts at proselytism. There was one churchman, however, Dr. King, the new Bishop of Derry, who regarded this state of things with no friendly eye. Able, ambitious, zealous, and energetic, having abjured his non-resistance doctrine, and attached himself to the triumphant cause of William with ostentatious alacrity, he was rewarded with the see of Derry, in which he found the affairs of his church in a ruinous condition. He resolved to bring the Presbyterians into the empty fold, and immediately commenced a series of polemical attacks on dissent, in which he persevered, with increasing acrimony, for many years. At first, however, out of deference to the Court, he avoided the question of church government, because, as he owed to a brother prelate, ‘the subject is new and ticklish, especially in respect of the foreign church, and must be handled with a wary hand.’ He says that when he came to the diocese, he found the dissenters ‘mighty insolent,’ but he adds, ‘since my book came out they are mute; no persuasions will avail with them to dispute or talk of religion, and the members of our church insult over them on this account.’ One of his objections was the infrequency of Presbyterian communion, which the bishop alleged as a proof that the Presbyterian system was unscriptural. By way of excuse for this, Dr. Reid gives the items of expense attending the communion in Londonderry, which is instructive as showing the social state of Ulster a hundred and sixty years ago:—

‘On the 25th of June, 1694, the minister and session resolved that

the Lord's Supper should be administered in that congregation. For this purpose it was necessary to send a person all the way to Belfast to purchase the wine, consisting of thirty-six bottles of claret; and two other persons were authorized to provide the wheat, and get it ground and baked. The expences of this communion amounted to above six guineas, a large sum in those days. The following are the items:—Wine, £4 17s. 6d.; carriage, 12s.; wheat, 8s.; grinding, 1s. 2d.; baking, 2s. 6d.; cask, 2s. 8d.; tickets, 3s. 6d.; nails, 6d. Total, £6 7s. 10d.'—*Ib.* p. 28.

The Presbyterian ministers were not silent under Dr. King's attacks, and a war of pamphlets was kept up by both sides for many years; the church party at length calling in the aid of the more carnal weapons of the civil magistrate to disable their adversaries.

At the close of the seventeenth century there were a number of French refugees in Ireland, who formed congregations in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Carlow, Portarlington, Dundalk, and Castleblayney, their ministers being paid by the state. These congregations are now all extinct, the people having been gradually absorbed by the established church—some of whose ministers and gentry now bear the names of those French Protestants. Even they did not escape persecution in the reign of Anne.

While the political position of the Presbyterians remained unchanged, they advanced rapidly in numbers and social influence. In the principal towns of Ulster they had become members of the corporations, in which they occupied the highest offices. New congregations sprang up in various directions; houses of worship were erected or enlarged; vacant congregations were supplied with ministers from Scotland, and an attempt was made to secure a home education for the clergy, by establishing what was called a 'Philosophy School,' at Killeleagh, county Down. These symptoms of prosperity vexed the prelates of the Established church, and they resolved to invoke the civil power to put a check to it. In 1698, Bishop Walkington sent a petition to the government, which was an indictment against the dissenters of his diocese. He complains of the 'unreasonable liberty' taken by the ministers and elders, in proceeding 'to exercise discipline openly and with a high hand' over those of their own persuasion. They had also the audacity 'to celebrate the office of matrimony,' and even 'to celebrate the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in congregations so formidably numerous, by gathering the inhabitants of ten or twelve or more parishes together in one place, where they preach in the fields, and continue there a great part of the day together.' Another grievance was that they openly held 'their sessions and provincial synods for regulating all matters of ecclesiastical concern, and had set up at Killeleagh a Philosophy School, in open violation and contempt of the laws.'

The distressed bishop therefore humbly prays that their Excellencies the Lords Justices 'would be pleased to undeceive these forward men, by putting such a stop to the liberties that they assume as your lordships think most convenient for the good of the kingdom, and the safety and honour of the established religion.' (p. 70.) The Lords Justices were not at this time disposed to humour such sensitive bigotry. Two of the Presbyterian clergy were examined touching the petition of the bishop, and were dismissed without censure, only they were requested to exhort their people to behave 'respectfully' towards the church, and the bishops were exhorted 'to carry moderately.'

The eighteenth century opened with gloomy prospects for the Irish dissenters. The executive was hostile, one of the Lords Justices being an archbishop. The prosecutions in the bishops' courts, on account of marriages, multiplied to such a degree that the synod were obliged to make repeated appeals to the government, with diminished hopes of success. While matters were in this state, their great protector, King William, died. 'No heavier blow,' says Dr. Reid, 'could have fallen upon the cause of toleration and the interests of the Presbyterian church in Ireland than the death of this truly great man. By no party in Ireland was his loss more sincerely deplored than by the Presbyterians. Though the paramount influence of an intolerant faction defeated most of his plans in their favour, yet his very name was felt to be a tower of strength on their side, of which their opponents now rejoiced to see them deprived.' (p. 84.)

The High Church party were filled with hopes that they could now trample the dissenters under foot; exclude them from all offices by means of a Test act; put down their worship by law; and deprive their ministers of the *regium donum*. Hence their old enemy, Dr. King, was busy at this crisis. As soon as he heard of the king's death he wrote to the Bishop of Clogher, then in London, proposing that if the grant could not be withdrawn, it might at least be made the instrument of subjugation and division. 'The government,' he said, 'ought to keep the disposal of the fund in their own hands, and encourage those only by it that would comply as they would have them. By which means every particular minister would be at their mercy; and it might be so managed as to be an instrument of division and jealousy amongst them.'

A few days after, he earnestly pressed this plan for weakening and degrading the Presbyterian cause upon the attention of Sir Robert Southwell, the secretary for Ireland. In this letter he accuses the dissenters of keeping up their numbers by a system of exclusive dealing, and of carrying their sectarian partiality into juries. With regard to the *regium donum*, he said that

some of the most eminent of their ministers were trustees for it, which created a sort of dependence of the rest upon them, and enabled them to manage their affairs by joint councils, for these were a general committee and centre of unity for their whole body. 'They employed this money to settle meetings throughout the whole kingdom, and by this they maintained their emissaries till they had seduced enough to support their teachers. By this means, the most busy, factious persons had the best shares. But I hope,' he adds, 'this will fail them for the future, or if it be continued, it will be put into good hands, that will give it to the most humble, peaceable, and complying, and some good use may be made of such contrivance if it must be continued.' The bishop goes on to complain of the increasing insolence of the dissenters, stating that they had insulted both clergy and laity by bringing church offices into contempt, particularly by presuming to celebrate marriage! He then relates a story about a meeting-house which they had unroofed because the landlord had ejected the congregation for want of title. Dr. Reid has proved that this was a calumny, and in the rest of his statements there was no doubt much falsehood and exaggeration. As to the *regium donum*, it had been up to that time divided in equal shares among the ministers, so that every new congregation made each man's share less. That new congregations were encouraged by influential ministers, under such circumstances, must be regarded as some proof of a missionary spirit; for in later times the Synod of Ulster steadily opposed any addition to the number of the ministers. However, the Machiavellian policy recommended by Dr. King was adopted when Queen Anne renewed the grant. The power of allocating the amount among the ministers was now withdrawn from the trustees and transferred to the Lord Lieutenant, who was empowered to administer it in *such portions and to such ministers as he pleased*. The grant was accordingly no longer entered on the Irish establishment in this form—'To the Presbyterian ministers,' as it had appeared during the previous reign. It henceforth stood thus—'To be distributed among *such* of the nonconforming ministers, by warrant from the Lord Lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors for the time being, in such manner as he or they shall find necessary for *our service* or the good of that kingdom.' In this form the grant was an undisguised bribe to secure political subserviency and respectful demeanour towards the established church. The humiliating position of the recipients may be inferred from the fact that the Lord Lieutenant was then seldom in Ireland, and that the country was governed by Lords Justices; one, and the most influential of whom was always a bishop, Dr. King himself having filled the post for many years.

Dr. Reid, however, says, 'There is no reason to believe that any real change in its mode of distribution took place, or that any attempt was made to interfere with the independence of individual ministers by means of this alteration. It appears to have been distributed to all the ministers in equal portions as before this change, the government declining the invidious responsibility which was sought to be imposed on it for the base and sinister purposes of Bishop King.' (p. 89.)

The Presbyterians continued to increase in numbers; a better education of the ministers was required, and all were obliged to sign the Westminster Confession of Faith. But the reign of Anne, who resigned herself to the guidance of the High Church party, was a period of tribulation to all who were opposed to that party in Ireland. In 1703, the oath of abjuration was extended to that country, and by a solecism in legislation enforced upon 'all preachers of separate congregations,' though such parties in Ireland had yet no existence in the eye of the law, but were positively prohibited by statute under severe penalties. This involved some of the ministers in difficulties, because, though loyal enough to the queen, they were not prepared to swear to a matter of fact of which they could know nothing, namely, that the Pretender was not the son of the late King James II. In the following year, a committee of the Irish House of Commons recommended that two of the Presbyterian nonjurors should be deprived of the *regium donum*, and in a few days later the House itself resolved—'That the pension of £1200 granted to the Presbyterian ministers in Ulster is an unnecessary branch of the establishment.' As King was now Archbishop of Dublin, and very active in carrying out his designs, this resolution may be ascribed to his influence. But the government did not think it prudent to act on it, and the grant was continued. The effect of such resolutions held *in terrorem* over the heads of the Presbyterian clergy may be easily imagined.

The rampant High Church party now began to forge chains for all who would not submit to the bishops, and pass under the yoke of the church. We quote with satisfaction the following liberal sentiments from Dr. Reid on this subject:—

'The Roman Catholics were first to feel the effects of the prevalent spirit. They had already suffered much, in direct violation of the Treaty of Limerick; but it is from the commencement of this reign that that iniquitous series of anti-popery laws began which have been the source of so much misery to Ireland, and the mischievous effects of which, though now happily repealed, are still to be traced in many of the social evils of that ill-governed land. as, though these most unjust and oppressive laws were passed for the sake of the Established Church, yet the Presbyterians were so blinded by the headstrong and unreason-

ing anti-papal spirit of those days as to concur but too cordially in their enactment. And it was a singular occurrence—an instance perhaps of righteous requital—that they themselves, after having given their aid in parliament to carry one of the most cruel of these statutes against the Romanists, should, by a clause added to that very statute, be deprived of their own civil rights, and subjected in their turn to serious grievances on account of their religion.’—p. 97.

In the shape in which the act in question received the support of the Presbyterians, it applied exclusively to Roman Catholics, and its provisions were most oppressive and unjustifiable. But when the heads of the bill were transmitted to London, a clause was there added, which excluded the Presbyterians from all civil offices, and from the corporations, as well as from the army, navy, militia, excise, customs, post-office, &c., by the application of the sacramental test. Such were the provisions of an act, avowedly ‘to prevent the growth of popery.’ The Presbyterians were justly requited for their intolerance.

‘ ——— Nec lex est æquior ulla,
Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ.’

It was urged in the House of Commons on behalf of the dissenters, that they had served the Protestant cause at Enniskillen and Derry, and that it was unjust to deprive them of their civil rights, and dangerous to put them out of capacity to defend the country in case of foreign invasion. But Sir Edward Southwell, the Irish secretary, writing to the Earl of Nottingham, naïvely remarks—‘All these matters were very sufficiently answered, and showed that *no particular hardship* was designed towards them; that, in fact, there were more of the church at Enniskillen, and at least one half at Derry, that even in the north, above eight in ten of the gentry were churchmen,’ &c. (p. 104.)

The Presbyterian members were immediately turned out of the corporations. In Derry no fewer than ten out of twelve aldermen, and fourteen out of twenty-four burgesses, resigned their offices. Most of the magistrates throughout Ulster were in like manner deprived of their commissions. There was the greatest difficulty found in supplying their places; so much, that ‘men of little estates, youths, new comers, having nothing to recommend them to the dignity of magistrates but their going to church,’ were placed in the commission of the peace. Daniel Defoe, then a prisoner in Newgate for his inimitable satire, ‘The Shortest Way with the Dissenters,’ published a pamphlet on the treatment of the Irish dissenters, with the sarcastic title—‘The Parallel; or, Persecution of Protestants the Shortest Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland.’ ‘It seems somewhat hard,’ says the witty confessor of freedom, ‘and savours of the most scandalous ingratitude, that the very people who drink deepest of the

popish fury, and were the most vigorous to show both their zeal and their courage, in opposing tyranny and popery, and on the foot of whose forwardness and valour the Church of Ireland recovered herself from her low condition, should now be requited with so injurious a treatment as to be linked with those very papists they fought against.' Referring to an observation of Archbishop King, in 1691, that the dissenters' liberality to the episcopal clergy when impoverished by the war, 'ought to be remembered to their honour,' Defoe very pointedly remarks, 'that instead of being remembered to their honour, they have been ranked amongst the worst enemies to the Church, and chained to a bill to prevent the growth of popery. This will certainly be no encouragement to the dissenters to join with their brethren the next time that papists shall please to take arms, and attempt their throats. Not but they may perhaps be fools enough, *as they always were*, to stand in the gap.' Towards the conclusion of the pamphlet, he asks—'Will any man in the world tell us that to divide the Protestants is a way to prevent the further growth of popery, when their united force is little enough to keep it down? This is like sinking the ship to drown the rats, or cutting off the foot to cure the corns. This would merit some satire, if the case was not really too sad and serious to bear a banter.' (Reid, p. 108.)

During the next session of parliament, the most influential of the dissenters presented a humble petition for the repeal of the clause which deprived them of their civil rights. There was a debate on the question whether the petition should be kicked out or be allowed to lie on the table. It was ultimately agreed that it should lie on the table, but that no notice should be taken of it in the printed notes. In the meantime, the bishops were busy prosecuting the dissenters for sundry offences against their authority, among which was the new one of working on the episcopal holidays. In reference to the 'Philosophy School' at Killeleagh, the only seminary the dissenters had in Ireland, the enlightened Irish Commons resolved as follows:—'That the erecting and continuing any seminary for the instruction and education of youth in principles contrary to the Established Church and government, tends to create and perpetuate *misunderstandings among protestants!*' How stupid and brutal must have been the bigotry that dictated such a resolution, after the same party had denuded half the Protestants of the kingdom of their civil rights, by making them the objects of the penal code against Roman Catholics! Another resolution, which the Commons adopted at the instigation of the bishops, was designed to crush the loyal ministers, who had conscientious objections to the oath of abjuration:—'Resolved, that preaching or teaching

in separate congregations by persons who have not taken the oath of abjuration, and hearing, maintaining, and countenancing such persons, tends to defeat the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, and to encourage and advance the interest of the pretended Prince of Wales.' Fortunately for the Irish dissenters, the English administration discouraged this rabid intolerance, and protected its objects as far as it was in their power; for they were often obliged to yield in some measure, in order to get the queen's business done, and the supplies voted by the bigots of the Irish parliament. Two-thirds of the Commons were then frantic high churchmen; all the bishops were as high as Laud. They often constituted a majority of the Upper House, and nearly all the temporal lords were under their influence.

Among the most violent of the opponents of the dissenters was Dean Swift, who was indeed violent in everything he undertook. He was a strenuous advocate of the exclusive system, by which a handful of Episcopalians monopolized all the power, offices, and emoluments of the state. In one of his tirades he instituted the following complimentary comparison between the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians:—' 'Tis agreed among naturalists that a lion is a larger, a stronger, and more dangerous enemy than a cat; yet if a man were to have his choice, either a lion at his foot, bound fast with three or four chains, his teeth drawn out, and his claws pared to the quick, or an angry cat in full liberty at his throat, he would take no long time to determine.' (p. 127.)

In 1709, the Lord Lieutenant ventured to hint to the Irish parliament in the speech from the throne, that some relief should be given to the dissenters. To this the lords, composed of twelve bishops and ten lay lords, replied with the coolest impudence as follows:—' All our fellow subjects are treated with so much *tenderness*, that we hope they never will have just reason to complain of any uneasiness.' Shortly after this several ministers were cast into prison for preaching without episcopal licence.

In the year 1710 was established the General Fund, which was the subject of litigation a few years ago. It was instituted 'for the support of religion in and about Dublin and the south of Ireland, by assisting and supporting the protestant dissenting interest against unreasonable prosecutions (some of which they have lately been exposed to, contrary to her Majesty's sentiments publicly declared), and for the education of youth designed for the ministry among protestant dissenters, and for assisting protestant dissenting congregations that are poor and unable to provide for their ministers.' The trustees were the subscribers and the ten ministers of the five dissenting congregations then exist-

ing in Dublin (all being 'collegiate charges'), and two laymen from each, to be succeeded by the ministers of those congregations for the time being, and two laymen from each, chosen by ballot. Large sums were contributed to this fund by Sir Arthur Langford, Bart., Lady Loftus, Joseph Damer, Esq., the Rev. Daniel Williams, of London, and others. For many years it was the means of sustaining a number of congregations in the south of Ireland.

The more power the bishops obtained over the Presbyterians, the more they were aggrieved at their undutiful behaviour. On the 6th of November, 1711, a committee, consisting of thirteen bishops, headed by Archbishop King, and eleven lords, was appointed 'to draw up a representation and address to the Queen's Majesty, relating to the dissenting ministers.' They complained that the 'gentle usage' of their chained victims, which they had paternally exercised towards them, 'under many and repeated provocations, had been repaid with evil;' and that their forbearance had only increased 'the rage and obstinacy of those men.' They were undermining the Church and disturbing the peace and unanimity of conformists. One of their ministers had the hardihood to justify synods, and make them independent of the civil power. They therefore suggested, as the only remedy for these intolerable evils, that her Majesty would be graciously pleased to withdraw the royal bounty. Their lordships concluded their deliberations with an *auto da fé*. On the closing day of the session they ordered a volume of the Rev. Mr. Boyse's sermons, containing one on the office of bishop, to be ignominiously burned before the Moloch of Dublin, by the common hangman, on the ground that it was 'false and scandalous, and contained matters highly reflecting on the legislature and on the episcopal order.' The two houses of convocation drew up a similar address, calling for the withdrawal of *regium donum*, which they said was the means of multiplying fanatical preachers, and promoting faction and schism.

In a petition replying to these charges, in 1712, the dissenters allege that 'of late years the renewal of leases is refused to divers Presbyterian lessees; and in many leases of church and college lands, there are clauses inserted, prohibiting, under great penalties, the building or continuing of meeting houses, and that presbyterian inhabitants should dwell upon the premises; some whereof have been severely executed already, to the great prejudice and expense of many of your faithful subjects, and will ruin divers of our settled congregations, unless your Majesty shall see it meet in your great clemency to divert the severity of these proceedings.' (p. 151.) These ecclesiastical 'evictions' were persevered in for a long time, with a view to the extermination of the

dissenters. Multitudes of them were, besides, prosecuted in the Church courts, for living 'in fornication,' because they were not married by the clergy of the Church, only by their own ministers. But it is a curious and characteristic fact, as showing the sordid spirit of the persecutors, that the parochial clergy demanded and obtained fees for all the marriages performed in their parishes by the dissenting ministers.

Such was the spirit of Queen Anne's government throughout her whole reign. Its effects in Ireland were such that many of the most industrious of the Presbyterians emigrated to America and the West Indies, unable to bear the pressure of tyranny, coupled with exorbitant rents and tithes, which reduced even the Ulster tenantry to poverty and suffering. In some places the oppressors went so far as to seize presbyterian catechisms and other books when exposed for sale, and to nail up the houses of worship. (p. 182.) This system was terminated by the death of the queen. The accession of George I. brought with it a total change of parties: the whigs came into power, and proved friendly to the protestant dissenters. The *regium donum*, which had been withdrawn, was restored, and the penal laws were not enforced, while acts of indemnity were passed to save dissenters from the penalties of the Test Act incurred by having served in the militia. A fruitless effort was made to repeal this oppressive law. But the Church was too strong in the Lords to allow such a relief to be granted. The Commons, in which there was now a majority of whigs, unable to do more, passed the following resolution:—'Resolved, *nem. con.*, that such of his Majesty's protestant dissenting subjects of this kingdom as have taken commissions in the militia, &c., have hereby done a seasonable service to his Majesty's royal person and government, and the protestant interest in this kingdom.' An addition of £800 a year was made to the bounty in 1718. The whole sum now gave ten guineas each to the Ulster ministers, and £30 each to those who laboured in the south, as their congregations were smaller and less able to pay. In the year following a bill was passed to exempt the dissenters from certain penalties to which they were exposed, which, strange to say, was supported by six bishops; but our wonder will cease when we learn that five of the six were Englishmen. The historian justly remarks that 'the present generation will scarcely believe that so meagre a boon to Presbyterians as bare permission by law to celebrate their worship, which they were then stately observing, with scarcely any molestation, should have excited so much opposition from the High Church party, in the face, too, of the express wishes of the sovereign, often repeated. Meagre and unsuitable as it is, it continues to be the charter of religious liberty to the Presbyterians

in Ireland, while, at the same time, it continues to be little more than an obsolete statute.' (p. 230.)

From this time to the close of the century, the history of the presbyterian church in Ireland consists chiefly of a record of struggles and controversies about the Confession of Faith, between 'the subscribers' and 'non-subscribers.' The synod of Ulster had adopted absolute subscription as the law of the Church, but was very lax in enforcing it, while a number of its most talented ministers repudiated subscription to any human creed as unlawful, and its requirement as a violation of religious liberty. Innumerable pamphlets and sermons on the subject were published on both sides, and the discussions greatly agitated the people, who generally identified subscription with orthodoxy, and non-subscription with Arianism, though the non-subscribers earnestly confessed their faith in the Trinity. In 1724, the question was debated in the synod, when there were present 123 ministers and 106 elders. The majority affirmed subscription, but vacillated about carrying out the law, being loath to break their connexion with the non-subscribers, who ultimately separated, and formed the 'Presbytery of Antrim.' Of about fifty publications which the controversy called forth, not one survived the occasion on which they were written.

No sooner were the Presbyterians freed from persecution than they began rapidly to degenerate. Many of their ministers, though signing the Confession, were of doubtful orthodoxy. They had no missionary zeal, no power in the pulpit, and little care for their flocks. Ill-trained for the ministry, and greatly addicted to secular pursuits, they neglected the discipline of the church, and sank with their people into a state of apathy and worldliness. But, towards the middle of the 18th century, the Scotch *Seceders* found their way into Ireland, and, taking advantage of the comparative deadness of the Synod of Ulster, they won over many of the people, and planted numerous congregations; whose ministers afterwards obtained a share of the *regium donum*.

Dr. Killen regards their coming to Ireland at that time as a proof of an overruling and gracious Providence. He says:— 'Few of the wealthier classes joined them, but the common people heard them gladly. They commended themselves by the manifestation of the truth to the hearts and consciences of the multitude. It often happened that those who took an active part in establishing seceding congregations left the communion of the Synod of Ulster with a heavy heart, for it was endeared to them by hallowed recollections; but its fold had been entered by false caretakers, and many could no longer find in it the green pastures and the quiet waters to which faithful shepherds had once guided

them.' (p. 393). Soon after the Seceders came the Covenanters or Cameronians, who were strong protesters against prevailing errors, and raised a high standard of orthodoxy. They never gained much ground in Ireland, and are at present divided into two bodies, who differ on the power of the civil magistrate,—the liberal party having had for their leader the late Rev. Dr. Paul, of Carrickfergus.

It has been computed that, towards the end of the last century, the north of Ireland was, by emigration to America, drained of one-fourth of its trading cash, and a like proportion of its manufacturing people, and the early successes of the Americans against the English arms were owing in large measure to the vigorous exertions and valour of those Irish emigrants, banished by oppression from their own country. The threatened invasion from France, however, and the rise of the Volunteers, wrought a complete change in the spirit of the government. The Irish chief governor wrote, from Dublin Castle, to the English secretary, April 28, 1782,—‘If you delay, or refuse to be liberal, government cannot exist here in its present form, and the sooner you recall your Lord Lieutenant, and renounce all claim to this country, the better.’ The Presbyterians, who formed a majority of the Ulster volunteers, were now to be conciliated. Their marriages were legalized; the Test Act was repealed; and in 1792 the sum of £5000 was added to the bounty. But, while political movements advanced the external prosperity of the church, its spirituality by no means improved. Dr. Killen says, ‘Its records for these fifteen years present very few and dubious indications of its internal prosperity. It may, indeed, safely be asserted, that during the interval between 1778 and 1793, error was avowed by its advocates in presbyterian Ulster with a degree of boldness which they had never hitherto ventured to assume. The greater number of the more prominent members of the general synod did not conceal their aversion to evangelical principles.’ (p. 478). For twenty years preceding 1789 not one congregation was regularly erected, nor would the synod suffer a new erection, without security for the payment of £50 a-year stipend. In about the same period the Seceders had established forty-six congregations. It often happened during the time of the volunteers that political meetings were held on Sunday in the presbyterian meeting houses.

Belfast was then the head quarters of political agitation. The United Irishmen were mostly led by Episcopolians, but many Presbyterians were also involved in the conspiracy. Eight of the ministers of the synod of Ulster were convicted of treasonable practices, and one was executed. Owing to the revolutions in France and America, republicanism became popular in Ulster.

Lord Castlereagh, having determined to effect the Union, saw the importance to government of getting a hold on the presbyterian clergy by means of a larger endowment, more judiciously distributed. There is much interesting correspondence on this subject published by his late brother,—to which we adverted on a former occasion in giving the history of Maynooth College. Dr. Killen does not draw on this correspondence as fully as he might, but he quotes enough to show the purely political motives of the government in increasing the Bounty, and altering the mode of its distribution. He says: ‘In a letter written shortly before this period by a British cabinet minister, (the Duke of Portland) to the Lord Lieutenant, it is expressly declared that a *principal object* in increasing and remodelling their allowance was *to make them more dependent, and render them more amenable to the government*. It was thought that the system of classification was pre-eminently calculated to secure this object, as the influential ministers would thus be more largely indebted to the public purse than if the grant were divided according to the existing plan of distribution.’ (p. 515). Dr. Killen denies that the political subserviency aimed at has been secured; and maintains that the augmentation of the bounty has greatly strengthened the protestant interest in Ireland, as well as indirectly contributed to the political power of presbyterianism. Yet, while presbyterianism is the creed of nearly half of the Protestants of Ireland, they have never been able to return more than one Presbyterian to represent them in parliament.

According to the new plan, the ministers were to be paid in three classes, first, second, and third, £100, £75, and £50 respectively. The government made another important change. Hitherto, the agent for the distribution was chosen by the synod; now, he was to be *appointed and paid by the government*. Dr. Black, of Derry, the first government agent, got a salary of £400, besides his £100 *regium donum*. Each minister, when appointed, was to send a memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, and two magistrates were to testify that he had taken the oath of allegiance. After some feeble remonstrance, the synod submitted to the new arrangements with reluctance. The addition required for paying according to the new scale was from £8000 to £9000.

In order to justify the government in granting the endowment, Dr. Killen has given statistics from the gaols and workhouses of Ulster, showing that the prisoners and paupers of the Churches of England and Rome are three to one, in proportion to the population of each, as compared with the Presbyterians. This is certainly a remarkable fact, however we are to account for it; and it may be a good argument with statesmen acting on

the ground of political expediency, and aiming to make the Christian ministry 'dependent and amenable to government ;'—but whether it justifies the Christian Church in assuming such a position is another question.

Dr. Reid's 'History' raises some interesting points connected with the history of Irish dissent for the last fifty years, which we have not room to advert to at present, but to which we may soon have an opportunity of returning.

ART. III.—*Collected Edition of the Writings of Douglas Jerrold.* In Eight Volumes. Post 8vo. London: Bradbury and Evans.

SATIRE may almost be said to be indigenous to English literature. It appears in our very earliest written poetry, and in every literary epoch up to the present day it occupies a conspicuous place. We speak of the wits and satirists of the days of Charles II. and Queen Anne, but there is no period in the history of English literature in which these were not prominent. Satire has been, so to speak, as much an element in the genius of almost all our great writers, as humour, or fancy, or imagination. It has employed all these for its own purposes, and wherever the higher attributes of the purely literary mind are manifested we find the satirical. It has been the same with regard to humour. Ever since old Geoffrey Chaucer carolled his mirthful songs, many of them as full of satirical strokes at the shams of his day as others were musical with rich, fresh, joyous feelings, we have never wanted an English humorist. How can we account for this circumstance? Is it because the English nature is more susceptible to the humorous and the satirical than any other? Certainly not. We find the Frenchman as ready to enjoy a joke, as quick to perceive the ludicrous phases of things. Nor is the German's perception and enjoyment of the humorous less notable. Almost all our European neighbours, in fact, possess that relish for the comic in one form or another which would lead to the cultivation of a comic literature. Yet in no case has it produced the same fruit, or, we should rather say, the variety of fruits, to be found in the literature of England. The degree of relish varies in other nations, with us the variety is in the products. Nor is this at all incompatible with seriousness of purpose or an earnest tone of mind. On the contrary, it is indicative in some degree of the prevailing literary spirit of an age. The humorous literature affords, perhaps, a better test of the healthful

character of that spirit than any other. Whatever form it may take, we find in it the evidences of that character, or the opposite, just as readily as we judge of a man's sense of enjoyment by the manner in which he expresses it.

The number of comic writers in our own day, and the place which satire occupies in modern literature, must be held to indicate a more thorough appreciation of the uses of humorous and satirical writing than has previously obtained. It is beyond all question, we think, that the healthiest, and in every sense the best, writers of fiction in our time are not only largely endowed with a keen sense of humour and with a satirical turn of mind, but have, upon the whole, a much higher idea of the purposes which these ought to subserve, than most of their predecessors had. There are comparatively few wickedly witty things written now merely for wit's sake. Let any one glance over the satirical verses, the epigrams and lampoons, written a century ago, with the view of comparing them with the works of our living authors, and we make bold to say that the comparison will be in every way advantageous to the latter. We have but to look over the weekly compendium of witty and yet earnest things given to the world by 'Punch,' in order to see that there is more true human kindness, and far more of a strong moral purpose, manifested by that little crook-backed and hooked-nosed monstrosity, than can be found in the works of the brightest wits of a preceding age. Lightness, flippancy, irreverence sometimes, and that *penchant* for punning on all subjects there are, it is true; but we find no bad inuendoes, no poison on the sting of wit, and we find a good deal that does better service in the cause of humanity than things of far more weight and pretension. The witty profanities of a Congreve, or the more powerful and dangerous ones of a Swift, would not be tolerated now, it may be urged, and our modern comic writers are therefore kept within bounds by the taste and morality of the age. True, but do we owe these writers nothing for helping to set up those bounds and make them permanent by proving that the shafts of satire are better employed when shot against social evils or political abuses, than when they were made instruments of personal spleen or party squabbles. In short, the wits and satirists, at the head of whom we place a Dickens, a Thackeray, and a Douglas Jerrold, are entitled to take as high a rank in the scale of intellect as the most lauded of their predecessors, while they unquestionably claim a far higher one on the score of morality.

Of these three writers Douglas Jerrold is least known to the general reader. It would seem as if the atmosphere of London life, which pervades so many of his works, had in a measure absorbed him, and that even in it he appears only in one or other

of his literary phases, for we believe there is no author of equal ability whose writings are so little known in the general community, and none whose merely comic writings are more heartily appreciated in London society. With the reputation of an inveterate and almost unrivalled punster among those who know him, yet with scarcely a single pun in his works; with a character for comicality, yet with far more of the serious and sarcastic than of the purely comic element about him; Jerrold's power as a writer has never been fully known. By some men he is regarded as flippant, by others as sardonic. One class objects to him on the score of his political prejudices, while another considers him to be a cynic, with more than the cynicism of Diogenes.

Mr. Jerrold occupies a position somewhat different from that of most contemporary writers of equal or even greater eminence. His works, in point of subject and style, as well as in respect of their peculiarities of thought and their moral bearing, represent some of the leading characteristics of the literary mind more thoroughly than those of any other author who has written things of a similar character. It is not only the combination of wit and humour, with deep feeling and earnest thinking, that gives them the uniqueness which we allude to, for some of his contemporaries greatly excel him in the finer and purer qualities of humour. In the works of Thackeray, however, where satire is at least as prominent as it is in those of Jerrold, we are continually reminded of Fielding, and in those of Dickens only the lighter kinds of humour are brought out in combination with a poetic expression of feeling. With Jerrold the satire is always marked by a certain everyday character, and invariably suggests something within the range of everyday experience. The feeling expressed in his works is quite as free from any approach to sentimentality as that of Thackeray, and although it is by no means so genial, or likely to be so generally effective, as that of Dickens, yet we are disposed to think that it is deeper than that of either. There is a more sternly practical character about all Jerrold's writings than we have been able to find in those of any modern author in the same departments of literature. He seems to us a man much more intimately acquainted with the varied aspects of city life than most of his contemporaries, and as a distinguishing feature,—more marked, perhaps, than any other,—all that he writes is highly coloured by strong and decided political opinions. Hence we find that he has never been more successful than when employing fictitious incidents and ludicrous circumstances to express his scorn of hollow conventionalities either in social usages or political dogmas. His wit is never brought into play for the mere sake of seeming witty; his arrows are always pointed, and pointed, too, with a cutting sharpness. Shot with

that directness of aim which he gives them, they never fail to pierce wherever they hit.

Mr. Jerrold's reputation, as we have already hinted, has suffered in no small degree from circumstances connected with his literary position. That position has associated him with men who are greatly his inferiors even as comic writers, and has moreover identified him with literature necessarily and naturally fugitive in its character. To such readers as are familiar with the works of all our best novelists, he is known only as one in whom the spirit of 'Punch' is as it were incarnated, as the author of the inimitable 'Caudle Lectures,' or certain comedies strictly of the modern stamp. Almost all that he has written, in fact, was originally placed before the public in the pages of periodicals; and from this very circumstance it has been in a great measure deprived of that prominence which a book published with its author's name, and in a permanent form, obtains, when it is at all worthy of being regarded as superior to the mass of three volumed insipidities which the press pours forth from year to year. It is because we are of opinion that Mr. Jerrold's works contain things of permanent interest that we feel gratified by the appearance of the collected edition now before us. We could have wished, indeed, that some things less valuable than the others, even at the time they were first published, had been excluded from the collection, and that in some places extreme opinions, or strong expressions, which the author's subsequent experience must have corrected; but we welcome the volumes as the means of making the public more thoroughly acquainted with their author's great and varied abilities. It is not for such as merely enjoy the excitement which fiction produces, and who value it on that account alone, that we conceive these abilities to have been exercised. The moral purpose of Mr. Jerrold's writings is very evident even in cases where the comic phase of his literary character comes out most fully; and in reviewing that character as it is displayed in these volumes, we shall take occasion to claim for him the attention and consideration of a far larger class than that which is composed of mere novel readers. We do not, of course, profess to regard Mr. Jerrold as other than what he is—namely, a writer of fiction in one form or another; but, conceiving the aim of the novelist to be much higher than that of simply producing something which gives pleasure without any, or at least with no very direct reference to the moral perceptions or the intellectual faculties of the reader, we shall endeavour to examine his claims on the consideration of those by whom books are read with a fixed purpose rather than as affording a transitory pleasure.

Although Mr. Jerrold has been regarded rather too exclusively

as a comic writer and a wit, that phase of him is undoubtedly the most prominent one. The serious, earnest nature of the man is seen in his broadly comic writings almost as plainly as in those of a graver and more reflective character. In such things as the 'Caudle Lectures,' it is true, the pungency of the wit, the success with which certain social or domestic features are hit off, and the artistic conception and consistency of the whole are most notable, and suffice to render them unique. The moral tendency, where it is seen at all, is much less apparent than it is even in some of his other and less successful comic writings. It is inserted here and there more by suggestion than direct expression, and the nature of the productions is not such as to give it any weight. But for its unique character, and the flashes of wit which it contains, we should have been disposed to regard this part of Mr. Jerrold's writings as belonging rather to the fugitive or ephemeral order. These things, however, combined with the air of reality thrown around them by an artistic treatment unsurpassed in his more serious compositions, have given an interest to the 'Curtain Lectures' which revives with every fresh perusal. In thoroughly comic character, Mr. Jerrold has produced nothing so complete as 'Mrs. Caudle.' His 'Job Pippins, the man who could not help it;' 'Barnaby Palms, the man who felt his way;' and 'Perditus Mutton,' in 'Cakes and Ale,' are all as natural in their way as the 'Dick Swivellers,' and 'Captain Cuttles,' of Charles Dickens; or the 'Costigans' and 'Jeamses' of Thackeray; but we have an impression that the author's predilection for making his characters appear as representatives of his own ironical views of life tends in some degree to mar the comic effect of such characters. With Jerrold, wit and humour, whether expressed in impersonation, or in his own descriptions, are never made use of without a very apparent aim; while, in the case of the other writers we have mentioned, they come out broadly of themselves, suggesting rather than urging the moral. Several of the tales in the 'Men of Character,' and in 'Cakes and Ale,' contain passages of what we may be permitted to call pure and gratuitous fun; but it is not in these that we find the best specimens of Mr. Jerrold's comic manner. The satirist invariably prevails over the artist, and even in his most playful moods it is impossible for him to write a page without dashing into it some stinging sarcasm. 'Punch's Letters to his Son,' those singularly felicitous imitations of Lord Chesterfield's 'Letters,' in spite of all their comicality, are satirical from beginning to end. The text of each is taken from social shams and follies, and it is so with almost everything Mr. Jerrold has written, if we except his plays, which seem to have been composed for the most part on the principle of enjoying and communicating the enjoyment of drollery.

It is as a satirist, then, rather than as a comic writer, in the plain acceptation of the term, that we must consider Mr. Jerrold—as one, in short, who makes his comic vein subservient to the purposes of satire. Here, again, we approach more nearly to the serious part of his writings; for, generally speaking, the sharpness and brilliancy of the wit brought to bear on prevailing follies point too directly to their object to admit of our losing sight of it. It has been said by an Eastern poet, that the flash of Saladin's scimeter, like the lightning, revealed the form of the foe he struck. This is precisely the case with Mr. Jerrold's wit. It plays momentarily around its object, showing in a lurid light its moral deformity, or its formal hollowness, and then strikes it with a withering stroke. All vain and pompous conventionalities are stripped bare, and in its pitiless scathing force it often rends away the good, at least the necessary, with the evil and the hypocritical. All worldly distinctions—all the forms and shows of things—are to Mr. Jerrold so many masks which he must tear off and show the abstract thing, the living, practical reality behind. And in most cases what is thus exposed assumes more than its natural character, from the very means taken to expose it. It is not to be denied, however, that while Mr. Jerrold's satire is sometimes rather grim, it has on the whole a healthful character: it is never directed against things which will bear a close moral scrutiny, or which are in any way allied to the nobler feelings and motives of humanity. His warmest sympathies are with the poor, and his sarcasm is never more pitiless than when it is directed against those prejudices which arise from differences of social position. His most contemptible characters are invariably those whose sole claim to the position they occupy rests upon titles or wealth. He detects and exposes with merciless severity the meanness, the cupidity, and the vices which obtain in high places. In doing this, we know not but that he may be considered as in some degree responsible for the existence of a class of literary productions in which all that is vile and criminal is ascribed to the aristocracy, the tendency of which, unredeemed by a single spark of literary ability, is at once injurious to the moral health and the intellectual character of those who read them. Mr. Jerrold's design is to show that no extent of worldly influence, and no amount of worldly substance, can be in any sense productive of aught but evil to the possessor unless these are exercised and employed in accordance with the dictates of morality and an enlightened sense of social duty. His noble *roués*, women of fashion, and hard-hearted millionaires, are all set forth as illustrations of a departure from these things encouraged by the false and hollow usages of society. His teaching on such points is founded on no

ultra-democratic and ignorant prejudices against those classes from which such illustrations are selected. It takes the form, not of invective, or of the exposure of vice for the mere exposure's sake, as is the case with the writings of some who have adopted the characters while altogether mistaking the tendency, of his,—but of warmly eloquent pleadings, and vigorous arguments in behalf of popular education, an extension of political rights, and other measures of social improvement. The principles and tests which he applies to individual character are in most cases precisely similar to those on which he judges of abuses in society, and the means of reforming them. Such being the general scope of his works, it is scarcely necessary to say that he is a firm believer in the doctrine of progress. He is perhaps the ablest and most energetic exponent in his own literary walk, of the more advanced views of that doctrine. Full as his writings are of fine chivalric sentiment, and the admiration of nobleness in all ranks of life, he has no sympathy with those who conceive that progress has not been made in all that is conducive to social well-being.

Mammon is the object of Mr. Jerrold's special hatred. Against it he has brought to bear all the force of his sarcasm, all the scathing power of his scorn. There are few of his books in which his indignant protest against the worship of the Golden Calf is not put forth either as the entire ground-work of a story, in some character of it, or in the name given to such a character. One of his most recent and perhaps least known works, 'The Man made of Money,' proceeds wholly on the ground of the retribution which follows an indulgence of avaricious propensities, and by incidents sometimes of the most telling and effective character, but often wildly extravagant, it expresses its author's ideas of the miseries arising from that inordinate love of gain which he seems in the strictest sense to consider the root of all evil. The hero of it, Mr. Solomon Jericho, bored by the importunities of his spouse, and environed by difficulties such as will beset a man of limited means and large desires, breathes an unholy wish that he was made of money, and he becomes so. He undergoes a physical change. All that is necessary for the drawing of a bank note is that he should place his hand upon his heart; withdrawing it, the money, to any amount he may wish, adheres to his palm. In process of time he becomes great in the world's esteem; lives luxuriously; purchases an estate, and surrounds himself with all the magnificence which money can procure. The retribution comes, however; he eventually finds that the wealth being a part of himself, the more he draws from his mysterious bank the faster his corporeal frame diminishes in bulk. He is reduced to a living skeleton. A facetious friend sees the sunset through Mr. Jericho's

ribs. Avarice in its worst form overtakes him, and he becomes a miser shut out from all society, and surrounded only by the fruits of his unholy wish. Ultimately he is consumed while about to light a candle with a bank note; all his substance; all the jewels worn by his wife and daughters; all the gifts bestowed upon his friends, are transformed into soot and charcoal.

Mr. Jerrold has drawn too strongly on the intelligence of his readers in this tale. In his wish to give the moral of it an extraordinary force, he has overstepped altogether not only the bounds of probability, for in certain circumstances that might have been admissible, but the very wide bound allowed to the writer of fiction. His purpose in the story is weakened by the very efforts made to give it an additional strength, and the consequence is, that where we ought to have had the impressive we have simply the horrible. Nor is this the only offence against good taste which this tale manifests; there are passages of it which cannot be justified by any reference to the moral aim which the writer has had in view—passages in which, as it seems to us, there is an unnecessary exhibition of the evils which he designs to expose, and what is much worse, a resort to melodramatic effects, and language as offensive as it is uncalled for. As a whole, then, we consider ‘The Man made of Money’ the least successful of Mr. Jerrold’s works. The purpose of it comes out far more distinctly, because more naturally, and with greater effect, in some of his other works. The tendency to make too much of the moral designed to be conveyed in the story is apparent, it is true, in each of these, so apparent sometimes as almost to make us think that Mr. Jerrold considers money in its very abstract an evil, and poverty a virtue rather than a necessity; but delicacies of feeling and beauties of expression, not less than a clear and piercing irony, give a healthier and higher tone to the means by which the moral is brought out. Thus in one of his satirical essays, ‘The Order of Poverty,’ we have such passages as this:—

‘Will it not be a merry time when men with a blithe face and open look shall confess that they are poor? When they shall be to the world what they are to themselves? . . . Look at this peasant. His face bronzed with mid-day toil. From sunrise to sunset, with cheerful looks and uncomplaining words, he turns the primal curse to dignity, and manfully earns his bread by the sweat of his brow. . . . And here is a white-haired shepherd. As a boy, a child playful as the lambs he tended, he laboured. He has dreamed away his life upon hill-sides, on downs, on solitary heaths. The humble, simple, patient watcher for fellow-man. Solitude has been his companion: he has grown old and wrinkled, bent in the eye of the burning sun. His highest wisdom is a guess at the coming weather; he may have heard of diamonds,

but he knows the evening star. He is to our mind a most reverent Knight of the Fleece.'—p. 169.

This has the merit of being well expressed, pathetic, and not lacking a certain calm poetic feeling. Mr. Jerrold must know, however, that the existence of such a shepherd does not necessarily infer an evil arising from the unequal distribution of worldly wealth. What, to such a man as this, would the riband and star of knighthood, or the riches of a kingdom, be? He fills his place in the great economy of life: the lords of heraldic orders or successful worldly enterprise, who so often provoke Mr. Jerrold's scorn, do no more. 'Theirs is, in most cases, a lot which the shepherd, nay, perhaps the workhouse pauper, need not envy. 'The great Soul of the world is just,' and still of him to whom much is given much shall also be required—much in misery for misspent means of doing good—much in the extortion of that bitter avowal that the fashion of this world passeth away. Such, in effect, is the moral of those tales in which Mr. Jerrold sets forth the wretched and contemptible character of avarice: when he pushes that moral beyond its application to the responsibilities devolving on the rich in regard to the poor, making the mere possession of riches something like a moral blemish, he pushes it too far.

If, however, the reader would form a correct opinion respecting the true character of our author's genius, for genius of a high order he undoubtedly possesses, he should read 'St. Giles and St. James,' and 'The Story of a Feather.' These are his most important, and we may perhaps add, his most finished works. In both, the serious as well as the comic phase of his mind is seen to advantage, and his peculiar vein of sarcasm runs through both. Of these two books, the first is, in some respects, the most successful. It has an artistic completeness which the subject of the other scarcely requires; it contains some of its author's finest thoughts, and most of those peculiarities or prejudices which have occasionally subjected him to adverse criticism. The nature of the subject is briefly stated in the Preface. 'It has been my endeavour,' says Mr. Jerrold, 'to show in the person of St. Giles, the victim of an ignorant disregard of the social claims of the poor upon the rich; of the governed millions upon the governing few; to present the picture of the infant pauper, reared in brutish ignorance; a human waif of dirt and darkness.'

Now, it has been asserted—and the reader of limited knowledge respecting those features of city life which it has been the novelist's object to delineate, may probably consider the assertion a just one,—that Mr. Jerrold has magnified the evils arising from social distinctions, overstated the claims of the poor, and over-

drawn the picture of their misery. There is undoubtedly a tendency, in all his more serious writings, to make the most of the responsibilities of the rich; but that he can be charged with giving a false colour to the virtues of the poor, or of exaggerating the evils arising from ignorance, no one who reads the story to which we now refer with anything like the attention which it deserves, will, we think, be disposed to admit. If the standard of duty by which wealth and worldly influence are measured is a high one, higher than in strict justice it ought to be, the error is certainly an error on the safe side. A man need not live very long in the world to learn alike from experience and observation, that selfishness and the conventional usages of society are inimical in the main to a right discharge of those duties which devolve upon the possessors of worldly influence or wealth. Mr. Jerrold has done no more in this novel than exhibit in the light in which a writer of fiction is permitted to do so, the effect of a neglect of such duties. He has shown at once the demoralizing nature of an indulgence of the selfish principle, and the evil thereby entailed on those who are the victims of the neglect of duty consequent on that indulgence. In so doing, he has only more forcibly exhibited truths obvious enough to all, than is quite palatable to those whom they more immediately concern, and has in effect done no more than has been done by other writers. Nor do we think he can be charged with exaggerating the evils of our social system,—of such ignorance as is illustrated in the character of St. Giles. We doubt if exaggeration is possible in such a case. Mr. Jerrold has seen, and any one acquainted with city life must have seen, cases in which natural acuteness and energy have, from the neglect of what is due to the young of all ranks in society, been turned against society. The ignorance of the class typified by St. Giles is precisely the kind which education and the proper discharge of social responsibilities are most likely to meet. In one sense, it cannot be called ignorance at all; for it consists of a knowledge which the wisdom of senates has not yet been able to checkmate,—a knowledge of the worst things in the world, of the craft and crime which fill our prisons, and go far to shake our faith in the possibility of ever dispensing with them.

Almost as a natural consequence of the opinions which he entertains regarding the evils arising from a false estimate of worldly character and position, or from the neglect and misery which such an estimate involves, are Mr. Jerrold's views respecting national prosperity and national glory. The hollowness which, in his estimation, destroys or renders positively pernicious the ideal of life in the individual, has exactly the same effect as regards the nation. Hence his almost republican idea of everything which constitutes mere external pomp, or which exists for

purposes of parade. Hence also his denunciations of war and his scorn of martial glory. Long ere the Peace Society was constituted, years before the principles on which it was founded had met with anything like the acceptation they now receive directly or indirectly, Mr. Jerrold employed his genius in the condemnation of war—in ridiculing as well as deploring its results, and in satirizing all manifestations of the martial spirit. He did so not on principles of economy, but from unmistakable motives of humanity. It is ‘the folly of the sword,’ to borrow the title of one of his most vigorous essays, which awakens his scorn, and the irresponsibility of those in whose hands it is generally placed, which he pities and deplores. A firm believer alike in the inefficacy and barbarity of capital punishments, he regards life and death as things so solemn and so awful, that a devotion of the one to a false and delusive idea of glory, and the association of the other with the horrors of the battle-field, as inimical to all the humanizing and elevating influences of Christianity. It is but just to add, however, that in urging these opinions, Mr. Jerrold seldom if ever descends to the use of such language as is often employed in the condemnation of war. His intelligence, not less than his good taste and generous feeling, restrain him from the fulmination of coarse invectives or sweeping charges against those who have been the agents of what he conceives to be a false idea. Yet, on this as on other subjects which provoke his sarcasm, Mr. Jerrold may very fairly be regarded as taking up a position from which he might be easily driven by weapons of his own forging. He manifests a disposition to take what might be considered too direct a view of an evil,—to look at it too much in the abstract, and without a due consideration of extenuating or justifying circumstances. There is no deduction made for the necessity which constitutes war a punishment as well as ‘a pastime for despots;’ nothing allowed for the glory, martial though it be, of saving a nation’s liberty, even at the expense of its blood and treasure. In such language as the following—language powerful, and, in an abstract view of the subject, just as it is powerful—Mr. Jerrold expresses his ideas of military pomp and action:—

‘This dazzling heathenism that makes a pomp of wickedness—seizes and distracts us at the very threshold of life. Swords and drums are our playthings; the types of violence and destruction are made the pretty playthings of our childhood; and, as we grow older, the outward magnificence of the ogre, Glory—his trappings and his trumpets, his privileges and the songs that are shouted in his praise, enslave the bigger baby to the sacrifice. But for craft operating on ignorance, who, in the name of outraged heaven, would become the hireling of the sword? . . . Day by day the sergeant works on the block ploughman,

and at last carves out a true, handsome soldier of the line. What knew Hodge of the responsibility of man? What dreams had he of the self-accountability of the human spirit? The musket-stock which for many an hour he hugs—hugs in weariness—was no more a party to its present use than was Hodge But war brings forth the heroism of the soul; war tests the magnanimity of man. Sweet is the humanity that spares a fallen foe; gracious the compassion that tends his wounds, that brings even a cup of water to his burning lips. Granted. But is there no heroism of a grander mould? The heroism of forbearance? Is not the humanity that refuses to strike, a nobler virtue than the late-born pity of violence? Pretty it is to see the victor with salve and lint kneeling at his bloody trophy—a maimed and agonized fellow-man; but surely it had been better to have withheld the blow, than to have been first mischievous to be afterwards humane.’—pp. 146-7.

We have thus endeavoured briefly to point out some of the more prominent characteristics of Mr. Jerrold’s literary character, giving illustrations of what we conceive to be the chief element of it—viz., a serious and earnest nature working with the materials, so to speak, of a comic and satirical writer. It now only remains for us to go over some of his works; and, while exhibiting certain features of his style, endeavour to do so by such quotations as our limits allow.

Although we are disposed to regard Mr. Jerrold as in some respects the most practical of our modern novelists—as giving us, upon the whole, the most ordinary pictures of human life in those aspects in which he looks at it, it would be a great mistake to suppose that his writings are destitute of those expressions of feeling which are, in the strictest sense of the word poetical. While it must be admitted that there is occasionally a tendency towards the use of language and metaphors, which are the very reverse of tasteful or elegant, for the most part his style is clear and terse—singularly so for a writer of such strong feelings, and yet necessarily so, we should be disposed to think, for the effect of his satire. So pregnant and complete are some of his sentences, that it would seem as if in a few words he had struck out a meaning which could not have been better conveyed in a page. This is especially the case in metaphorical passages. Thus, in one of his stories, speaking of the fertility of Australia, he says—‘Earth is here so kind that just tickle her with a hoe, and she laughs with harvest.’ Again, in the same tale, he thus describes a matter-of-fact man: ‘Talk to him of Jacob’s ladder, and he would ask the number of the steps.’ Characterization could scarcely go farther than this. We have the disposition of the man dashed off in a single line. A shaft of sarcasm, too, is often completed, even to its barbed point, in no more words than we have just quoted. Here is an instance of it—‘At that hour

when sparrows look down reproachfully from their eaves at the flushed man trying the street door.' There are few of our modern writers from whose works so many pregnant sentences could be culled as from the volumes before us. They have an epigrammatic clearness and force, an intensity of expression, which renders them in a great measure peculiar. We shall quote a few of these; but in doing so, it is necessary to remind the reader that they lose not a little of their strength by being thus detached. In the opening page of 'St. Giles and St. James,' there is a finely reflective description of a winter night in a great city, which closes with the following lines:—'It was a time when, in the cellars and garrets of the poor, are acted scenes which make the noblest heroism of life; a time when in want and anguish, in throes of mortal agony, some seed is sown that bears a flower in heaven.' The tale from which this sentence is taken abounds with many of its author's finest and most touching thoughts. Here are some of them—full of the finest feeling—

'It was a beautiful spring evening—last of the spring, yet fresh with all its green. The peace of heaven seemed upon earth. An hour and scene when the heart is softened and subdued by the spirit of beauty. One of the happy hours that, sweet in the present are yet delicious in the past; treasured as they are, as somewhat akin to those hours of the world's spring, when earth was trod by angels.'—p. 103.

'There seemed a Sabbath peace on all things. The drudged horse stood meek and passive in the field, patiently eyeing the passer-by, as though it felt secure of one day's holiday; the cows, with their large kind eyes, lay unmoved upon the grass; all things seemed taking rest beneath the brooding wings of heaven. We have climbed the hill—have gained the church-yard; the dust of the living dust of generations. The bell is swinging still; and turning on every side, from distant hamlets we see men, women, and children—age with its staff, and babyhood warm at the breast—all coming upward—upward to the church. Still they climb, and still from twenty opposite paths they come, to strength and rejoice their souls in one common centre—a foreshadowing of that tremendous Sabbath of the Universe when all men from all paths shall meet in Paradise . . . A beautiful sight, doubtless, to behold in that same village temple, men of all conditions gathered together to confess their common infirmities, to supplicate for common blessings, to appear for a time as in the vestibule of eternity in common adoration of the Eternal.'—p. 210.

'How few the incidents of life, how multitudinous its emotions! How flat and monotonous may be the circumstances of daily existence, and yet how various the thoughts which spring from it. Look at yonder landscape, broken into hill and dale, with trees of varied hue and form, and water winding in silver threads through velvet fields. How beautiful, for how varied! Cast your eye over that moor; it is flat and desolate—barren as barren rock. Not so. Seek the soil, and

then with nearer gaze contemplate the wondrous forms and colours of the thousand mosses growing there ; give ear to the hum of busy life sounding at every root of forest grass. Listen ! Does not the heart of the earth beat audibly beneath this seeming barrenness, audibly as when the corn grows and the grape is ripening ? Is it not so with the veriest rich and the veriest poor, with the most active and with apparently the most inert.'—pp. 333, 334.

The love of nature, and of all things beautiful, as evinced in such passages marks, in a greater or less degree, almost every one of Mr. Jerrold's works, except such as are broadly and exclusively comic. He turns aside, as if for relief and refreshment, from the city scenes of misery and the haunts of profligacy, to the quiet of the sunny lanes and the breezy downs of England. His landscapes are all unmistakably English. He cannot think of the country and its peaceful influences, but his mind seems to revert to the wide and open fields, with 'the lark, a trembling and fluttering speck of song, above them.' He brings this love of nature into the dust and din of city streets and murky alleys, too, presenting us, as in the following passage, with quaint reflections on its influence there :—

'Pugwash was fond of what he called nature, though in his dim, close shop he would give her but a stifling welcome. Nevertheless, he had the earliest primroses on his counter ; "they threw," he said, "such a nice light about the place." A sly, knavish customer, presented him with a pot of polyanthus, and won by the flowery gift. Pugwash gave the donor ruinous credit. The man with the wall-flowers regularly stopped at the shop, and for sixpence, Pugwash would tell his wife, that he had made the place a Paradise. "If we can't go to nature, Sally, isn't it a pleasant thing to be able to bring nature to us." Whereupon, Mrs. Pugwash would declare that a man, with at least three children to provide for, had no need to talk of nature. Nevertheless, the flowerman made his weekly call. Though at many a house the penny could not every week be spared to buy a hint, a look of nature for the darkened dwellers about him, Isaac, despite of Mrs. Pugwash, always purchased. It is a common thing, an old familiar cry, to see the poor man's florist, and hear his loud-voiced invitation to take his nosegays, his penny roots ; and yet it is a call, a conjuration of the heart to a man over-laboured and desponding, walled in by the gloom of a town, divorced from the fields and their sweet, healthful influences, almost shut out from the sky.—it is a call that tells him there are things of the earth beside food and covering to live for ; and that God, in his great bounty, hath made them for all men. Adown dark lanes and miry alleys he takes sweet remembrances, touching records of the loveliness of earth, that with their bright looks and balmy odours cheer and uplift the dumpish heart of man ; that make his soul stir within him, and acknowledge the beautiful. . . . Amidst the violence, the coarseness, and the suffering that may surround and defile the wretched, there must be moments when the heart

escapes, when the soul makes for itself even of a flower a comfort and a refuge.'—pp. 97, 98.

In these extracts, we have given illustrations almost exclusively of Mr. Jerrold's serious and reflective manner; we have done so from the conviction that the comic and satirical phases of his literary character have been allowed, in some measure, to hide the poetry and pathos with which his works abound. Let us endeavour now to give one or two specimens of his wit and humour. We have already said that Mr. Jerrold is not often witty without being satirical. Humour is less susceptible of an alliance with sarcasm, however, than wit is, and it will therefore be found that, where he lays aside the weapons of the satirist, he is simply humorous. And there is often a richness of fancy and a breadth about his humour which few of his contemporaries have surpassed. This is evinced more fully in the 'Chronicles of Clovernook,' perhaps, than in any of his other works. There is a geniality about it, and on the whole an absence of the author's more extreme opinions, which has always led us to regard it as among his most successful comic writings. Witness the following description of the Hermit of Clovernook, *alias* the Hermit of Bellifull:—

'Altogether he was a massive lump of a man, hard and active. His face was big and round, with a rich larder look about it. His wide red cheeks were here and there jewelled with good living. The hermit had no nose; none, ladies, none. There was a little knob of flesh like a small mushroom dipt in wine, which made its unobtrusive way between the good man's cheeks, and through which he had been known to sneeze; but impudence itself could not call that a nose. The hermit's mouth had all the capacity of large benevolence, large and wide, like an old pocket. There seemed a heavy unctuousness about the lower lip; a weight and drooping from very mellowness, like a rich peach cracking in the sun. His teeth—but that he had lost one, as we afterwards learned, in active service on a Strasburg ham—were regular as a line of infantry, and no less dangerous. . . . The hermit's voice was deep and clear; and he had a sweet, heart-warming chuckle, which came like wine gurgling from a flask.'—p. 9.

The ironical enters so largely into everything of a comic character which Mr. Jerrold has written, that it would be impossible, even did our limits permit, to quote a passage of any length in which it does not occupy a marked prominence. Nor is his irony at all of the delicate or obscure kind. There is no mistaking it in such a passage as this,—we quote from the Essay entitled 'The Order of Poverty':—

'There was one order, Teutonic, if we mistake not, the Order of Fools. There was a quaint sincerity in the very title of it. The

philosophy was out-speaking; and, more than all, the constitution of such a chapter admitted knights against whose worthiness, whose peculiar right to wear the badge, no envious demagogue could say his bitter saying. . . . From the mere abstract love of justice, we should be right glad to have the Order of Fools revived in the fullest splendour of folly. Such an order would so beneficently provide for many unrewarded public idlers,—aye, and public workers also.’—p. 321.

Here is another specimen equally trenchant:—

‘You will hear a good lowly creature sing the praises of pure water—call it the wine of Adam when he walked in Paradise—when, somehow, fate has bestowed upon the eulogist the finest Burgundy. He declares himself contented with a crust, although a beneficent fairy has hung a fat haunch or two in his larder. . . . Yes, it is delightful to see these humble folks, who tune their tongues to the honour of dry bread and water, compelled by the force of fortune to chew venison and swallow claret.’—p. 36.

It is manifest, we think, from the volumes before us, that Mr. Jerrold has made great progress since the earliest of his works was published; it is certainly not too much to expect that he will yet attain to a much higher position than the one he now occupies. As it is, his writings are worthy of more attention than they receive from the large class to whom his qualities, both of mind and heart, are little known. We trust it has been shown that he is no mere wit; not simply a satirist of social follies, but a man of strong convictions and keen sensibilities, equally alive to what is grave and serious, to the ludicrous and the mirthful. His errors, and they arise as often from the strength of his feelings as from his repugnance to all that is formal and hollow, are not those of a man who lacks charity, but are frequently the result of a too ready acquiescence of the judgment in the dictates of a heart easily and strongly moved. He has contributed much that is healthful and invigorating to the literature of the day, and we think his faults may be lightly passed over in consideration of his sympathy with so much that is true and elevating.

ART. IV.—*Speeches, Parliamentary and Miscellaneous.* By the Right Hon. Thomas Babington Macaulay. In Two Volumes. 8vo. London: Henry Vizetelly. 1853.

2. *Speeches of the Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, M.P.* Corrected by himself. 8vo. London: Longman and Co. 1854.

THE announcement of the publication of these volumes must have suggested to many minds some pleasant reminiscences. Many must recollect the feelings with which some twenty years or more ago, while scanning the solid columns of the parliamentary debates, their eye was relieved by a loose type, and rested on the words Mr. Macaulay 'then rose and spoke as follows.' They remember the flush of pleasure with which they addressed themselves to a closer perusal; their intolerance of interruption, and their selfish wish to be left alone while their minds were absorbed in those eloquent passages reported even with a comparative fidelity, which, considering the unexampled rapidity of the speaker, constituted a master-piece of this modern art. They remembered the delight with which they followed the orator, only modified by the *amari aliquid* of the impatience with which they awaited the grand climax of the peroration; and if not familiar with Hansard, they longed, no doubt, to peruse these wonderful efforts in the very words in which they were delivered.

In the former of the publications before us, we have, more or less complete, almost all the public addresses of Mr. Macaulay, either within or without the walls of parliament. In the latter, we have twenty-nine of his principal speeches, corrected by himself. It is to the publication of the former volumes by Mr. Vizetelly that we owe Mr. Macaulay's edition of his speeches, and that under circumstances which call for a fair and impartial consideration. In his preface, he says—

'It was most reluctantly that I determined to suspend during the last autumn, a work which is the business and pleasure of my life, in order to prepare these speeches for publication; and it is most reluctantly that I now give them to the world. Even if I estimated their oratorical merit much more highly than I do, I should not willingly have revived in the quiet times in which we are so happy as to live, the memory of those fierce contentions in which too many years of my life were passed. Many expressions which, when society was convulsed by political dissension, and when the foundations of government were shaking, were heard by an excited audience with sympathy and applause, may, now that the passions of all parties have subsided, be thought intemperate and acrimonious.'

After specially instancing his conflicts with Sir Robert Peel, and passing a generous eulogy on that lamented statesman, he thus proceeds to account for the publication of his speeches by himself:—

‘Unhappily an act, for which the law affords no redress, but which I have no hesitation in pronouncing to be a gross injury to me and a gross fraud on the public, has compelled me to do what I should never have done willingly. A bookseller, named Vizetelly, who seems to aspire to that sort of distinction which Curll enjoyed a hundred and twenty years ago, thought fit, without asking my consent, without even giving me any notice, to announce an edition of my speeches, and was not ashamed to tell the world in his advertisement that he published them by special licence. When the book appeared, I found it contained fifty-six speeches, said to have been delivered by me in the House of Commons. Of these speeches a few were reprinted from reports which I had corrected for the ‘Mirror of Parliament,’ or the ‘Parliamentary Debates,’ and were, therefore, with the exception of some errors of the pen and the press, correctly given. The rest bear scarcely the faintest resemblance to the speeches which I really made. The substance of what I said is perpetually misrepresented; the connexion of the arguments is altogether lost; extravagant blunders are put into my mouth in almost every page. An editor, who had the smallest regard for truth, or for the fame of the person whose speeches he had undertaken to publish, would have had recourse to the various sources of information, which were readily accessible; and by collating them, would have produced a book which would at least have contained no absolute nonsense. But I have, unfortunately, had an editor whose only object was to make a few pounds, and who was willing to sacrifice to that object my reputation and his own. He took the very worst report extant, compared it with no other report, removed no blemish, however obvious or however ludicrous, gave to the world some hundreds of pages utterly contemptible both in matter and manner, and prefixed my name to them.’—Preface, pp. 8, 9.

These are unquestionably heavy charges; Mr. Macaulay has a *prima facie* case, and so practised a controversialist might well be trusted to make the most of it. Few men are more jealous of their literary reputation than our great modern essayist, critic, and historian. An enthusiastic connoisseur of pictures or china would care far less for the loss of the money which represents the market value of the article than for a scratch across the eye of a portrait by Vandyke, or a crack across the surface of a precious vase. In the one case, the pecuniary loss might be replaced; in the other, the damage is irreparable. It is just so with the elaborate style of Mr. Macaulay. It is the mosaic of literature; the displacement of an atom is fatal, and the issue to the world of a blemished sentence, or a dislocated paragraph, to be reproduced by a thousand presses, and circulated over continents, would occasion to such a mind as Mr. Macaulay’s the pungent

mortification of a lasting, irrefutable libel. For this feeling much allowance must be made. One so keen to discern the literary defects of others must naturally be supposed to look with a sensitive jealousy on his own productions. He has well earned a right to the plenitude of his fame.

Still justice must be done to the publisher who has ventured to supply Mr. Macaulay's lack of public service by giving his speeches to the world. In one respect we think Mr. Vizetelly has erred. Such speeches as these, teeming in every paragraph with historical, classical, and even more recondite illustrations and allusions, unquestionably required a careful and even a learned editorship. This the publisher does not pretend to have secured. He simply says in his advertisement, 'The Parliamentary speeches forming the first portion of the present work have been reprinted by special license from the revised reports published in Hansard's 'Parliamentary Debates.' The miscellaneous speeches have been derived from a variety of sources; but in every instance great care has been taken to select the best report that could be met with.'

It may be said that Mr. Macaulay himself is the only man who was fully competent to prepare his speeches for the press. This we think must be granted; but it is equally certain that he could not have been induced to undertake this office. The next alternative was to obtain the services of an editor of the highest degree of literary ability. This assuredly has not been done; and in this respect, and in this only, the publisher appears to have laid himself fairly open to Mr. Macaulay's censure.

Under the sanction of the right honourable gentleman's exposition of the principles and the law of copyright, as expressed in his speech on Mr. Sergeant Talfourd's bill, Mr. Vizetelly announced Mr. Macaulay's speeches for publication. After doing so he wrote a request to the Marquis of Lansdowne, that his lordship would permit the dedication of the work to him. The reply of the marquis indicated no sense of the impropriety of the publisher's project, but expressed a willing consent contingent upon Mr. Macaulay's approbation. Upon this Mr. Vizetelly wrote to Mr. Macaulay informing him of what he had done, and what he proposed. The right honourable gentleman's reply was simply an abstract of that preface to his own edition to which we are about more particularly to allude.

The publication of Mr. Vizetelly's volumes in July, 1853, led, as we have seen, to the production of Mr. Macaulay's work in December of the same year. The preface to Mr. Macaulay's edition contains three specific charges and one explanatory declaration, all of which it is our duty to notice. The charges are first that of the grossest inaccuracy. He goes so far as to say—

‘As to faults of syntax and of style, hardly one sentence in a hundred is free from them.’ The second is a charge of ‘gross injury to himself and a gross fraud upon the public.’ The third is stated in the following words—‘I have unfortunately had an editor whose only object was to make a few pounds, and who was willing to sacrifice to that object my reputation, and his own.’ The explanatory declaration referred to is in the following terms:—

‘The substance of the remaining speeches’ (after specifying nine which he had corrected verbatim for Hansard), ‘I have given with perfect ingenuousness. I have not made alterations for the purpose of saving my own reputation either for consistency or for foresight. I have not softened down the strong terms in which I formerly expressed opinions which time and thought may have modified; nor have I retouched my predictions in order to make them correspond with subsequent events. Had I represented myself as speaking in 1831, in 1840, or in 1845, as I should speak in 1853, I should have deprived my book of its chief value. This volume is now at least a strictly honest record of opinions and reasonings which were heard with favour by a large part of the Commons of England at some important conjunctures; and such a record, however low it may stand in the estimation of the literary critic, cannot but be of use to the historian.’

Now if there is to be a system of literary police, ever so gentle and controlled, it is the duty of every reader to give a fair hearing to a defence against these serious accusations. We will take them in their order; and as to the first, with all our grief at seeing the exquisite style of Mr. Macaulay marred in its slightest feature, we must say that the sweeping charge of inaccurate syntax and faulty style in ninety-nine out of every hundred sentences is an exaggeration so outrageous as is only to be explained by extreme irritation of feeling. For that jealous irritability we have already endeavoured to account; that it has led him into an utter misstatement we fearlessly assert. The mistakes which Mr. Macaulay instances undoubtedly exist, and some of them are sufficiently ridiculous; but the reader may peruse page after page of those speeches which appear only in Mr. Vizetelly’s volumes without missing the well known graces of the speaker’s rhetoric. However far short they may fall of Mr. Macaulay’s fastidious ideal, we must regard them (and he at least must forgive our enthusiasm) as an invaluable boon to that million save one of the Anglo-Saxon race who would no more think of purchasing Hansard’s ‘Parliamentary Debates’ than they would of possessing—we might even say of reading—the statutes at large.

The two remaining charges require a closer investigation. In the former of these Mr. Macaulay accuses the publisher of a ‘gross injury to himself, and a gross fraud upon the public.’

The reference of this language will be understood by the terms of a letter now lying before us, addressed by Mr. Macaulay to Mr. Vizetelly, dated July 6th, 1853. Mr. Macaulay says, 'Before I received your letter I had seen the advertisement in which you thought fit to announce that you were about to publish my speeches by "*special license*."' It is impossible to doubt in what sense you meant those words to be understood, and I must plainly say that in using them you have been guilty of gross injustice to me and a fraud upon the public.' The gravity of this charge renders it necessary that in justice to Mr. Vizetelly the whole truth should be told.

We have before us a copy of the reply of Mr. Vizetelly, addressed to Mr. Macaulay the same day (July 6th), in which we find the following passage:—'I think it necessary to disabuse your mind as to the intention sought to be conveyed by the words "*by special license*" contained in the announcement of the edition of your speeches. It only found its way into the announcement at all simply because when I purchased of Mr. Hansard the license to use the reports from the '*Parliamentary Debates*,' *he required that the exact wording should be printed in some conspicuous place in the volumes themselves and in all the advertisements*. If you doubt the statement, Mr. Hansard can be appealed to. He must substantiate it, for it was his positive requirement, and no suggestion of my own. It never even occurred to me that the phrase would be construed in any other than its *bona fide* sense, or it should not have stood as it does; but to remove all chance of possible misapprehension, it shall be so altered for the future that no doubt can exist on the subject.' This explanation appears to us entirely satisfactory, and we believe that within a week of this date, advertisements were issued altering the ambiguous phrase to '*published by special license of the proprietors*,' an expression which assuredly made it quite clear that the license was not granted by Mr. Macaulay, even if the granting of that license had been legally at his option, which it was not. The public reproduction, therefore, of the same charge by Mr. Macaulay five months afterwards appears to us an injustice to Mr. Vizetelly which cannot be vindicated.

Mr. Macaulay's third accusation is as follows:—'I, unfortunately, had an editor, whose only object was to make a few pounds, and who was willing to sacrifice to that object my reputation and his own.' Here again we fear Mr. Macaulay has been led into an injustice which we find it difficult to reconcile with our high appreciation of his character. For, in Mr. Vizetelly's first letter to him, that gentleman says:—'I do not desire to profit unfairly by a matter which I have entered upon more from my admiration of the

speeches themselves and the feeling that their publication would to some extent advance the cause of good government than as a mere matter of business, and I shall feel obliged if you will name any person to whom, on your behalf, I can account from time to time for the profits arising from the sale of the work.' Mr. Vizetelly thus virtually places the profits of the work at Mr. Macaulay's disposal. Is it fair and honourable after this to charge him with a selfish and sordid greed of gain?

Mr. Macaulay's final explanation repudiates any desire to preserve a semblance of consistency during a political career which has continued through the changeful scenes of the last five-and-twenty years. We are by no means disposed to except against this profession; but the speeches he has published in the volume before us bear but a small proportion to the number of those comprised in the two volumes given to the public by Mr. Vizetelly; and we cannot help remarking, as a significant fact, that some of the ablest of the suppressed speeches contain heavy charges against some of the most distinguished members of the present administration.

And now we gladly leave our judicial task and address ourselves, though necessarily with great brevity, to the speeches themselves. They are truly historical documents. They lead us through the greatest questions which have agitated the public mind for a period during which the young have grown old, and the old (alas! how many) have passed away. They stand as a faithful record of that grand advance of popular opinion and political wisdom which the present generation has been privileged to witness, and in which the large and improving majority of the people have been destined to take a part. Unlike abstract philosophers whose sagacity is, as it were, the telescope of futurity, Mr. Macaulay is one of those men whose elaborate education and whose enlightened principles are the creature of the age. Highly fitted for all the purposes of public life, he has devoted himself to the service of his generation. To that service he has brought a profound acquaintance with ancient and modern literature, with constitutional law, and with the requirements of those strange and unexampled times in which his lot has been cast, which qualify him for the functions he has sustained, whether as a critic, an historian, or a statesman. Like the majority of men of genius, his faculties were developed at an early age. His first production, which took society by surprise—the critical essay on Milton, in the 'Edinburgh Review'—was written, if we recollect rightly, while he was an under-graduate at the University of Cambridge, and his first parliamentary address was delivered as early as the spring of 1830.

To eulogize, or even to characterize, the productions of Mr.

Macaulay, whether spoken or written, would now be a trite occupation. We rather take this opportunity of opposing some of the opinions he has enunciated, and in doing so, however widely we may differ from him, we shall not violate those sentiments of admiration with which we regard his genius and his character. The productions before us are, of necessity, controversial, and as a controversialist Mr. Macaulay appears to us to fall habitually into an error, attributable, in part, perhaps, to his professional training as a lawyer, and in part to that facility of illustration which is supplied by extensive learning and a boundless memory. The mischievous result we mean to indicate is the overstatement of his case, and the special pleading and exaggeration of his advocacy. These faults, if we are correct in our criticism, concealed beneath the efflorescent verdure of his rhetoric, produce a fallacious effect on the mind of the reader, which can be dissipated only by a stern and stoical examination.

We will take one or two prominent examples. His speech in the House of Commons on the 19th of April, 1847, on the proposed grant of one hundred thousand pounds for the education of the people, is remarkable for the strictly logical form in which he marshals his arguments against Mr. Duncombe's amendment. He thus accounts for Lord George Gordon's riots:—

‘The cause was the ignorance of a population which had been suffered in the neighbourhood of palaces, theatres, temples, to grow up as rude and stupid as any tribe of tattooed cannibals in New Zealand, I might say, as any drove of beasts in Smithfield Market. The instance is striking, but it is not solitary. To the same cause are to be ascribed the riots of Nottingham, the sack of Bristol, all the outrages of Ludd, and Swing, and Rebecca; beautiful and costly machinery broken to pieces in Yorkshire, barns and haystacks blazing in Kent, fences and buildings pulled down in Wales. Could such things have been done in a country in which the mind of the labourer had been opened by education, in which he had been taught to find pleasure in the exercise of his intellect, taught to revere his Maker, taught to respect legitimate authority, and taught, at the same time, to seek the redress of real wrongs by peaceful and constitutional means?’

We pass by the comparison of our humble fellow-countrymen to tattooed savages and beasts at Smithfield, and we warmly concur with Mr. Macaulay in his condemnation of outrage and riot, but we submit that he conceals an essential part of the case. Surely something must be allowed for unjust legislation, for ‘unequal’ taxation, for fiscal laws which the poorest and less educated are quite able to comprehend, which create artificial famine, which come home to every man's business and stomach, and which Mr. Macaulay has been the foremost to oppose. We know,

on indisputable authority, that 'oppression will make a wise man mad.' It is unfortunate that we cannot produce the same authority as to the effect it is likely to have on the inhabitants of Monmouthshire, Nottingham, and Bristol. Again, Mr. Macaulay attributes these outrages to the want of education as to the duties of the people to God, to their rulers as such, and to the constitution under which they live. But where is the evidence that they do not know these duties? The facts only prove that they do not perform them:—whether from a difference of opinion as to their obligation, or from a conviction that their political wrongs override all such considerations, or, again, from a wilful disobedience to recognised duty, does not appear on the record. How this is to be remedied by Mr. Macaulay's scheme of education we confess ourselves unable to understand. The absence of 'maps on the wall,' and the 'broken slates' have, we think, but little to do with it.

This is one of the instances of Mr. Macaulay's overcharging of his case; but the argument he founds upon it deserves a closer examination. 'This, then,' he says, 'is my argument. It is the duty of government to protect our persons and property from danger. The gross ignorance of the common people is a principal cause of danger to our persons and property. Therefore it is the duty of the government to take care that the common people shall not be grossly ignorant.' A syllogism is a dangerous weapon. If faulty in either of its members, it resembles the boomerang which, the more violently it is projected, recoils with the greater force over the head of the projector, and strikes the game behind him. The major and the minor of Mr. Macaulay's syllogism may be fairly admitted, but the consequent is all adrift on a variety of vague conditions. We grant that the function of government is to protect life and property. We grant that popular ignorance is an obstacle to this necessary purpose, but how does it follow that government must of necessity overcome that obstacle? The consequent is simply that the obstacle must be overcome; but if there are other and better means of overcoming it than any which the government can supply, and especially if there are solid reasons why government should not supply them, the syllogism collapses. Now this is precisely our argument. There are two powers which can be brought to bear against popular ignorance and immorality. The one is the force of law, the other is the permeating influence of private intelligence, philanthropy, and zeal. Mr. Macaulay's argument is not new to us. We owe it, if our recollection serves us, to Dean Milner, and we well recollect that it was repeated by the late Professor Scholefield.

It runs thus:—Religion is not like the ordinary wants of a people, in which the supply will be regulated by the demand.

Unlike the case of corn and sugar and the other necessities of life, the demand will be the less in proportion to the deficiency of the supply. Therefore, says the High Churchman, the state must supply the deficiency. The false logic lies in the consequent, which should be, therefore, religion must be aggressive, but whether the aggression should be made by the state, or by private and popular effort, is a question with which the syllogism has nothing to do. Mr. Macaulay pours contempt on the inefficiency of the voluntary principle in education by a retrospect of the last three or four generations. He asks, in effect, what voluntary education has done. This appeal was made some years ago, and surely we may again apply his own argument to the Established Church, which, after all, has been the great obstacle. We might say that up to the time when Whitefield and Wesley established a *quasi* voluntarism in the Established Church, the major part of England was sunk in that depth of ignorance and immorality which created home missions and similar arrangements. The efforts of the state were futile and hopeless, and the religious teachers of the Established Church throughout the rural districts were what Mr. Conybeare humorously describes them, in his late article in the 'Edinburgh Review,' 'either Nimrods, fishing-rods, or ram-rods.'

The case of religion and of education seemed thus far, as the lawyers say, to run on all fours; but we revert from these historical facts to Mr. Macaulay's syllogism. We will propound another. It is the duty of every wise and good man to oppose the promulgation of error. The system of religious teaching by the state is admitted on all hands to allow of the propagation of error of the most essential kind. Therefore it is the duty of every wise and good man to oppose the establishment of religion by the state. Mr. Macaulay thinks that children of every denomination should be made to know, through the patronage of the state, that the Cape of Good Hope is not in Canada. But of what use is this information, if they are to be taught the doctrine of sacramental efficacy through the services of baptism and confirmation, and of transubstantiation in the catechism? If Mr. Macaulay excepts against this reasoning, we must revert to his own method of syllogism. If it is the duty of government to provide education for the people, it is *à fortiori* their duty to provide education on the most important of all subjects. Religion is the most important of all subjects; therefore it is the duty of the state to provide religious instruction for the people. The admission is, practically, fatal; for we have popery in one diocese, religious Orangeism in another, mild eyangelicism in a third, and anything-ism in a fourth; while the leaders of each of these parties appeal confidently, and as we believe, successfully, to the

Prayer-book, to which they have sworn in common as the pillar and ground of their faith, for the truth of their motley and irreconcilable dogmas. If, therefore, Mr. Macaulay's theory of state education is to embrace religious teaching, it seems logically to involve an error, which he himself, on mature consideration, would, we think, be found to admit.

But the right honourable gentleman screens himself under what appears to us to be a transparent fallacy. He urges that, even if error is taught, much truth is taught with it, and that the one should be accepted for the sake of the other. We differ from him entirely. There is the same distinction between ignorance of religious truth, and the reception of religious error, which exists between an indolent and a malignant tumour in the body. Of mere religious ignorance, it may be said, comparatively, that it does not produce moral mischief; while religious error is a moral poison. The religious quietism of the savage is not so bad as the pious assassination of the Hindoo.

We cannot help thinking, that Mr. Macaulay's views on this subject are singularly crude. He sums them up in these words:— 'Will any Protestant deny that it is better that the Irish should be Roman Catholics than they should live and die like the beasts of the field?' But here we must venture to arrest him with the questions, 'Is there no alternative? Are the Irish missions mere nullities, and were they suitably stimulated and encouraged through the absence of a repressive legislation, might they not, by gentleness, candour, and the force of truth, produce those results which missionary efforts have produced, and are extensively producing, on the most uncivilized of mankind? Are the Irish a lower species than the New Zealanders? If the force of a pure religion can tell upon cannibalism and the suttee, we do not despair of its success in Connaught and Munster.

But he adds, 'I wish Christianity to have a great influence on the peasantry of Ireland. I see no probability that Christianity will have that influence, except in one form. That form I consider as very corrupt. Nevertheless, the good seems to me greatly to predominate over the evil; and, therefore, being unable to get the good alone, I am content to take the good and evil together.'

Now, it appears to us that the same argument would apply to Mahomedanism. That recognises the unity and righteous government of God, and the responsibility and immortality of man; and the Koran is not wanting in those moral precepts which, like the leaves of the tree of life, even where the fruit is absent, are still for the healing of the nations. But the question is, as Mr. Macaulay's logical mind will perceive on a moment's reflection, whether the errors of catholicism are not radically and

essentially injurious? Whether the doctrines of sacramental efficacy, of works of supererogation, of indulgence, and absolution are not vitally hostile to the Christian religion? And whether the celibacy of the clergy, the practice of auricular confession, and the powers and social influence of the priesthood, are not inimical to public morality? Let those who hold these tenets, and who observe these practices, hold and practise them by a right independent even of toleration itself; but surely those who regard both the principles and the practice as destructive of the souls of men should not be bound by law to promote either the one or the other.

Mr. Macaulay, in his distrust of the voluntary principle, is imperfect in his information, and, in his spirit, behind the times. 'The person,' he says, 'about whom I am uneasy is the working man; the man who would find it difficult to pay even five shillings or ten shillings a-year out of his small earnings for the ministrations of religion. What is to become of him under the voluntary system? Is he to go without religious instruction altogether? That we should all think a great evil to himself, and a great evil to society.' We confess that we are surprised to hear such language from a man so deeply acquainted with the social and religious history of this country. We would recall his attention to a period within the recollection of many who read these pages, when the great body of the provincial clergy of England were utterly perfunctory and stagnant. What but the voluntary principle troubled these waters? What but that principle covered the land with Sunday and British and Foreign schools? What originated Home Missions throughout the rural districts of England? What organized the Bible and the Tract Societies? What sent the men, of whom the world was not worthy, with their lives in their hands, from Greenland to the Cape, and from China to Sierra Leone, to establish the *nuclei* of a pure religion and a progressive civilization? What has translated the Scriptures into unnumbered dialects? What has made the negro slave a Christian who can even afford to dispense with the services of a bishop? What but that very voluntary principle whose efficacy Mr. Macaulay distrusts?

Did our space allow it, we should pursue a similar investigation into Mr. Macaulay's views of parliamentary reform; and in doing so we think we might successfully expose the two defects we have already indicated, namely, the overcharging of his case as an orator, and an unjustifiable distrust of the people. His approbation of the ballot is indeed an apparent exception; but it is hard to see how this can consist with a deep distrust either of the political sagacity, or of the right mindedness of the great body of the people. The ballot appears to us to involve in all fairness

a very wide representation. The unrepresented naturally feel their condition as a hardship; but if, in addition to this, they are to be ignorant of the course taken by those who, under a false theory, are regarded as their representatives at the poll, they sink to the level of mere serfs of the soil.

Of the oratory of Mr. Macaulay it is difficult to speak in too high terms, while a discriminating criticism, if it assumes the form of comparison, must necessarily awaken in the mind of the reader a consciousness of various and even striking points of difference. Still, if we were to institute such a comparison, we should mention, without hesitation, the name of Mr. Burke. Mr. Macaulay's conscious and independent power has, doubtless, withheld him from adopting any, even the greatest of orators, as his model; but we are greatly mistaken if he has not studied the writings of Mr. Burke in an attitude of unconscious imitation. We find in the volumes before us passages which, to one who is acquainted with the gait of Burke's oratory, will not fail to suggest recollections of that wonderful man. Take, for example, a passage in his speech on the government of India, and we think it might be mistaken for Burke:—

‘The effect of that admission would be to raise a hundred questions, to produce a hundred contests between the council and the judicature. The government would be paralyzed at the precise moment at which all its energy would be required. While the two equal powers were acting in opposite directions, the whole machine of the state would stand still. The Europeans would be uncontrolled; the natives would be unprotected. The consequences I will not pretend to foresee. Everything beyond is darkness and confusion.’

The peroration of the same speech may not only be adduced as a similar instance, but also deserves to be cited as a specimen of Macaulay's condensed and yet impressive eloquence:—

‘The destinies of our Indian empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a state which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to make them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre

may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws.'—p. 163.

Mr. Macaulay's style appears to us to reach as nearly as possible the ideal of perfection. As his thoughts solidify into language, they seem to crystallize; and his sentences, sharp and defined with geometrical accuracy, are iridescent with all the hues that can charm the taste. His style has all the distinctness and all the weight of Bentham and Johnson without the tortuosity of the one or the Latinization of the other. While it avoids the blunt Saxon of Cobbett and the unnaturalized German of Carlyle, it equally avoids the opposite fault of tame and effeminate insipidity. It imports, without pedantry, all the riches and delicacies derived from ancient and modern literature into an essentially English composition. He uses our language as a master's hand plays upon an organ;—sounding its depths, reaching its utmost varieties, and exhibiting it to the world as that great medium of discourse which deserves, as it bids fair, to be the adopted language of the civilized world.

Let but Mr. Macaulay in his political career, place an unwavering faith in truth, and a generous confidence in his countrymen, and he will add to the greatest of literary reputations that wreath of popular homage, which the greatest men of all ages have made it their highest object to solicit, and which will crown his memory with an imperishable fame.

ART. V.—*Historical Parallels*. By A. Malkin, A.M. New Edition. Three Volumes. Cox and Co. 1853.

THERE is a singular interest in the study of Italian history. In it we observe more clearly, perhaps, than in any other, the action of those laws through the operation of which communities rise, reach the acmè of their prosperity, and fall into decay. We perceive how the accidents of nature affect the character and the designs of man; how the same country may, at different times, become the opprobrium and the glory of civilization, the pride and the shame of the world. We learn how a nation, with a mighty genius, may make its liberty complete, and the works of its art sublime, and then, feeling the enervation of satiety,

exchange its freedom for oppression, its native laws for foreign rule, its industry for indolence, its ancient happiness and splendour for servitude, misery, and ruin, which leave for the future an inheritance of unavailing sorrow.

The characteristics of Italian history, philosophically drawn, would form a simple explanation of that history itself. The most conspicuous of them appears to be an invariable disposition in the people to seek for friends in their councils, leaders in their armies, models for their art, and even kings for their thrones, beyond their own frontier. They are oppressed by alien tyrannies;—their very patriotism looks for an ally. Again, since the Gothic invasion, they have been remarkable less for intellect than for imagination. They have suffered emulation to rankle into jealousy in the rivalry of their numerous states. They have allowed families to betray them through their gratitude. They have, in their assiduous culture of the refining graces of society, forgotten the colder and sterner science, which not only secures the possession but teaches the value of political liberty. These ideas are justified when we reflect on the romantic but mournful history to which they refer.

Even in antiquity, the possessors of that celebrated peninsula refused to trust their own power, but looked back for an archetype to the soil whence their richest settlers sprung. The feeling was common, not only to Thurian and Sybarite, but to the posterity of the Alban race—the forgotten founders of Rome. The genius of Italy derived its vitality from the genius of Greece. First, on its lower shores, Grecian art was introduced by colonists who were addicted less to sculpture in marbles and metals, than to architecture and the moulding and pencilling of those festal or funereal urns which remain the types of grace and taste to all the world. The relics of this age, so prolific of beauty, are found chiefly in Campania, Lucania, and Apulia. Then there was a chain of nations, extending through the interior, who, by their own activity, naturalized the art which had been transplanted among them. It was they who left, for the delight of all time, those Etruscan marvels—terra-cotta relievos and vases—which give to Etruria its renown, and derive from it their name. But the architectural and plastic trophies of Italy are chiefly owing to the bold and powerful genius with which the Romans appropriated the art of Greece, and made it subordinate to their own. Themselves the least creative of nations, they took from the most creative their example and their inspiration. What they imitated from others seemed new when freshly-moulded in their hands; for while they copied to perfection, they impressed a peculiar character on all, and thus a Latin order was added to the ancient types of Assyria, Egypt, and Attica. Thus was pro-

duced that wealth of temples, palaces, statues, and urns, which made Italy the museum of the world and Rome the museum of Italy. A commercial and a conquering people, they expended on a refined magnificence the treasures acquired by their arms and their industry.

Long, indeed, after the Romans had ceased to embellish their city with columns, porticoes, and propylea, with arches, fountains, and statues, they continued to collect the antique relics of art wherever they remained amid the desolation of Europe. This process ceased with the oblivion of letters, but was renewed on their revival, when the name of 'Roman' had passed out of use, and only that of 'Italian' was familiar. The ruins of literature and art were gathered from all parts of the world, and stored up in Italy to be defended from the violence which everywhere else threatened them. The hand of the sculptor, the architect, and the painter was unknown among the other nations. We are referred, indeed, in contradiction of this, to the gorgeous palaces and mausolea of the Moguls in India, and to the mosques and halls of the Moors in Spain. We are reminded that Agra was then embellished by the marble glories of the Taj-Mahal, and that Seville was adorned by the painted roofs and fretted arches of the Alcazar and the Golden Tower. But the sepulchres of the East, notwithstanding their rich Moresco style, were built by Italian artists, and the triumphal monuments of the Mohammedan dynasty in Andalusia are traced to Italian designs, even when the architects themselves were not of that nation. Nothing of the contrary is to be inferred from the characteristics of those structures, for men were born in Italy to give permanence to the beautiful in every shape. In one city the deep warm oriel, the heavy groin, the fresco, and the imposing Rembrandt shade, represent the genius of the Gothic race; and near it, with aerial symmetry, arises the milk-white marble cathedral of Milan, every capital and shaft appearing to hang like a vision in the air. The tombs of the Scaligers—spiry, fretted, rich with decoration, were created by hands which threw arches, delicate as snow, and light as the rainbow, from pillar to pillar of more than Ionian grace.

Why Italy became imperial in the arts cannot be explained without confessing a superior genius in the people. It appears as false to suppose that great painters were created solely because they were called for, as to imagine that the Athenians derived their excellence in sculpture from the facilities for studying the human form, afforded by the runners and wrestlers at the Olympic games. The works of Titian are more applauded now than when Titian lived, just as Milton's poetry and Cervantes' romance were freely acknowledged long after the poet and the novelist were in the tomb. There are women in the south, too,

as beautiful as any that Raffaelle painted; but is it because national taste has gone, that no art can now rival the 'Marriage of the Virgin?' There are the types of Apollo in Greece; but there is no Phidias. There are tears on weepers' cheeks, but no more mournful Niobe. There are daily the blushes of the dawn, but no new Guido's Aurora;—peaches in Cos, but no Apelles. It was the genius of the people, their aspiring character, their lofty and luminous imagination, their knowledge of the beautiful, and their ambition to be great, that made them at once superb in their works, and free in the enjoyment of them. A republican spirit, which is synonymous with virtue, elevated them not more above the poor bordering mountaineers, than above the perfumed slaves of Persia, with a wider dominion, and more abundant riches than their own.

Unhappily, they were too prosperous. They turned giddy at the heights from which they looked down on an inferior world. Their commerce was spread over every known ocean; their art embellished every city, every shrine, and every sacred grove, from the Tyrrhene to the Adriatic Sea. They fostered the allurements of peace long after they had ceased to triumph in the fame of war, and increasing in luxury as they increased in wealth they sank at length into so voluptuous a languor, that the republic which Corinth could not rival nor Carthage subdue, was degraded into an empire, and left as the divided inheritance of conflicting factions. Next in the mournful procession of its fate—*tristis et luctuosa successio*—it was overrun, now by the hordes of Parthia, and now by a swarm of savages, rushing like wolves, from the morasses and the woods of Germany.

The Italians had been pre-eminent in valour in days when Troy was not a myth. They were pre-eminent in art in days when the marbles of Ephesus were still trodden by the worshippers of Diana. They became pre-eminent in luxury in days when the spices of the East first gave their perfume to the festivals of Rome, and the fleeces of Thessaly were dyed in the purple of Tyre. An Asiatic effeminacy stole over the Roman mind. Syrian slaves were imported to grace with their beauty, and sometimes to stain with their blood, the table, the couch, and the divan. The people, as well as their rulers, were gradually tainted with every moral and political vice, and the corruption of manners was followed by the corruption of the laws. Christianity for awhile stayed the progress of decay, but was itself obscured by an influence which it could not overpower. Men were too vile and blind to know the truth when they saw it, or to love it when they knew it. The empire trembled. Turk, Parthian, and Persian advanced from the East; Hun and Vandal from the West, and Italy was buried out of the view of the world. Long it was

indeed before the whole colossus fell, but in the tenth century the Saracen standard, which had for ages been brightening under the rising sun, suddenly flashed across the Adriatic. The Normans led in the French, who were cursed as the most savage of races until the Spaniards came, whose lizard-like tyranny was only less base than that of the Germans. They were slaves arguing their fellows into slavery. Their zeal was that of the whip-taught cur; their vigilance that of the convict escort of a criminal. And when to this iliad of humiliation it was added that Italians were carried off from their own shores, by Moham-medan pirates, and sold like the negroes of Africa, the miseries of Italy were complete, and she endured a shame, which even Lepanto did not entirely redeem.

Still she preserved traces of the ancient civilization. Knowledge and refinement were never entirely quenched. Cities were built, became populous, began commerce, and preserved Italy from utter decay; but amid them rose the popedom, the monarchy of priests, less brutal and more intellectual than the monarchy of kings, but worse, because its chains are less visible, and leave their rust not on the limbs, but on the mind. Around this grew up the republics which spread such a splendour over the whole region. All the modern monuments of Italy date from them. The paved highways, which lead even to the little villages on the tops of hills, were constructed by them in emulation of the Roman roads. The palaces adorning the smallest towns are relics of their liberal magnificence. Where republican institutions existed longest, as in Lucca, there the prosperity of the people was the last to decay, though that state while free became too rich to be secure, when all the rest of Italy was enslaved. Poverty is the best defence of the weak. India, Peru, the Moluccas are examples of the truth, for their opulence attracted conquerors, while immense barren tracts of the earth remain independent, protected by their aridity. Thus Lucca fell, while San Marino, happy in indigence, continued to preserve its liberty, like a spark after a fire, too insignificant to be extinguished. All the republics, however, failed one by one, from causes which we may briefly consider.

Nothing but a genius like that of the Romans could hold together in a compact cohering mass the varied elements of Italian nationality. These, by the infusion of new races, had become also far more discordant than they were in former times. Geographically, too, Italy seems designed for political division. It consists of a succession of countries, with distinct frontiers, and most accessible to each other by sea. Ancient Etruria was distributed into as many states as the mediæval Tuscany. Its plains lie amid circles of hills, like those which enclose the ter-

ritories of Lucca and Pisa; while many cities, like Sienna, Arrezzi, and Perugia, look from immense castellated eminences over the circuit of country under their rule. Even the populations are physically distinct. The Florentines, ill-formed and of low stature, seem separated by nature from the tall athletic Lucanese and the inhabitants of Pistoia, distinguished by the high forehead and the Roman nose.

Accordingly, since the light of poetry and learning, after its long eclipse, began to dawn over the memorials of antiquity, there have been many rival states on the peninsula. They have been sometimes in league, often at war, never long united, always mutually jealous, and seldom free from the domination of a foreign power. For, as each was not strong enough to defend itself against the others, it usually sued for aid from a stranger—an aid which its wealth enabled it easily to purchase. No courts in Europe were too proud to receive, with secret or avowed delight, an ambassador from the States of Florence, or Venice, or Milan. The poor countries were strong, and the rich one was weak, so that Italy became a mark for conquest, and was assailed at once by the arms of the Ottoman Sultan and the intrigues of the Most Christian King. In gold and silver, in cloths and silks, in opulent cities and fertile provinces, she overflowed with exuberant resources, but in patriotism she was poor; and when half Europe was her enemy, she failed to be the friend of herself. It was not the sword of Louis the Moor that reduced her to shame, but the policy of that proficient intriguer, Lorenzo the Florentine. Ferrara the first, as Ravenna was the last, to surrender her liberties, wrote a preamble to the articles of Italian servitude, when Tasso was sent to humble her under the golden lilies of the French throne.

The vintage of the Italian plains had attracted the pagans of Germany. The opulence of the Italian cities now attracted the descendants of that sylvan chivalry, which differed only in its armorial symbols and its etiquette from the chivalry of the middle ages. Both were alike inhuman, uncivilized, insolent; and if the former was more uncouth, the latter was more hypocritical. Both were unsoftened by the spirit, but stilted on the pedantry of virtue. Both, too, chartered themselves to the plunder of the earth, and wherever their cupidity turned, there were no Alps, Apennines, or Pyrenees. Italy was piled with riches. The West was barbarous, the East was indolent, but both poured their treasures in her lap. Her ports received and dismissed fleets laden with the spoils of all the known parts of the world. Africa sent its ivory and gold; India its drugs and gems; the Lebanon its cedars; Arabia its fragrant gums, with cinnamon from the farthest isles of Asia; the North its fleeces,

grain, and timber. The Crusaders threw tribute into the coffers of the Venetian and the Florentine. Their academies were more learned than the schools of Leyden, their exchanges more wealthy than the marts of Amsterdam. Arab and Persian students came as scholars to Padua, and the city of Livy's birth taught muezzins for the minarets of Mecca, and teachers of the Books of Zend. The Italians were triumphant in the fruits of their civilization. They penetrated every sea, settled on every coast, filled their banks with the gold of every commercial nation, bartered their manufactures in all the markets of Europe, and displayed in their finance a science not known before. Their hospitality was equal to their wealth; and it became a proverb, derived from a literal truth, that the Italians built their houses with wider doors, and more open to the streets, than those of any other country in Europe.

And then with all this prosperity arose the richer trophies of literature and art. The revival of learning renewed the songs of Italy in a language that might well console her for the loss of the ancient tongue. The stately and sonorous diction of Cicero, indeed, was among the echoes of the past; but Tully spoke in accents scarcely more classical than the new dialect of Tuscany. It was Dante who gave to the poetry of his beautiful land a voice of not less golden rhythm than was heard when the Attic and the Dorian contended for the crown of eloquence upon her shores. He vivified, as it were, a freshly-created form. His invocation to 'the silvery whiteness of that temperate star' may seem to be a call from its primal silence of that melody which, flowing like enchantment from his pen, raised him to no hopeless rivalry of the ancient muse. Yet, like Tasso, he suffered a long martyrdom in life, and only beheld his fame in the zenith when he took a parting glance at the earth from the approaches of the tomb. It is the pride of Italian history to relate how a poet was exalted at Florence, and how an orator was crowned at Rome. But from the theatre and the Capitol we look to the wilderness whither Dante was exiled, to the cell where Tasso was thrown among maniacs, to the dungeon where Pellico was immured, to the torture-chamber where Galileo suffered, and to the horrid spot where Ugolino and his sons were starved.

In the same train of poets were the graceful and passionate Petrarca; Boccacio, with a style of Grecian sweetness; and Ariosto, whose modulations, though harmonized to the narrative of the wildest fable, please the ear like music. It became the pride of the Italian republics to foster art and learning. Orators, poets, historians, ennobled by their presence the halls of the merchant-princes of Venice, of Florence, of Ferrara, and Milan. Instead of burying themselves, like the barons of England, in

feudal castles entrenched among mountains, the Italian patricians built their palaces and villas in the midst of the population. The opulence they gained from the fat Lombard plains, from the silks of India, and the silver and gold of Africa and Spain, was worthily given to employ the pencil of Michael Angelo, to inspire the songs of Pulci, to encourage the wit of Politian, and the poetry of Tasso, which gave new delight to pavilion and garden, to terrace and wood, to bay, and lake, and valley. On the shores of the Adriatic what a forest of laurels was not reaped to honour the poets who sprung up around that famous sea! Dante, and Petrarca, and Ariosto were born and died upon its coast. And, across the peninsula, Virgil in Pausilipo seemed through a long posterity to have spoken with Tasso, who was nursed on the Bay of Naples, where the Sirens are fabled to have dwelt. Italy, therefore, was a festal region—the Circe of Europe, while on one side, Istria and Dalmatia lay, savage as a Tartar steppe, and on the other, France and England remained, barbarous and miserable, without dignity in their laws, without polish in their manners, without humanity in their social theories.

But, amid this blaze of poetry and painting, a false idea of public honour prevailed, and ethics were neglected. Three little books had restored the learning and purified the languages of Europe. There were not three to revive its polity. In all the concourse of illustrious Italian names only Macchiavelli was a profound and generous statesman, and only Massaniello was a patriot. Both of them failed, though the one left his works to posterity, while the other bequeathed nothing but a heroic example and the task of avenging his innocent blood. The great Florentine politician stands alone—with Fra Paolo, Guicciardini, and Vannini at a distance. The Medici and various families who resembled them, the Popes and their factions, were quite of another order; but through the first the liberties of Italy fell, and through the second a vicarious tyranny was established in many of the smaller states, as that of the Malatesta in Rimini, and that of the Manfredi in Faenza. The Visconti, whose baseness was emblemized by the vipers in their crest, seduced their country into servitude, and Sforza betrayed it by treachery of another kind. History agrees to reprobate their treason, but, with a traditional perverseness, continues to applaud the Medici as benefactors of Italy. They the benefactors of Italy! Florence alone, humiliated and enslaved, is a sufficing memorial of their crimes. But turn from her to the pestilent maremma of Sienna. That was a beautiful salubrious tract until Cosmo wasted it and transformed it into a deadly marsh. Fever-breeding swamps exist in the places where the republics cultivated fertile and healthy plains. The Roman territories, from Ferrara to the Pon-

tine Marshes, have become bare and putrid since the stagnation of industry ensuing on the decline of freedom. Cosmo dried up the fertilizing springs and streams of his country by hewing down the forests on the Tuscan Apennines. Rocky deserts now exist where the pastures in ancient times were rich with fleece, and a population of banditti derives its descent from shepherds and cultivators of the soil. If, therefore, they are benefactors who make men happy, the Medici and their kindred princes have nothing to claim from the gratitude of mankind. Whether they loved power for the sake of money, or money for the sake of power, they must be remembered for what they were,—the sordid and spendthrift patrons of spies.

It was the error, if not the crime, of the Italian people that while they lavished treasures on libraries, palaces, pictures, and statues; while they collected the rolls of Hebrew and Chaldaic literature, and the relics of Roman and Athenian art, they refused to spare sufficient to maintain the dignity and independence of their country. When they gave a helmet of silver for a canzone, they withheld, perhaps, the salary of an ambassador. Florence was an example. It came to be said, at last, that the Italians were the most parsimonious people in the world, the Tuscans the most parsimonious in Italy, the Florentines the most parsimonious in Tuscany. We may partly account for this by the absence from among them of an ethical and political literature from which the maxims of public honour and wisdom might be derived. Since the usurpation of Cæsar such a literature had not grown in Italy. It was drowned in the Rubicon. Gems and jewellery were the taste of the emperors, not politics or philosophy; and Lorenzo mimicked the imperial virtuosi, not only by his munificence to art, but by wearing on his finger a ring of Nero. The genius of the people was exhausted in poetry, frescoes, columns, cameos, marble reliefs, tables of jasper, signets, enamels, and pictures suffused with Titian's rich lights, with Tintoretto's warmth, or with the softer blush and serener beauty of Raffaele's maidens and Madonnas. Many as are the poets in their language, Campanella—unless Vico be added—is their only famous philosopher, and he gave his pen almost entirely to exploring the theories of Aristotle and disputing the politics of Macchiavelli. Casuists abounded, but their logic was as fruitless as that of the four-and-twenty fathers of Escobar. There were writers of elegant essays, too, but their speculations only glided over the surface and variety of nature. There was a prophecy, then, in Petrarca's line—*povera e nuda va filosofia*. Religion was corrupted by the tyranny of Rome. The Reformation, indeed, began in Italy, where liberty of opinion existed, with public lectures and discussions, but when its light struck the population

of the north, the south relapsed into popish darkness, and the clouds gathered again in an unbroken mass over the peninsula. Had the Christian doctrine, freely preached and pure, been fixed in the faith of the people, who can doubt that the liberty and the happiness of Italy would have prospered together? Without it, laws, however moral, are of no avail. The pandects of Justinian were sacred in the archives of Pisa, but Ugolino was starved there, nevertheless.

The Italians, even when they were statesmen, relied too much upon political subtleties and too little on the solid materials of power. But, more than all, their public spirit was vicious. They were too deeply absorbed in domestic emulation. They struggled to rival each other instead of uniting to make Italy the rival of the world. Thus their country became a prey to usurpers who enriched themselves, and inhabiting palaces which only Italians could build, adorned them with works of a beauty which only Italians could conceive. Any Spaniard might be King of Naples, but only a native of its soil could plan the villas and gardens along its bay. Any German might shake a sceptre over Venice, but only Venetians could rear so delightful a city and fill it with the music and beauty which gave it such a festal fame. All the consolation we enjoy, therefore, is in knowing the immortality of genius;—that, while Guelf and Ghibelline are blotted out of memory, the songs of the poets will continue to be sung among the ‘blue lilies and purple vintage’ of Tuscany; the painter’s tints to flush with glory the walls of the Vatican; the sculptured shaft and plinth to shine like snow on Isola Bella, and the urns of an ancient race to adorn the villas of Etruria. The camp-fires of the French may burn on Mount Aventine, and fifty Austrian cannon be pointed at Saint Mark’s, but neither ‘flame nor sword, or Gaul or Goth,’ can blot out the beauty of Dante’s epic, or exile from our memories the lyrical eloquence of Tasso. Even those kindred barbarisms, indeed, have some pride in the art of the country they oppress, and some poetical respect for its traditions. They will cut men and women to pieces, but they protect the cypress of Sana, where Hannibal fought his first battle. They will hang fifty peasants in a day above the ashes of their household gods, but they suffer no axe to touch that oldest patriarch of the earth, the linden of Odeschalchi.

The people failed to preserve their land sacred from the foot of a stranger. The rivalry of Venice and Florence, of Genoa and Naples, of Ferrara and Milan, became such that Italians hated Italians more than they feared the Spaniard or the Swiss. Therefore, though hiring their own swords from state and state, they paid mercenaries to defend their freedom, and these mercenaries, coming as servants, remained as masters. Even when

the blood of Savoy cried out to 'avenge her slaughtered saints,' it was not to Sardinian or Savoyard, to Italian or Tyrolese, but to aliens, though honest aliens—Cromwell and the soldiers of the English revolution. So utterly was patriotism gone from every creature of the soil, that, as a witty writer said, the very dogs in Rome acquired a mangy, dull, and perfidious look. There was nothing to redeem this shame. In ancient Italy her worst days produced her most illustrious men—from Scipio to Cæsar; but even the Carbonari were inferior, and now, if Mazzini be excepted, the people all lie on the same blank and barren level.

The history of that country is a lesson on the value of peace. Peace is a blessing of incalculable worth; but there are things more dear than peace, and things more terrible than war. The turbulence of the republics was far more happy, more rich, more civilized than that reptile stupor which the ignorant admire because it resembles tranquillity. Better to hear the cry of factions in Bologna than the howl of dogs about its deserted dwellings. Better that the streets of Ferrara should be trampled, as once they were, by armed men, than that they should be, as now they are, overgrown by grass. As it was, the Bourbons spoiled what Goth and Vandal spared, and what escaped the Bourbons, the Austrians were industrious to destroy. Foreign batteries threaten the churches of Venice, and tyranny overclouds the serene and solemn beauty of the street of palaces in Genoa. The people of the Campagna now live in squalid huts covered with raw hides among the quarries, whence, in happier ages, they dug marble for their mansions and their villas. What else was to be hoped when at the Congress of Vienna, which settled the affairs of Europe, there was not one Italian to place on the treaty the seal of one free Italian state? Now, therefore, the whole region is miserable, and if it still be gay, its gaiety is like a masquerade in a ruin.

It has been said that the configuration, the climate, and the other natural characteristics of the peninsula render its enjoyment of freedom impossible. That they increase the difficulty we have admitted, but that they create an insuperable bar cannot be true, because it once enjoyed that freedom. There may be more truth in Rousseau's remark, that, once lost, it can never be regained. But that the climate may have affected the development of the people's genius is probable. According to one theory, there never was a poet in all the plain and city of Babylon, and none native to Egypt, because those are hot and level countries. There never was one on the fruitful banks of the Vistula, because they were flat and cold, nor among the dwellers along the Danube, though Ovid himself taught them an indigenous song. Poetry was scarcely ever found among the

inhabitants of plains, but among the mountains of Judea it sprang up as among the olives and thyme of Attica, and on the slopes of Argua and Fiesolè. The rich fields of Lombardy, though they have been the praise of many minstrels, have had none of their own. Boccacio sang, first on the Apennines and then on Vesuvius, but never was one note of ode or lyric heard in all the vale of Capua.

We leave this interesting idea, with its ingenious illustration, for future inquiry ; but we introduced it here that our last speculation on Italy may not touch on the servitude which is her shame, but on the poetry which is her glory.

ART. VI.—*Ticonderoga ; or, the Black Eagle.* By G. P. R. James.
Second Edition. Three Vols. 8vo. London: T. C. Newby. 1854.

MR. JAMES'S fertility of invention and his unwearied industry have not failed him in his honourable exile. On the contrary, since his consulate in America carried him to new scenes, he has promptly availed himself of them to construct an American story which equals his best works in originality and spirit. Indian tales by American writers are common. Fenimore Cooper's have deservedly high celebrity ; but their subjects date only in the period of American independence, as was becoming his thoroughly republican spirit. Others, such as the philosophical Miss Green, in her Indian poem, 'Nanuntenoo,' resort to the more ancient days of American discovery and settlement for their interest.

Mr. James, an Englishman, prefers a colonial story, running parallel to his real memoir of the 'American lady' of Mrs. Grant, of Laggan, which preceded the revolutionary excitements of 1776, when England was engaged in contests with the French in Canada and had important relations of war, and peace, and trade with the Indian tribes within and beyond our borders. The main interest of his work turns upon the fortunes of the family of an English gentleman, Mr. Prevost, settled in the backwoods of New York with his son and daughter. Their kindly qualities had won the close friendship of an Indian chief, the Black Eagle of the tribe, whose only child, called in Indian phrase the Blossom, became attached to the English settler's son. That attachment was mutual ; and it aggravates the terrible incident that first excites the reader's sympathy. An Indian, whilst on the point of committing an outrageous act of vengeance, was put to death

by his intended victim, an American settler, designated Woodchuck, at the moment casually the companion of the younger Prevost. Hence arose a deadly feud, which according to native usage could not be appeased but with blood; and when the Indians failed in seizing the settler who had killed their countryman, they carried off his young companion in his stead. The long captivity of the youth, and the various events which lead to his ultimate release, furnish many details of Indian manners, of which the most remarkable is a sort of *freemasonry*, the superstitious respect for whose injunctions tended to save even the actual slayer of the Indian, Woodchuck himself, when he was ultimately made a prisoner.

This colonial hero of the work, the unlucky Woodchuck, is so called by the Indians his friends, after a cunning animal that could easily escape from its enemies by burrowing rapidly when in danger; like that little beast he had singular craft and success in evading the Indians' tricks. The title of captain was by colonial courtesy prefixed to his surname of Brooks. He is a type of the less educated among the old colonists—a compound of the log-hut squatter, the Indian trader, and even the trapper, but with the frank loyalty not uncommon before the war of independence which gives him decided originality, and distinguishes him broadly from Mr. Cooper's members of the same family of backwoodsmen of the later period. This was the man who shot the treacherous Indian to save his own scalp from the uplifted tomahawk, and who so brought the son of Mr. Prevost into mortal peril. His remorse at so dreadful an affliction to those he deeply respected, and his generous resolution and extraordinary efforts to save the life of the captured youth, furnish many touching descriptions, and some surprising incidents to the tale. Woodchuck's adoption by the Indian freemasonry, and his participation in the privileges of that mysterious body, arose from an act of kindness he had shown to an old Indian whom he found in the forest dangerously wounded by a moose deer. He saved the Indian's life, and having nursed him many weeks till his recovery, spent the winter at his lodge. This Indian was tattooed with the blue lines of initiation on his arm; and gracefully marked Woodchuck's arm with similar lines, saying that if he ever met any of the Five Nations tattooed like that, and spoke the word of recognition taught him, they would help him 'against their own father.'

Thus protected, Woodchuck, although under the penalty of the blood-feud, went confidently to the Indians, 'to set the poor boy free,' as he said; and he found protection in one of their superstitions against the doom that threatened his life at their hands under the influence of another. But the youth was saved by the

devoted affection of the Indian girl; and the powerful intervention of the Indian women of her tribe, who stopped the torture of the youth at the moment of its execution, by threatening to sacrifice their own lives with him, is an incident which if not founded on fact is certainly in harmony with Indian usage.

The Indian characters of the work are numerous, and well traced. The Black Eagle's story seems to be historical. His wife was a European captive, taken young in the massacre of a frontier village by his tribe. He had, in her presence, caused her father's dead body to be respected, and so, by conciliating her filial affection, he prepared the way to their marriage, which was solemnized by a missionary. She turns out to be a long-lost sister of Mr. Prevost, the settler, and the daughter of that marriage was the *Blossom* of the story, whose attachment to the younger Prevost, her unknown cousin, is the source of its most romantic interest. She lost her white mother young, but she had been brought up in the civilized habits which that mother introduced into the Indian chief's wigwam. Hence her own ultimate marriage with young Prevost violates no probability; and such unions certainly constitute one of those powerful means of conciliating different races, which, with the just administration of our intercourse with barbarous people, would neutralize all the difficulties usually attending that intercourse.

This incident of mixed marriages is curiously illustrated in the case of two eminent American colonial and Indian families, the Johnsons and Brants, too slightly mentioned by Mr. James. He is not insensible to the merits of Sir William Johnson, long the Superintendent of Indian Affairs before 1776, and whose son, Sir John Johnson, held the same post in Canada down to our days. Sir William is introduced into this story with effect, but his brilliant exploits on the Canadian frontier have been overshadowed by the glory of Wolfe and the conquest of Quebec. Mr. James should take advantage of his own residence in America to collect the abundant materials which exist for a record of his career, and that of the Brants, his Indian connexions. A life of Sir William Johnson, and memoirs of the Brants—the fictitious 'Monster Brant' of Campbell—and his children, written among the scenes where they were famous, would be a valuable contribution to the great work of Indian civilization, of which sciolists only despair.

These Brants sprang from a distinguished European family that allied itself to the Indians in the 17th century. The colonial characters beyond Woodchuck, and the Prevost family, are not many, nor striking; nor are our French rivals in Canada very happily portrayed.

The second interest of the story arises out of the attachment of

the English settler's daughter, Edith, to a superior officer in the British army, then serving in the colonies. This officer, Lord H., seems to be described after an original, the Lord Percy of the American annals of the last century. He is endowed with all the qualities that gain respect and win affection. As the marriage of young Prevost and the Blossom is the crowning happy event of this work, its great distresses are the untimely deaths of Lord H. and his affianced bride, Mr. Prevost's daughter, Edith. Both fell by rifle shots in our sanguinary failure at the French fort of Ticonderoga in 1758, from which the story takes its leading title. Lord H. received a mortal shot in the heat of the battle. Edith, saved suddenly at the close of this dreadful affray by her brother, who had been released by the Indians, was struck by a shot fired at her brother; she died in his arms, and was buried by the side of her lover at his soldier's funeral. 'In one thing they were happy;—neither, at the last hour of life, knew of the other's peril, or the other's fate.'

The elder Prevost's history is peculiar, and furnishes the author with a lesson of deep general interest—the ungrateful return too often made by governments and the country to men of merit in public life. The official reform just promised with a solemn note of preparation in the Queen's speech, gives an unexpected weight to that portion of the romance which opens with the following reflections from the mouth of the exile, Prevost:—

'“Here am I, who for many arduous years laboured with zeal, such as few have felt, at sacrifices such as few have made, and with industry such as few have exerted, to benefit my kind and my country. That I did so, and with success, was admitted by all; even while others, starting in the career of life at the same time with myself, turned their course in the most opposite direction, pandered to vice, to folly, and even to crime, and trod a flowery and an easy way, with few of the difficulties and impediments that beset my path.

'“And what has been the result? Even success has brought to me neither reward, nor honour, nor gratitude. On those who have neither so laboured, nor so striven, whose objects have been less worthy, whose efforts have been less great, recompences and distinctions have fallen thick and fast—a government's patronage—a sovereign's favour—a people's applause. And I am an exile on a distant shore; unthought of, unrecompensed, unremembered.”

'He paused with the pen in his hand, and the bitter and corroding thoughts of the neglect he had endured still busy in his mind, spreading into a thousand new channels, and poisoning all the sources of happiness within him. An old newspaper lay on the table. Newspapers were scarce in those days, and it had reached him tardily. Some accidental traveller through the wilderness had brought it to him lately, and he had found therein fresh proofs of the forgetfulness of friends—fresh evidence of the truth of the old axiom, “out of sight, out of mind.”

‘The perusal of this journal had given rise to the dark view of his own fate, and of human nature which he had just put upon record. His was not, in truth, a complaining spirit. It was not his nature to repine or to murmur. He had a heart to endure much, and to struggle on against obstacles: to take even bright and happy views: to rely upon friendship, and trust in God. It was only when some fresh burden was cast upon the load of ingratitude and falsehood he had met with, that a momentary burst of indignation broke from him—that the roused and irritated spirit spoke aloud. He had been a good friend, faithful, and true, and zealous. He had been a kind master, looking upon all around him as brethren, seeking their welfare and their happiness often more than his own. He had been a good subject, honoring and loving his sovereign, and obedient to the laws. He had been a good patriot, advocating by pen and voice (without fear, and without favour) all those measures which, from his very inmost heart, he believed were for his country’s welfare, and grudging neither time, nor exertion, nor labour, nor money, to support that party which he knew to be actuated by the same principles as himself.

‘But with all this, no one had ever sought to serve him. No one had ever thought of recompensing him. Many a friend had proved false, and neglected the best opportunity of promoting his interests: many, who had fed upon his bounty, or shared his purse, had back-bitten him in private, or maligned him in the public prints; and, though there were a few noble and generous exceptions, was it wonderful that there should be some bitterness in his heart, as he sat there in a lowly dwelling, in the midst of the woods of America, striving to carve a fortune from the wilderness for himself and his two children!’—
Vol. i. pp. 3-7.

The author takes care to do tardy justice to the martyr he has commiserated. As the tale passes on, Lord H. reports home the merits he has found buried in the American woods; and a high employment is given to the neglected colonist. Upon this change in the fortunes of a good man, Mr. James returns to the charge, and makes remarks which should be reflected upon in these days of promised official reforms.

‘Let us not look too curiously into the motives which induced Mr. Prevost, after some hesitation, and some reluctance, to accept the appointment offered to him by the government through Lord H——. It was pleasing to him to think that his merits, and the services of which he was conscious—though, be it said, not too conscious—had only been so long overlooked, not from being unapparent or forgotten, but because, in some of his views, he had differed from the ministers lately dismissed. He knew not—or, at least, he did not recollect—how easy it is to forget when one is not willing to remember; how rarely qualities are brought before the public gaze, except by interest, accident, or position—unless by impudence, arrogance, and self-sufficiency. One in ten thousand men of those who rise, rise by merit alone; though there must be some merit in almost all who rise. But

sh settler's daughter, Edith, to a superior officer in the army, then serving in the colonies. This officer, Lord H., is described after an original, the Lord Percy of the annals of the last century. He is endowed with all the qualities that gain respect and win affection. As the history of young Prevost and the Blossom is the crowning event of this work, its great distresses are the untimely deaths of Lord H. and his affianced bride, Mr. Prevost's daughter, both fell by rifle shots in our sanguinary failure at the fort of Ticonderoga in 1758, from which the story takes its leading title. Lord H. received a mortal shot in the same battle. Edith, saved suddenly at the close of this affray by her brother, who had been released by the enemy, was struck by a shot fired at her brother; she died in his arms and was buried by the side of her lover at his soldier's grave. 'In one thing they were happy;—neither, at the last moment, knew of the other's peril, or the other's fate.'

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public appointments, and to fill all departments with the best men only. But it is still more satisfactory that at the very moment Mr. James is, with the efforts of his graceful pen, directing attention to hateful scandals which are condemned by the constitution, dry, solemn plans are actually forming to remove those scandals. Nor has the novelist a term of reproach, however strong, that equals the grave charges preferred by the official advocates of reform. 'Numerous instances might be given,' it is there urged, 'in which personal or political considerations have led to the appointment of men of very slender ability, and perhaps of questionable character, to situations of considerable emolument, over the heads of public servants of long-standing and undoubted merit.' (Report on the Organization of the Permanent Civil Service, p. 339).

This coincidence of a serious attempt in London to cut up 'jobbing and improper appointments by the roots' (ib. p. 341), with Mr. James's eloquent denunciation of the same abuses, is not without signification. Long ago Mr. James published the valuable letters of Secretary Vernon, applauding a bill of 1699, *to purify public appointments*; but which object Mr. Vernon calls 'Utopian' (Vol. ii. p. 305). It will be a poor proof of our progress in reform, if we cannot realize in this nineteenth century a wise principle, embodied in the above-cited statute law in the fourteenth, and ever since, from age to age, the subject of warm eulogy!

ART. VII.—*The Past and Future of Hungary*. Being Facts, Figures, and Dates, illustrative of its Past Struggles and Future Prospects. By C. F. Henningsen, Esq. London: T. C. Newby.

2. *The History of Hungary and the Magyars, from the Earliest Period to the Close of the late War*. By Edwin Lawrence Godkin. London: John Cassell.

It was in spring, 1852, that Kossuth, on his great crusade in America, reached New England and the hallowed places of Transatlantic liberty, as sacred to every American as Marathon and Salamis are to the Old World. The eloquence of the great Hungarian chief became more glowing through the inspiration engendered by the trophies of civil and religious liberty. His glance was not only turned to the past, but likewise to the future, and his hand tried to raise the veil which conceals coming events. In Salem, May 6, he exclaimed:—

'All sophistry is in vain, gentlemen; there can be no mistake about it. Russian absolutism and Anglo-Saxon constitutionalism are not

rival, but antagonist powers, they cannot long continue to subsist together. Antagonists cannot hold equal positions; every additional strength of the one is a comparative weakening of the other. One or the other must yield, one or the other must perish or become dependent on the other's will.'—Kossuth's Select Speeches, p. 303.

In the course of his speech he proceeded to argue that Russian policy is essentially encroaching and warlike; that to be feared is often more important to Russia than to enjoy a particular market; that the Russian system of commerce is and must be one of prohibition to republican traffic; that England alone in Europe has large commerce with America; and that the despots, if victorious on the continent, would make it their great object to damage, cripple, and ruin both these kindred constitutional nations. He continued:—

'The despots are scheming to muzzle the English lion. You see already how they are preparing for this blow, that Russia may become mistress of Constantinople, by Constantinople mistress of the Mediterranean, and by the Mediterranean of three quarters of the globe.

'Constantinople is the key to Russia. To be preponderant she knows it is necessary for her to be a maritime power. Without the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, the Black Sea is only a lake, like the Caspian or Lake Aral, and the Baltic is frozen five months in the year. These are all the seas she possesses. Constantinople is the key to the palace of the Czars. Russia is already omnipotent on the continent: once master of the Mediterranean, it is not difficult to see that the power which already controls three quarters of the world, will soon have the fourth quarter.'—*Ib.* p. 307.

When (May 14th) in Faneuil Hall, Boston, which the Americans call the cradle of liberty, he drew a picture of the condition of Europe, and concluded by an account of the strength of Turkey which has been well authenticated by subsequent events. He predicted the struggle which is now raging on the Danube. 'The more Russia delays,' he said, 'the stronger Turkey becomes, and therefore is Russia in haste to fulfil the destiny of being a maritime power. You can now see why is my fear that this week, this month, or this year Russia will attack Turkey, and we shall not be entirely prepared.'

But whilst Kossuth was predicting the coming events, of which he saw already the shadow cast before them, the professional politicians of Europe and America laughed at what they called his visionary schemes. From the times of Cassandra it has always been the fate of the seers to be derided by the so-called practical men, who, because their attention is riveted to the details of routine, never can comprehend any great question before they are inextricably involved in its difficulties. The events happened just as Kossuth predicted them. Montenegro, the vanguard of Russia,

attacked Turkey suddenly and without provocation, and yet nobody believed that the Czar would be bold enough to disturb the peace of Europe by plans involving his advance to Constantinople. The Montenegrine outbreak was put down at the advice of Colonel Rose,—disapproved at the Foreign-office,—before it could become the object of diplomatic notes. The mission of the Austrian Count Leiningen could only avert the capture of the capital of the semi-independent robber-state. Russian influence received a serious check by Turkish valour, and still nobody would believe in war. The Czar, to restore his prestige, weakened by the defeat of his devoted Montenegrines, sent Prince Mentschikoff to Constantinople, in order to pick a quarrel on any ground, to bully the Sultan in his own palace, and to enforce the dismissal of his minister. And the practical politicians of Europe entered into the squabbles of the Greek and Latin monks, about the key of the sanctuaries in Jerusalem, and the inscription of the silver star of Bethlehem, as if the question were that of the rights and privileges of the Greek and Latin churches in the Turkish empire, and not that of Russian supremacy.

This question was at last settled by the Sultan; but the difficulties grew more serious with every new concession, and yet European diplomacy could not believe that it was the key to the Turkish empire which had been demanded by Prince Mentschikoff, and that the silver star at the chapel of Bethlehem was to lead the Russian armies across the Pruth to the banks of the Danube. They came and occupied the Principalities without a blow, since Colonel Rose, who had suggested to the Sultan that Omer Pasha should likewise cross the Danube, and occupy the fertile plains of Wallachia, whilst Russia was taking possession of Moldavia, was not now at Constantinople. The cautious Lord Redcliffe, always in the hope of checking Russian encroachments by diplomatic action, recommended the Porte not to take the invasion of the two rich provinces for a *casus belli*, and English ministers declared in Parliament their full confidence in the moderation and the honour of the Czar. At last they could not doubt; they had been outwitted, and war was declared by the Porte. Yet Anglo-French diplomacy, instead of letting loose the revolutionary elements contained in Russia, instead of arousing the emigrant Poles to organize themselves, and of supplying the Circassians with arms, continued to court the worthless alliance of Austria and Prussia. If seriously intent on checking Russia, these powers might easily do so; but if, on the other hand, they are acting a treacherous part, they hamper the free action of England and France much more than a Russian army of two hundred thousand men. These powers which, from the discontent of

their subjects, are unable to render efficient assistance to Russia, but from their fear of revolutions are unwilling to go against the Czar, might have been safely left to themselves, unable and unwilling as they are to affect in any way the issue of the question. And in order to keep the two powers of Central Europe aloof from Russia, to which they are attached by gratitude for the past and fear for the future, the English ministry shuns the representatives of continental liberty, and looks with distrust upon the crushed nationalities which might take advantage of the present war for establishing their claims to independence. Whilst they are attacking Russia as the representative of despotism in the name of continental liberty, the liberty of the continent is to be kept down by them. Lord Palmerston, in his speech at the Reform Club, praises the Sultan for having refused to give up Kossuth and the Hungarian refugees in 1849, at the risk of a threatened war, whilst he is courting the alliance of the same jealous and faithless power which claimed those heroes of liberty from the Turks in order to have them hung! The government is fully aware that such a course is not popular with the English nation, that the English officers are ashamed to call Austrian women-floggers their brothers-in-arms, still it persists in such a course, and does not prevent that—as it is reported in the ‘Times’—France, at the instance of Austria, requires the Piedmontese government to remove the Italian refugees from the frontiers, and to have the liberty of the press restricted in Turin. And this system of compromise with principles, has it, after all, ever had any serious result? Will Austria join heartily the western powers? Has she forgotten the gratitude she owes to the Czar? And can she be trusted by her new friends in the very moment when she is turning against her old friend in need? These are serious questions which are not yet solved, though Lord Clarendon declared that Austria *has* joined the western powers, and Drouyn de L’huys, that she *will* do it. But the semi-official ‘Vienna Gazette’ protests against either of those assertions of the English and French Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, and, like an oracle of old, declares that Austria will, at the right time, take care of the best interests of her own. People in Vienna, London, and Paris, waiting anxiously for the solution of this question, weigh now the interests of Austria minutely, and try to find out which balance is to sink, whether the Russian or the English alliance. For, if it is sure that England and France may easily destroy Austria by countenancing the patriots of Hungary and Poland, it is likewise certain that their governments would do it most reluctantly. Politicians of the stamp of Louis Napoleon and of Lord Aberdeen and his colleagues are not the men to become the friends of Kossuth and

Mazzini. On the other side, nobody can doubt that if Russia has sufficient reason to suspect the bad faith of Austria towards her, the Czar can and will upset the whole fabric of the Austrian empire with one single word—*Panslavism*—which never fails to find an echo in the mountains of Bohemia and the plains of Galicia, along the course of the Save, and on the banks of the lower Danube,—on the shores of the Adriatic, and in the valleys of the Julian Alps.

Whatever decided course Austria may take, she is lost. Perdition awaits her if joining Russia, perdition if going with England and France. Her only policy is, apparently, to join the western powers, and to clog their movements in the interest and with the permission of the Czar. Her only part is that of the intriguing traitor; she has entered a course of wickedness and she cannot retrace her steps; her actions do not bear the light of publicity.

It would be unjust, if, in passing such a judgment, which is at variance with the officially expressed opinions of the ministers of England and France, we should be guided only by personal sympathies and antipathies. When speaking of the future policy of Austria, we cannot trust any other guide than the history of the past. Families, as well as individuals, have a certain character and tradition to which they cling; so even nations do not lose their principal features. The French of to-day have retained many of the characteristic features of the Gauls, as described by Cæsar. The English of the past centuries resemble in many respects the English of the present day. But still more than they, the court and government of Austria—for there is no Austrian nation, and there never has been such a nation—has always remained the same, from the time of its foundation by Rudolph of Hapsburgh down to the present moment: for the female line of Lorraine, now on the throne, clings to the traditional policy of the original stock. Professor Newman has, in his '*Crimes of the House of Austria*,' in an able and most impressive way, collected evidence of the general tendency of the Hapsburghs to destroy popular liberty, to set at nought all the oaths which guaranteed the rights of the nations who had called them to the throne, and denounced their avowed hatred of civil and religious freedom, of representative forms, and of liberty of conscience. They were such in Spain, in Belgium, in Germany, in Bohemia, in Poland, and in Hungary. Professor Newman's publication is what it promised to be, a short, but honest, epitome of the crimes of the House of Austria.

We have now before us two other works, written without the peculiar aim of showing up the duplicity of the Hapsburgh dynasty. '*The Illustrated History of Hungary and the Magyars*,' by Mr. Godkin, and '*The Past and Future of Hun-*

gary,' by C. F. Henningsen. Mr. Godkin's book is an able and straightforward, though in minor details sometimes not entirely correct* picture of Hungarian history, written with clearness, earnestness, and impartiality, without any bias against Austria. We extract from it the judgment passed on the successive kings of the House of Hapsburgh and Lorraine, as illustrating the character of the race upon whose sincerity the hopes of the present administration are founded. Of the family he says :—

'No other of the reigning families of Europe has withstood the shocks and revolutions of the last ten (read six) centuries, with the same audacious confidence in its own destiny, and with equal exemption of all the ordinary consequences of folly, injustice, and oppression—we can hardly point to one (of the family) who displayed any proper sense of his responsibilities to the people whom he governed.'—p. 48.

'After the battle of Mohács,' says the author, 'the spirit of Hungary was broken by the ravages of the Turks; and torn by dissensions from within, she was forced to cast herself at the feet of Austria, and merge her history in that of a family of despots. The principle of election now gave way to that of hereditary descent, and more than this, singular complications arose in the working of the legislative machinery, from the fact that the king was no longer a national monarch. He had other states and other interests to attend to; he could, if necessary, by the subsidies and military force of his other dominions, render himself quite independent of the supplies or remonstrances of the diet. The consequence of this was, that the National Assembly had its attention altogether diverted from its proper sphere of duty. It felt itself responsible for the rights and liberties of the nation. It felt that these liberties were viewed with a jealous eye by a powerful and ambitious neighbour, the head of a foreign nation—and that neighbour their own king. It directed its whole energies, therefore, to the single task of watching him, of counteracting his intrigues by other intrigues not less mischievous. From standing constantly on the defensive, it became violently conservative, and saw in every change an attack upon its privileges. The written constitution was an object of deep dislike to the Austrian emperors, who in their hereditary states were accustomed to no such restraints, but the more they

* For instance: the celebrated saying—'Faciam Hungariam captivam, postea mendicam, deinde catholicam,' is attributed wrongly to Cardinal Kollonics (page 244); it was the minister Prince Lobkovicz who uttered it. Martinovics and his friends did not 'distribute revolutionary tracts on a vast scale.' The Citizen's Catechism, a translation of Gerard 'Catéchisme de la Révolution,' was circulated in one only MS. copy amongst the conspirators (page 289). They have likewise never been in correspondence with the chiefs of the Mountain in Paris. Szirmay told it, but this charge was not substantiated. The portrait of Baron Wesselényi is (page 295) by a strange mistake given as the likeness of Count Széchenyi. Klapka did not offer his sword to the Assembly in Vienna; he was not in Vienna at the time of the siege, and therefore could not have strengthened its fortifications (page 329).

sought to overturn it, the more fondly and fiercely did the Hungarians cling to it.'—p. 50.

Tired of the tyranny and perfidy of Rudolph, the Hungarians rose in insurrection under Stephen Bocskay in 1604, defeated the emperor, and concluded in 1606 the treaty of Vienna, which guaranteed the constitution and religious freedom.

In reference to the reign of Ferdinand the Second, we quote only the following passage:—

'When he ascended the throne, he refused to confirm the privileges which his father, Charles, had granted to the Protestants of his dominions in Styria. He made a pilgrimage to Loretto, and vowed on his knees before the image not to desist from his efforts until he had extirpated heresy in his dominions: and at Rome his zeal was fired and confirmed by consecration at the hands of Pope Clement VIII. On his return, he banished all protestant preachers and schoolmasters. In place of protestant seminaries, he founded colleges of Jesuits; and commissioners, by his orders, traversed the whole country, restoring the old churches to the catholics, and demolishing the new ones, and the school-houses, which the reformers had erected.'—p. 197.

Of course, the Hungarians rose again under Gabriel Bethle. They defeated the emperor, and concluded the peace of Nickolsburg in 1627, by which that of Vienna was confirmed:

'The reign of Leopold was a period which witnessed events more important to Hungary than any which preceded it, or have followed it, save only the revolutionary years, 1848 and 1849. No monarch of the house of Austria has ever made so determined attacks upon Hungarian liberty, and to none did the Hungarians oppose a braver and more strenuous resistance. Nothing was left untried on the one side to overthrow the constitution; nothing was left on the other side to uphold and defend it. Few in England know anything of the result; fewer still the steps which led to it; and even those whose position or pursuits have made them acquainted with the facts, have formed their judgment not so much from an impartial weighing of them, as in obedience to the dictates of passion or hereditary prejudice. The Hungarians look upon their struggles with Leopold as a patriotic defence of privileges legitimized by a thousand years of possession; and the partisans of the house of Austria, on the other hand, inveigh against them as the efforts of a restless and tumultuous people to free themselves from the control of their lawful rulers. Unhappily, this is not one of those questions upon which the present generation, looking at it in the light of history, can form an impartial and unbiassed opinion. Blood has flowed in our own time in the old quarrel of the seventeenth century. Neither party has retreated from the struggle in despair, and poured out its sorrows and regrets in the bosom of tradition. The vanquished are not subdued; the conquerors are not triumphant. Success has not lent lustre and legitimacy to rebellion; but the sword cannot root out the chagrin of defeat and the hope of revenge.'—p. 205.

The Hungarians conspired against Leopold, the Palatine Wesselényi, the Counts Zrinyi, Nádasdy, and Frangepan, being at the head of the conspiracy; but their schemes were discovered after the sudden death of their principal leader; the conspirators were captured and executed. Again the nation rose under Emeric Tököly, and was defeated, and once more under Prince Francis Rákóczy. The war lasted for several years, and was at length concluded by the mediation and good offices of England and the Dutch States-General, in 1709.

‘Under Leopold,’ says Mr. Godkin, ‘many of the proudest families in the kingdom, who could trace their descent from the days of Arpád; and who lived amidst their vassals in regal splendour, had been utterly extirpated by Caraffa, and their houses left desolate, or occupied by troops. Their places were now filled up by the German minions of the court, or by brutal soldiers who had distinguished themselves by their unrelenting ferocity, and who, void of all sympathy with the people, did everything in their power for the overthrow of the constitution. The administration of justice in the courts became a mockery, a delusion, and a snare. Bribery, corruption, and intimidation, took the place of law. The Iazyges and Cumans, who had been entitled to all the privileges of the nobility, and the inhabitants of many of the free towns and boroughs, were sold into serfdom to the Teutonic Knights, who exacted their dues with such terrible severity, that mothers disposed of their children to the Turks to procure funds to meet them. Thousands of peasants every month crossed the Turkish frontier, preferring to brave all the insolence and oppression of the Moslems, to living under the tyranny of those of their own faith.’—p. 243.

Charles (the Third as King of Hungary, the Sixth as Emperor of Germany) ‘was induced by Russia, in 1736, to break through the peace of Passarovitz, and to enter into an offensive alliance against the Turks’ (p. 265). He joined in the war of Russia against the Sultan, after having, for several months, acted as mediator between the contending parties.

For Maria Theresa, Mr. Godkin has a peculiar admiration. He describes her as ‘one of the most remarkable sovereigns who have ever appeared in any age and in any country.’ ‘There are few graces, whether of mind or body, which can lend a charm to womanhood that she did not possess.’ Yet even of her, who had been saved by the loyalty and enthusiasm of the Hungarians, in her struggle against the combined forces of Prussia, Germany, and France, he must acknowledge that ‘she managed very ably and judiciously to hide her *insidious attacks* upon the constitution, by the introduction of a number of really useful reforms.’ ‘So thorough, in short, was the influence which this wonderful woman gained over them (the Hungarians), that she never summoned the diet more than three times during her long reign

of forty years, and habitually disregarded those constitutional forms which the natives had ever preserved with the most watchful jealousy.' (pp. 279, 280.)

'Her son Joseph acknowledged the rights and privileges of the States in a circular letter, but he nevertheless refused to go through the ceremony of coronation, because he was determined to destroy them, and consequently would not confirm them by an oath. . . . He also abolished the use of the Latin and Hungarian languages, and permitted the German only to be used in all public offices. He destroyed the whole municipal system of the country, upon which the natives, with justice, looked as the great safe-guard of their liberties. County meetings were forbidden, as also the election of county officers; the local courts were abolished, and the forms, usages, and times of assembling were so entirely different in those that were established to supply their place, that the whole judicial system was thrown into a state of confusion, through which not even the practitioners could find their way, and the proscription of the two languages, in which all the charters and other official documents were framed, naturally inspired the natives with the fear that this was but the prelude to the total abolition of their simplest privileges.'—p. 285.

'As to Francis I.,' the author says, 'the most audacious of all those who joined in framing the Holy Alliance was the Emperor of Austria. The Hungarians reminded him, in 1815, of his repeated promises to redress their grievances, while they were voting him men and money to defend his capital against the assaults of Napoleon. He could not deny the promises, but he emphatically declined to fulfil them. They asked him to convoke the diet, but he had never had any great liking for the diet, and now had less than ever; for it was one of those institutions in which the despots saw most danger to themselves. He therefore determined to dispense with it for the future.'—p. 293.

The more recent events of the son and grandson of Francis, Ferdinand V. and Francis Joseph, are sufficiently known, if not by Lord Aberdeen, who calls the murderer of Arad and Pest 'the young hope of his country,' at least by the people of England at large.

C. F. Henningsen, a distinguished English military man, aide-de-camp to Zumala Carreguy, and secretary to Kossuth, has condensed the events of this later period under the title of 'The Past and Future of Hungary,' an easily readable little volume, which contains the best summary of the Hungarian campaign. He wrote it originally for the 'Democratic Review' in America, and had it reprinted here in England. Nobody who reads the statement can believe that there ever could be reconciliation between Hungary and Austria. A nation vanquished may submit to the conquerors, and even be amalgamated with them, but the Hungarians do not feel themselves conquered by Austria; they were, up to the last, triumphant against them, whom they

despise as much as they hate. The Austrian Emperor, therefore, cannot derive any real strength from the most important portion of his dominions. Russia knows this well, and can make use of the discontent, and she will do it. In order to acquaint the English public with the real views of the Czar, we conclude this review of the weakness, wickedness, and treachery of Austria, by an important letter, as yet unpublished, recently addressed by a Russian diplomatist to an American gentleman of great political influence, as it discloses the power and the views of Russia to act upon the nations of Europe and America :—

‘ It is now two years since I ventured to observe that France and England would ultimately unite and become a formidable thorn to America in naval affairs ; and I cannot but think things are rapidly working to bring about my prediction. It has become my lot for fifty years and upwards to watch the continuous changes which have taken place in the world’s government, and I have seen with sorrow the all-powerful influence of England in keeping back improvement, under the delusive plea that her “glorious constitution” was the acme of human invention, and that man must be taught to see or feel the truth by every possible means which its aristocratic rulers could devise. I quite agree with a distinguished member of the late government of England, when he pronounced the Whigs an “organized hypocrisy,” and I should not be doing justice to my experience if I did not consider this the most appropriate definition of her glorious constitution, of which the ill-informed subjects of her Majesty boast so much. Russia is not blind to this fact, and the time has arrived when she feels herself prepared to prove that she will no longer submit to be duped by the crafty statesmen of her once faithful ally.

‘ No sensible man can for a single moment believe that England feels any further interest for the unfortunate Turk, than what serves her *special* purpose ; and she has been using her exertions and influence in every quarter, to make it appear that she is the defender of the weak against the strong. How far France collectively believes her I know not, but it serves the purpose of the present emperor to act in concert with her under this barefaced presumption. The late king of France purchased his right to wear the Crown from England, and Napoleon very clearly treads in the path of his predecessor, and, most probably, will share the same fate for his folly.

‘ What, in the name of common sense, has France to do with keeping England’s door to India ? We all know how India was subjugated by England ; and we all know also, that England could not play the high game of dictator, if India were separated from her grasp ; and I must again repeat, what has France to do with it, further than it serves the immediate purpose of the emperor ?

‘ I am not going to advocate the right of Russia to subdue Turkey ; at the same time, I cannot see how England has a right to expect that Russia will remain a passive witness to England’s triumphs, to her injury in common with that of all other countries which have been

obliged to submit to her absolute pleasure. Russia has the power to liberate the world from England's grasp if she has the virtue and courage to do so. If she pleases, she can free Poland, and all that part of Europe on the Adriatic shores, and form them into confederate governments to her advantage; securing at the same time the shores of the Black Sea, so as to have a free passage to the sea in that quarter; and by uniting Prussia with Denmark on the one side, and Sweden and Norway on the other side, in confederate union with herself, keep an open door for her shipping in the Baltic; but she will not be able to absorb those countries and amalgamate them with Russia, even if she wishes it: and, further, England and France would ultimately liberate Europe, rather than that Russia should conquer any portion of it. Russia is the best friend America has at this moment, and America can help her in the work of *regeneration*. America has money, and Russia is in want of it, and no doubt Russia will be glad to contract a debt with America at the rate of six per cent.—not by obtaining cash, *but for cash worth in ships, and the means of keeping up the war with those who oppose her*. America can build her ships to any extent, large and *small*, and American ships can take out Russian seamen for them, as passengers, and which neither France nor England can prevent. England would break with France to-morrow, could she go back to her original position with Russia, but this she must not be permitted to do, if the world has a *right to be free*!

'She fears America, but she does not respect her; and I trust the people of the United States are not blind to this fact; and they never had a better opportunity than they have at this moment to teach England to understand her duty. Had Napoleon the will, he also has the chance of being handed down to posterity as another Washington, and you probably know how his uncle regretted the loss of this chance; and, if he is a wise man, he will not let it slip from his grasp, although England will try hard, and kiss his foot to prevent it.

'America surely has some friends in France who can venture to advise him at this dangerous moment, before he involves himself in further troubles, and it is very clear that he is surrounded with danger of no common character.'

It is hardly necessary to point to the importance of this letter, which shows that Russian diplomacy avails itself of revolution and republicanism in the same unscrupulous way as of the despotic tendencies of the German princes.

Since the above has been written, we have, by the publication of the secret and confidential correspondence, obtained the evidence of the Czar himself, that 'the interests of Austria and Russia are identical, and that it is superfluous to treat with Austria, as she is bound to Russia.' And yet the alliance of Austria is courted by the government! Indeed, the old monastic adage: '*Mundus vult decipi, decipiatur ergo.*' seems still to be in force among the diplomatists of Europe.

ART. VIII.—*Census of Great Britain, 1851. Religious Worship. England and Wales.* Report and Tables presented to both Houses of Parliament. London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, printers to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. For Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1853.

2. *The Same.* Abridged from the Official Report made by Horace Mann, Esq., to George Graham, Esq., Registrar-General. Eleventh Thousand. (Revised.) Routledge and Co. 1854.

MEN of all parties—in all countries—are likely to be interested in the important document drawn up by Mr. Horace Mann, on the 'State of Religious Worship in England and Wales.' To English Christians—those especially who are friends of liberty and progress—it will prove in many respects invaluable. The Report and Tables presented to parliament will be studied with deep interest by leading minds; and the admirable abridgment, so wisely made, will diffuse the information thus collected generally throughout the entire community. For the first time in the history of England, we have now an authentic report, as complete as it was likely or possible to be, of the number of persons attending places of public worship, the number of places provided for that purpose, and the particular doctrines and forms of the parties by whom these provisions have been made.

To none can these returns be more welcome, more gratifying, or more suggestive, than to those who maintain the principles of freedom in relation to worship, which have so long been advocated in the 'Eclectic [Review].' We have read Mr. Horace Mann's Report to the Registrar-General with more than common interest; and we shall now lay before our readers a simple statement of what it contains, for the purpose of urging on their attention some of the many truths established or illustrated by these contents.

The elaborate means employed for collecting the returns are fully described in the appendix to the Report (pp. clxix.-clxxvi.) The collection was made by no fewer than *thirty thousand six hundred and ten officers*, called enumerators, under the direction of the 2190 registrars of births and deaths in England and Wales. The information was obtained *without compulsion*. Forms or schedules were distributed by the enumerators; from these 34,467 returns were received, after much time and labour; and the information omitted in any of these returns is, in part, supplied separately by analogy or supposition. In reference to them,

Mr. Mann says—‘It may safely be said, however, that the instances which seemed to call for supplementation are too few to render it important whether the principles by which it has been regulated are in all respects correct. The object sought will probably be deemed sufficiently accomplished if the *aggregate* results are made to represent by these means more completely and correctly than would otherwise be the case, the nature and amount of the accommodation for religious worship in the country.’

From the whole of these returns it appears that the population of England and Wales on March 30th, 1851, was SEVENTEEN MILLIONS, NINE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVEN THOUSAND, SIX HUNDRED AND NINE. Of this population there were, *on that day*, TEN MILLIONS, EIGHT HUNDRED AND NINETY-SIX THOUSAND, AND SIXTY-SIX PERSONS, attending public worship in THIRTY-FOUR THOUSAND, FOUR HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVEN places. Of these 10,896,066 attendants, less than half—5,292,551—belonged to the Church of England; more than half—5,603,515—belonged to other professions. Of this majority of 5,603,515, the largest numbers are *Weeleyan Methodists*, 1,544,528; *Independents*, 1,214,059; *Baptists*, (particular) 740,752; *Primitive Methodists*, 511,195; *Roman Catholics*, 383,630. The other religious bodies are much smaller than these five:—ranging from 83 (Seventh-Day Baptists) to 22,000, of the Society of Friends; 50,000 Unitarians; 10,874 Moravians; 99,045 New Connexion Methodists; 91,503 Wesleyan Reformers; 264,000 Calvinistic Methodists; 35,000 Latter-Day Saints or Mormons, &c.

Besides this broad view of England and Wales, the compiler has drawn up separate Tables showing the accommodation and attendance in the Registration Districts of London—South-Eastern Counties,—South-Midland Counties,—Eastern Counties,—South-Western Counties,—West-Midland Counties,—North-Midland Counties,—North-Western Counties,—Yorkshire,—Northern Counties,—and Welsh Counties; each of the separate counties of England; and North and South Wales; *dates at which existing places of worship in each county were erected, or appropriated to religious uses*;—the number of the *places of worship and sittings in the several dioceses of England and Wales*;—an alphabetical arrangement of the religious accommodation and attendance in more than seventy large towns and boroughs;—the accommodation provided by various religious bodies in *large town districts*, as compared with the rest of England;—the accommodation provided in each *county of England*

Wales by the most numerous religious bodies;—the *proportion of sittings to population in the registration divisions, counties, and districts of England and Wales*;—and the amount

still required ;—districts with *most* and *least* accommodation respectively ;—comparative position of the Church of England and the dissenting churches in different parts of the country ;—the number of services held by each religious body at different periods of the day ;—comparative view of the frequency with which the various religious bodies make use of the accommodation provided for them respectively ;—and the number of persons present at the most numerous attended services on Sunday, March 30th, 1851.

In addition to these exceedingly valuable tables, there is one of the number of places of worship, sittings, and attendants connected with the various religious bodies of England and Wales, arranged in *registration districts or poor law unions*.

Upon these Tables the Report is based. Most of our readers, we should hope, will agree with Mr. Mann in the following estimate of the importance of the subject :—

‘ Perhaps it would be difficult to over-estimate the importance of authentic facts upon this subject ; since, for many reasons, the religion of a nation must be matter of extreme solicitude to many minds. Whether we regard a people merely in their secular capacity as partners in a great association for promoting the stability, the opulence, the peaceful glory of a state, or view them in their loftier character, as subjects of a higher kingdom,—swift and momentary travellers towards a never-ending destiny ; in either aspect, the degree and the direction of religious sentiment in a community are subjects of the weightiest import : in the one case to the temporal guardians of a nation—to its spiritual teachers on the other. Statesmen—aware to what a great extent the liberty or bondage, industry or indolence, prosperity or poverty, of any people, are the fruits of its religious creed, and knowing also how extensively religious feelings tinge political opinions—find an accurate acquaintance with the various degrees and forms in which religious sentiment is manifested, indispensable to a correct appreciation either of the country’s actual condition or of its prospective tendency ; and equally essential to enable them to legislate with safety upon questions where religious principles or prejudices are inextricably involved. Nor yet to Christian ministers and teachers, and the Christian church in general, can facts like those now published fail to be of utmost interest ; since here, in the rise and progress of new sects, they see what novel forms of error need to be encountered, and, perhaps, what new developments of truth require to be received ; while, in the numbers of our population destitute of spiritual teaching, and without the means of gaining it, they see in what direction and to what extent their zealous efforts for diffusing true religion are demanded.’—Report, p. viii.

In recapitulating the substance of the Tables, we are told that in England and Wales, the number of native and indigenous communities is *twenty-seven*, besides some isolated congregations

not sufficiently numerous or consolidated to be called 'sects.' Of these communities, we have the following clear and historical arrangement:—

PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

BRITISH.

Church of England and Ireland.

Scottish Presbyterians:—*Church of Scotland. United Presbyterian Synod. Presbyterian Church in England.*

Independents, or Congregationalists.

Baptists:—*General. Particular. Seventh Day. Scotch. New Connexion General.*

Society of Friends.

Unitarians.

Moravians, or United Brethren.

Wesleyan Methodists:—*Original Connexion. New Connexion. Primitive Methodists. Bible Christians. Wesleyan Association. Independent Methodists. Wesleyan Reformers.*

Calvinistic Methodists:—*Welsh Calvinistic Methodists. Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.*

Sandemanians, or Glassites.

New Church.

Brethren.

FOREIGN.

Lutherans.—German Protestant Reformers.—Reformed Church of the Netherlands.—French Protestants.

OTHER CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

Roman Catholics.—Greek Church.—German Catholics.—Italian Reformers.—Catholic and Apostolic Church.—Latter-day Saints, or Mormons.

JEWS.

The multiplicity of these communities may be viewed as advantageous on the side of private judgment actively exercised, or as disadvantageous to the interest of visible ecclesiastical unity. Some will be disposed to regard them as embodying much more substantial harmony in the support of common truths than the extreme advocates of any party would be disposed to acknowledge, and as probably suggesting to all parties the desirableness of better understanding the true grounds of separation from one another. With a view to help them in this matter, Mr. Mann has devoted more than a hundred well written and closely-printed pages to a succinct history of the several churches and societies, with authentic accounts of their characteristic doctrines, government, and usages. In this survey, the ecclesiastical history of England, from the introduction of Christianity to the present time, is narrated in a spirit remarkable for

fairness and accurate regard for truth. The tale is well and plainly told ; and we envy not the man who can read it without rejoicing that so much religious vitality has been at work both in the expression and in the formation of our national character. Whatever minute errors there may be, the means of correction are suggested in the notes and references. It is a good thing to have even an approximation towards a full account of what it is that these five and thirty communities are teaching, and in what degree they enlighten or modify the minds of the English people ; and foreigners especially, whose curiosity is sure to be attracted by these public and authenticated documents, will trace perhaps with an interest different from ours the historical connexion between institutions becoming gradually free, and the manifestations of religious sentiment augmenting in energy and independence.

With great caution, yet with intelligent liberality, the writer of the Report has shown the substantial agreement of the larger bodies in the essentials of religious truth ; while the freedom and self-reliance of the English people, manifest in the existence of separate societies, and conferring ‘on none the artificial value which results from prohibition,’ gives rise to the expectation that ‘the spirit of uncompromising peace will gain yet further potency—that liberty to separate on minor, will beget still more the disposition to unite on greater, questions—and that the Toleration Act will be proved in its results to have been the most effective Act of Uniformity.’ Among the proofs of this tendency are found the operations of sixteen societies for religious objects which include in their constituencies the members of perhaps a dozen different sects, and the number of such societies is much more likely to increase than to lessen.

In ascertaining the amount of provision for Christian worship in England and Wales, it is, of course, important to determine the proportion of the population—17,927,609—that require accommodation. By omitting 3,000,000 children, 1,000,000 invalids and aged persons, 3,278,039 legitimately absent in charge of houses, and an undefined number of persons employed in connexion with public conveyances, it is calculated that 58 per cent. of the entire population, amounting to 10,398,013 persons, are *always* able to attend public worship in this country, and that for this number accommodation ought to be provided. The provision for this number must, of course, be so *distributed* as to be available by all who require it.

Compared with the requirement, the existing deficiency in the whole of England and Wales is not more than 185,450, ‘*if the entire provision now existing is found to be so well distributed over the country as that no part has too little and no*

part too much; but the *actual* distribution shows a deficiency of accommodation *within reach of those who want it*, for probably more than 1,644,734. The inequalities of distribution are most striking. The City of London has a superfluity of 13,338 sittings; while in Shoreditch the deficiency is 43,755. And, speaking generally, the *urban* population have accommodation for 46 per cent., while the *rural* population have accommodation for 65·5 per cent. The proportion is *in inverse ratio to the size of the towns*:—so that 80 per cent. of the additional accommodation is required for sixty boroughs.

The rate of supply for this large want of accommodation is described as not being altogether unsatisfactory, inasmuch as it has been rapidly gaining on the increase of population for the last thirty years; but, so *unequal* is the distribution of this increased accommodation that, while seventy in a hundred may now be accommodated in the *rural* population, the increase of population in our *towns* has been at the rate of 156 per cent., while the increase of accommodation for worship has been only at the rate of 65 per cent.—The proportion of *free* accommodation appears to be 43·6 per cent. in the town districts, and 49·4 per cent. in rural districts.

In comparing the Church of England with other protestant communities, *all taken together*, it appears that the Church of England provides 5,317,915 sittings, or 29·6 per cent. for the entire population of 17,927,609.

‘Dissenters most abound in *Wales, Monmouthshire, Yorkshire, Cornwall, Cheshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Northumberland, Nottinghamshire, and Bedfordshire*; in all of which counties their sittings exceed in number those provided by the Church of England; while in Wales and Monmouthshire they are more than double. In all the other counties the Establishment has a preponderance,—most conspicuous in *Herefordshire, Sussex, and Oxfordshire*, where the sittings of the church are more than double those of the dissenters. The two parties are very nearly balanced in *Lincolnshire, Staffordshire, Leicestershire, Cumberland, and Cambridgeshire*. On the whole of England and Wales, for every 100 sittings provided by the Church of England, dissenters furnish 93.’—Report, p. cxi.

The Church of England has increased her provision by 24 per cent. in the last half century; yet the population having, in the same time, increased 101·6 per cent., she now provides for only 29·6 per cent.; whereas, her provision in 1801 was 48·2 per cent.,—the difference being a proportion of nearly 19 per cent. less than it was fifty years ago; but within the last ten years the increase of church provision has been gaining fastly on the increase of the population,—an increase in the rate of progress which, on the whole, is not unsatisfactory, but inadequate to the rapidly

growing wants of towns.' Of the chief Protestant dissenting bodies we are told that

'The WESLEYAN METHODISTS are found in greatest force in *Cornwall, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Durham, and Nottinghamshire*; their fewest numbers are in *Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex, Essex, Warwickshire, and Hertfordshire*. The INDEPENDENTS flourish most in *South Wales, North Wales, Essex, Dorsetshire, Monmouthshire, and Suffolk*; least in *Northumberland, Durham, Herefordshire, and Worcestershire*. The BAPTISTS are strongest in *Monmouthshire, South Wales, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Buckinghamshire*; weakest in *Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cornwall, Staffordshire, and Lancashire*.'—p. cxliv. *

The rate of increase in these three denominations, respectively, through the whole of England and Wales is represented thus:—

TABLE 17.

PERIODS.	WESLEYAN METHODISTS. (All Branches.)			INDEPENDENTS.			BAPTISTS. (All Branches.)		
	Number of Places of Worship and Sitzings at each Period.		Rate of Increase per cent. at each Period.	Number of Places of Worship and Sitzings at each Period.		Rate of Increase per cent. at each Period.	Number of Places of Worship and Sitzings at each Period.		Rate of Increase per cent. at each Period.
	Places of Worship.	Sittings.		Places of Worship.	Sittings.		Places of Worship.	Sittings.	
1801	825	165,000	—	914	299,792	—	652	176,692	—
1811	1,485	296,000	80·0	1140	373,920	24·7	858	232,518	31·6
1821	2,748	549,600	85·0	1478	494,784	29·2	1170	317,070	36·4
1831	4,622	924,400	69·2	1999	655,672	35·2	1613	437,123	37·9
1841	7,819	1,563,800	69·2	2606	854,768	30·4	2174	589,154	34·7
1851	11,007	2,194,298	40·3	3244	1,067,760	24·9	2789	752,343	27·7

'From this it appears that neither of these bodies is advancing at a rate so rapid as formerly. But then it must also be remembered, that neither is there *room* for such a rapid increase, since the aggregate rate of increase during the half century has been so much more rapid than the increase of the population that whereas, in 1801, the number of sittings provided for every 1000 persons was—by Wesleyans 18, by Independents 34, and by Baptists 20; in 1851, the provision was—by Wesleyans 123, by Independents 59, and by Baptists 42.'

Taking all the protestant dissenting communities together, it appears that they 'provide accommodation for 4,657,422 persons, or for 26 per cent. of the population, and 5·6 per cent. of the aggregate provision of the country. The proportion of this accommodation, which is *available* at each period of the day is—*morning*, 3,428,665 sittings; *afternoon*, 2,367,379 sittings; *evening*, 3,855,394 sittings; making a total, at all three portions of the day, of 9,651,438 sittings.'

The returns from the *Roman Catholics* show 570 places of worship, containing 186,111 *sittings*, with an intimation, however, that large numbers are accommodated *standing*, of whom

return is given in the abstracts, though in another table the number of attendants is given, not at 186,111, but at 305,393.

‘The rate at which the Roman Catholics have increased in the last half century will be best seen by reference to the statistics from the period since 1824, given *ante*, page ci., instead of relying upon the doubtful indication supplied by the dates at which existing edifices were erected. From this source it appears that in 1824 there were 346 Roman-catholic chapels in England and Wales, while in 1853 the number had increased to 616. If we assume that the proportion of sittings to a chapel was the same (314) at each of these periods as in 1851, the number in 1824 would be 108,644, and the number in 1853 would be 193,424; the rate of increase in the thirty years being 87·2 per cent. During very nearly the same interval (*viz.*, from 1821 to 1851), the sittings of all Protestant bodies, unitedly increased from 5,985,842 to 9,982,533, the rate being 66·8 per cent. For every 1000 of the population, the Roman Catholics provided 8 sittings in 1824, 10 sittings in 1853. The Protestants provided for every 1000 persons, 499 sittings in 1821, and 557 sittings in 1851. The proportion of sittings belonging to Roman Catholics to those belonging to Protestants was 1·8 to 100, at the former period, and 1·9 to 100 at the latter.’—pp. cxlvii., cxlviii.

The result of Mr. Mann’s calculations, founded on *all* the returns, is—that there is wanted an additional supply of 1,644,734 sittings in the large town districts, and especially in London. These would require the erection of at least *two thousand large places of worship*. Of the accommodation now existing,—

5,317,915, are provided by the Church of England;
4,894,648, by other churches;

10,212,563, total provision made;
1,644,734, to be supplied;

11,857,297, the provision required.

The history of the past twenty years inspires encouragement for the future. The proportion of the sittings has risen from 50 per cent. of the population to 57 per cent. Several societies, of a missionary character, are spending about thirty thousand pounds a-year on this object. Additional services might probably be conducted in most of the churches and chapels in large towns. Public buildings may be used almost indefinitely for such as have any dislike to churches and chapels. But, supposing adequate accommodation provided for all who may attend some place of public worship if they will, *what reason have we to expect that the accommodation would be used?* In point of fact, less than half of the accommodation now provided is habitually used. ‘It is tolerably certain that the 5,288,294 who every

Sunday neglect religious ordinances, *do so of their own free choice*, and are not compelled to be absent on account of a deficiency of sittings.'

'The most important fact which this investigation as to attendance brings before us is unquestionably the alarming number of the non-attendants. Even in the least unfavourable aspect of the figures just presented, and assuming (as no doubt is right) that the 5,288,294 absent every Sunday are not always the same individuals, it must be apparent that *a sadly formidable portion of the English people are habitual neglecters of the public ordinances of religion*. Nor is it difficult to indicate to what particular class of the community this portion in the main belongs. The middle classes have augmented rather than diminished that devotional sentiment and strictness of attention to religious services by which for several centuries they have so eminently been distinguished. With the upper classes, too, the subject of religion has obtained of late a marked degree of notice, and a regular church attendance is now ranked among the recognised proprieties of life. It is to satisfy the wants of these two classes that the number of religious structures has of late years so increased. But while the *labouring* myriads of our country have been multiplying with our multiplied material prosperity, it cannot, it is feared, be stated that a corresponding increase has occurred in the attendance of this class at our religious edifices. More especially in cities and large towns it is observable how absolutely insignificant a portion of the congregations is composed of artisans. They fill, perhaps, in youth, our National, British, and Sunday schools, and there receive the elements of religious education; but, no sooner do they mingle in the active world of labour than, subjected to the constant action of opposing influences, they soon become as utter strangers to religious ordinances as the people of a heathen country. From whatever cause, in them or in the manner of their treatment by religious bodies, it is sadly certain that this vast, intelligent, and growingly important section of our countrymen are thoroughly estranged from our religious institutions in their present aspect. Probably, indeed, the prevalence of infidelity has been exaggerated, if the word be taken in its popular meaning, as implying some degree of intellectual effort and decision; but no doubt a great extent of negative, inert indifference prevails, the practical effects of which are much the same. There is a sect, originated recently, adherents to a system called "Secularism:" the principal tenet being that, as the fact of a future life is (in their view) at all events susceptible of *some* degree of doubt, while the fact and the necessities of a present life are matters of direct sensation, it is therefore prudent to attend exclusively to the concerns of that existence which is certain and immediate—not wasting energies required for present duties by a preparation for remote and merely possible contingencies. This is the creed which probably with most exactness indicates the faith which virtually, though not professedly, is entertained by the masses of our working population; by the skilled and unskilled labourer alike; by hosts of minor shopkeepers and Sunday traders; and by miserable denizens of

courts and crowded alleys. They are *unconscious secularists*—engrossed by the demands, the trials, or the pleasures of the passing hour, and ignorant or careless of a future. They are never or but seldom seen in our religious congregations; and the melancholy fact is thus impressed upon our notice that *the classes which are most in need of the restraints and consolations of religion are the classes which are most without them.*—p. clviii.

The dislike so manifestly shown by our labouring population to religious associations is ascribed chiefly to the obtrusion of social distinctions on their notice in the forms and arrangements; to the want of sympathy with their sufferings on the part of professed Christians; to the misconceptions cherished by working men regarding the motives of Christian ministers; and to the poverty, with all the accompaniments of filth and vice, of their condition. Each of these hinderances to attendance on public worship is one which we are not without the means of removing, if we go wisely and heartily to work; and some of these are attended to in the Report.

For the filling of the places already built, or in course of being built, Mr. Mann dwells on the necessity of augmented agencies for acting aggressively upon the irreligious portions of the community. The people are not inaccessible. They are reached in large numbers. Various schemes are even now in operation for familiar intercourse with them on the part of judicious and kind teachers. Much will be done by the sub-division of parishes, and much more might be done by missions unrestricted by parochial notions. More liberal ideas of what is meant by *preaching* will have to be diffused among churchmen, and not much less among dissenters. The extension of the episcopate and the removal of suffragan bishops would contribute largely, we doubt not, to the efficiency of the Church of England. The 'prominent facts elicited by the whole inquiry' are summed up by Mr. Mann in the following brief statement:—

'The great facts which appear to me to have been elicited by this inquiry are, that, even taking the accommodation provided by all the sects, including the most extravagant unitedly, there are 1,644,734 inhabitants of England who, if all who might attend religious services were willing to attend, would not be able, on account of insufficient room, to join in public worship; that this deficiency prevails almost exclusively in *towns*, especially *large towns*; that if these 1,644,734 persons are to be deprived of all excuse for non-attendance, there must be at least as many additional sittings furnished, equal to about 2000 churches and chapels, and a certain number more if any of the present provisions be regarded as of doubtful value; and that even such additional accommodation will fall short of the requirement if the edifices are so often, as at present, closed. Further, it appears that as many as 5,288,294 persons able to attend are every Sunday absent from

religious services, for all of whom there is accommodation for at least one service; that neglect like this, in spite of opportunities for worship, indicates the insufficiency of any mere addition to the number of religious *buildings*; that the greatest difficulty is to fill the churches when provided; and that this can only be accomplished by a great addition to the number of efficient, earnest, religious *teachers*, clerical or lay, by whose persuasions the reluctant population might be won.'—p. clxvii.

In examining these valuable Tables, and the judicious Report based upon them, we find some truths of great practical interest elucidated in a most satisfactory manner.

We are living in a country which possesses a larger amount of personal and civil freedom than any other in the world. Our freedom has been won for us by our religion, by the manliness it produces—the confidence it inspires—the harmonious action it secures—and the deep regard for humanity which it breathes through the heart of the people. We cannot but be thankful for the large exhibition afforded by these tables of the religious character of the nation, at once insuring freedom, guarding it against the excesses of riot and insurrection from below, and against the oppressions of tyranny from above.

Notwithstanding the prodigious increase of population during the last half century, the progress of provision for public worship among ourselves, of education for the children of the poor, of institutions for the sick and helpless, and of societies for spreading the Gospel among heathen nations, has been greater.

While the number of national churches built during the last fifty years is 2529, at a cost of £9,087,000, to which the public funds have contributed £1,693,429—leaving the large sum of seven millions, four hundred and twenty-three thousand, five hundred and seventy-one pounds to be raised by private benefactions. Not only have these vast benefactions been provided by the spontaneous gifts of members of the Church of England: they have raised a hundred and fifty thousand a year for the support of special organizations for the spiritual benefit of our home population, besides £250,000 bestowed on foreign missions, and a large porportion of support to institutions, such as the Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society, sustained by several denominations. It is to us, dissenters as we are, a matter for unfeigned joy, that the grand vital principles of Christianity are so active and fruitful in a church which many of its members imagine to be supported by the state, and which, we do most conscientiously believe, will be all that her best friends could wish her to be, when she relies entirely upon her rich resources, without any compulsory powers from the state.

In comparing the Church of England with the non-established

churches, we observe that out of 34,467 places of worship in England and Wales, the Church of England has 14,077—the other churches have 20,290; of 9,467,738 sittings, the Church of England has 5,317,915—the other churches have 4,894,648. If we separate Wales, including Monmouth,

The dissenters have 2498 places. with 602,877 sittings.

'The church' . . . 947 264,548

Leaving a balance of 1519 338,829 in favour of dissenters.

Again, comparing 'the church' and dissenters in Lancashire, the returns give—

For dissenters . . . 1150 places, with 423,789 sittings.

For 'the church' . . . 529 389,546

Balance for dissenters . 621 34,243

Once more, comparing 'the church' with dissenters in Yorkshire, the returns give—

For dissenters . . . 2466 places, with 626,617 sittings.

For 'the church' . . . 1143 457,594

Balance for dissenters . 1323 places, with 169,023 sittings.

Further, the attendants on public worship on the 30th March, 1851, in Wales, were—

	Morning.	Afternoon.	Evening.
At dissenting chapels	247,894	134,835	324,859
At churches	85,089	40,525	31,454
Balance for dissenters	162,305	94,310	295,405

In Yorkshire—

	Morning.	Afternoon.	Evening.
At dissenting chapels	220,977	185,992	215,740
At churches	168,712	120,751	53,280
Balance for dissenters	52,265	65,241	162,460

The calculations made in these returns are confessedly incomplete; still they are sufficient to bring out the broad facts:—(1) That a large proportion of accommodation for religious worship provided by the Church of England is so unequally distributed as to be *practically of no value*; (2) that the increase of church accommodation in large towns is very rapid; (3) that the dissenters turn their places to *more account* than churchmen do; (4) that the spirit of dissent is gaining ground in our larger populations; and (5) that, after all the efforts of all churches

there remains a mass of one third of the population that does not publicly worship God at all.

In writing, mainly, for Protestant dissenters, we are anxious to offer to them a few simple practical suggestions, grounded on the Report we have been examining.

It ought to excite special thankfulness that the Christian principle of *uncompelled religion*, and *uncompelled* support of its institutions, receives so strong a testimony on its behalf in these Returns. Out of 2529 churches built during the first half of the present century, at a cost of upwards of nine millions of money, it appears that during the earlier thirty years the number built was not more than 500, to which the sum of one million, one hundred and fifty-two thousand and forty-four pounds were granted from the public funds; while in the later twenty years—*only one-third of the time*—six millions and eighty-seven thousand pounds were spent on two thousand and twenty-nine churches—*more than five times as many churches*—to which the state contributed only five hundred and eleven thousand, three hundred and eighty-five pounds:—the voluntary subscriptions in the *thirty years* amounting to one million, eight hundred and forty-seven thousand, nine hundred and fifty-six pounds; but, in the twenty years, to five millions, five hundred and seventy-five thousand, six hundred and fifteen pounds. We have no Table of the increase in the number of other Protestant communities; but we gather from the Report that there existed in 1851 twenty thousand, three hundred and ninety places of public worship, all built on the same principle, and most of them within the same half century, at a cost which we have no means of estimating, but probably not less than TEN MILLIONS.

While the active power of freedom is thus so manifest in the religious as well as in the social and commercial and political life of the nation, we are to remember that this freedom has been somewhat checked by the existence of a church established by law, endowed by the state, and clothed with a large amount of public authority, and aristocratic and traditional preferences securing on its behalf nearly all the rank, and a great preponderance of the wealth, of the nation. Notwithstanding the *prestige*, however, enjoyed by the Church of England, we learn from the Table marked 'K—The Comparative Position of the Church of England and the Dissenting Churches in different parts of the Country'—that in the counties of England and Wales the sittings provided by the Church of England is for 27·6 per cent. of the population, while the dissenters provide for 28·4 of the population; whereas in 46 of the great towns the church provides 47·8 per cent., and the dissenters provide 52·2 per cent. of the sittings. If we take the *counties* separately, we find a large preponderance of

dissenters in Bedford, Chester, Cornwall, Derby, Durham, Lancaster, Monmouth, Northumberland, Nottingham, the East, North, and West Ridings of York, North Wales, and South Wales: in the remaining counties there is a great preponderance of church accommodation, of which, it should be remarked, that being in the rural districts, one-third are open only once on a Sunday, and then but thinly attended. If we take the towns separately, we find a large preponderance of dissenters in *thirty-four* towns—Ashton-under-Lyne, Birmingham, Blackburn, Bolton, Bradford, Bristol, Bury, Derby, Devonport, Dudley, Great Yarmouth, Halifax, Huddersfield, Hull, Leeds, Leicester, Macclesfield, Manchester, Merthyr-Tydfil, Newcastle, Nottingham, Oldham, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Preston, Rochdale, Salford, Sheffield, Stockport, Stoke-upon-Trent, Sunderland, Swansea, Wigan, Wolverhampton; while we find a preponderance of church accommodation in *eleven* towns—Bath, Brighton, Cheltenham, Coventry, Exeter, Ipswich, Liverpool, LONDON, Norwich, Southampton, Worcester.

From another Table ('M. Comparative View of the Frequency with which the various Religious Bodies make use of the accommodation provided for by them respectively') we learn that in the Church of England it is 33·2 per cent.; in the other religious denominations it is 35·6 per cent. And from Table 'N, Number of Persons present at the most numerous attended Service on Sunday, March 30th, 1853,' we learn that, of the entire number, 6,356,222 there were—

3,110,782 Protestant Dissenters.

249,389 Roman Catholics.

24,793 Other Bodies.

3,384,964 Total Nonconformist.

2,971,258 Church of England.

413,706 Balance of Nonconformists.

While these comparisons bring out the relative strength of the several religious bodies of England and Wales, it ought not to be forgotten that Scotland and Ireland are not included in the Census, and that the state of *Great Britain and Ireland* is not yet before us. Doubtless there *was* a time when the Episcopal Community, styled the Church of England, was the church of the greater part of the nation; but that is so far from being the case now, that more than half of the nation is untaught by the clergy of that community, and has no share in whatever benefits are supposed to be enjoyed by its members. The *majority* of the nation is living in an *excommunicated* condition. We have been lately studying the 'Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical,

treated upon by the Bishop of London, President of the Convocation for the Province of Canterbury, and the rest of the Bishops and Clergy of the said Province, and agreed upon, with the king's Majesty's License, in their synod begun at London A.D. 1603, and now published, for the due observation of them, by his Majesty's authority under the great seal of England.' In these 'Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical,' we find the following description of persons are excommunicated, *ipso facto* :—

'Those who affirm that the Church of England by law established under the King's Majesty is not a true and apostolic church, teaching and maintaining the doctrine of the apostles;—those who affirm that the book of Common Prayer containeth anything in it that is repugnant to the Scriptures;—those who affirm that the Articles are in any part erroneous or superstitious, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto;—those who impugn as unscriptural the government of the church by archbishops, bishops, deans, arch-deacons;—combine themselves in a new *brotherhood*;—and all who affirm that churches, not held and allowed by the law of the land, may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful churches.'

These 'Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical' are regularly published, along with the Homilies and Articles, by the Prayer Book and Homily Society. We are not quite sure how far Mr. Mann is right in saying 'the Canons of 1603, contain, *so far as the clergy are concerned*, her code of discipline.' (Report p. xxxiii.) We presume that the Toleration Act, and other acts of parliament of a similar description, overrule the Canons Ecclesiastical.

We would not have it forgotten by whom these glorious liberties have been won, and at what cost. We think of Leighton and Bunyan, and thousands who suffered loss, imprisonment, and death, for doing what the *majority of the nation now do under the protection of British law*, and we can fancy the delight with which they would hail a report like this, and feel that they had not suffered nor died in vain. We do think that it is well for us to refresh our hearts with the remembrance of the men who sowed in tears what we now reap in joy.

The broad facts exhibited by these returns are of the most profound, sublime, and animating character. These arithmetical calculations and statistical tables are not, in themselves, attractive to the greater part even of our reading population; but men can be easily made to understand that these masses of figures represent the thoughts, the tears, the struggles, the prayers, the deaths, and the undying testimonials of more men and women than we can count; they display the fruits of ages of sorrow; they bring before us stately temples and lowly chapels, the lovely villages of England's plains and valleys, the stirring crowds of her busy towns, the labours of her many thousand pastors and teachers,

the quiet homes, the stillness of Sabbath, the glow of worship, the wisdom of teaching, the moving of millions of minds and hearts—the *grand weekly impulse* that makes England such a hive of industry, such a mart of commerce, such a queen among the nations of the free. ‘That Sabbath was a high day,’ on which, without constraint or bribery, the millions of our people rallied around the standards of their fathers, or those which their own hands had planted. To have seen them all, native and foreigner, Romanist and Protestant, the priest in gorgeous robe or plain surplice, the varied orders of dissenters dressed as at other times, all doing the same thing, each in his own way,—none to make them afraid,—none, we hope, even wishing that they could! Surely the banner of England never waved so royally on battle field, on tournament, on the mountain wave, or on the palace tower, as it fluttered in the air of freedom for the defence of these worshipping millions. And such a day as that comes once a week, bringing over many weary workers an earthly heaven. The hammer and the axe, the loom and the saw, the dark mine and the furrowed field, the busy street and shop, and wharf and counting-house and factory, are laid aside, and men are put in mind of God’s love to them; their hearts are raised to heaven and sweetened with piety, made soft for tender duties, strengthened with bravery for life’s battle; they drink of the waters that flow from a fountain far above them, and renew their covenants of love, and faith, and honour.

Not that we are willing to sink the peculiarities of our own faith in the vague satisfaction with which one sees the millions of our countrymen professedly engaged so sublimely and so blessedly as they are on every Sunday in the year. We do not look with satisfaction on something like one-third of the population of England committed to the spiritual charge of the Church of England. For, though we cheerfully admit that large numbers of the clergy of that Church are enlightened and faithful men, what proportion of them may bear this character we have not the means of ascertaining. At the same time, when we consider the class of persons from whom the clergy come, the preparatory training they undergo, the motives, *other than religious*, which draw them to this profession, the great amount of merely formal ceremonies in which their duties consist, and, more than all, the illiberal tendencies exhibited by so many of them, we cannot look without painful concern at the cold formalism and degrading superstition which so largely pervade their ministrations.

We hold it to be the duty of nonconformists to be perpetually urging on the general public mind, not only in towns, but throughout the country, their strong objections to a state of things which presents so much the appearance of religious worship with so

little of intelligent belief, manly judgment, evangelical soundness, and spiritual character. Let evangelical dissenters take their stand on the facts embodied in this Report, and earnestly exert themselves to remove from a system which they conscientiously disapprove all the sanction which, in the name of the whole nation, it receives from the public authority of the State. While the 'Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control' labours, as we trust it will, with increasing co-operation from both religious and political parties, to secure the abrogation of all laws which give the Church of England an ascendancy which is *not* religious, but secular, based not on reason and equity, but in ancient usage and interested prejudice, let those who believe, as we do, in the personal and spiritual nature of religion, put on new strength and purpose in exposing the evils existing *in the Church itself*, as a church, apart from the consideration of its thralldom and subserviency to the ruling powers of the day. Let them denounce the unscriptural usurpations of its prelacy, its priesthood, its sacraments, and its superstitions, by diffusing among the people, with the earnestness which is calm, wise, active, patient, and hopeful, those simple principles which are revealed in the Gospel, and which speak plainly to the moral judgments and the religious susceptibilities of Englishmen. It is our opinion that this can be done without hostility to any man: if not, still let it be done; for truth and conscience ought to rule the people.

While we look with dissatisfaction on the Church of England, let it not be supposed that we have any fondness for dissent. We accept the term merely as a conventional distinction, having only a relative significance: let there be no Establishment and there can be no dissent. The most ultra dissenters are they who believe *nothing* which the Church of England believes, and do *nothing* which the Church of England does; while those who bear the name, the dissenters of England, are men who professedly make a conscience of matters which they believe to be neglected in the beliefs and in the practices of the Church established by law. Why should they, by *law*, be compelled to support the structures and the officials of a Church from which the law does not prohibit their secession? Why are their sons excluded from the great public seminaries, and the ancient universities, and the children of their poor from the national schools? Why should they be marked as less loyal, less respectable, less worthy of any position for which they are intellectually and morally fit, than the millions who have but to profess adherence to 'the Church'? Reason there is none for all this: much reason, indeed, for the contrary. Surely, then, there ought to be no hesitation, no inactivity among the protestant dissenters of England in pressing on their fellow-countrymen the sacred

claims of their own freedom, and of the principles which give to that freedom its dignity and its value. There are twenty thousand protestant dissenting congregations in England and Wales, to say nothing now of Scotland or Ireland, who *could* join in vigorous measures for exhibiting to the country in a powerful and striking protest against what they, all alike, believe to be the faults of the old feudal system, from which they severally dissent. We are quite aware that the doing of what we recommend would provoke controversy. And who is afraid of controversy? Were not slaveholders afraid of it? Were not the monopolists of bread afraid of it? Are not the holders of ancient errors, the serfs of unexamined prejudices, afraid of it? Truth, principle, earnestness, conscience, benevolence, have no fear; and they who profess them are bound to show that they do not shun the most keen and sifting examination of those convictions.

We must say a little of the position of the Roman Catholics in these returns. In 1824 there were 346 chapels in England and Wales: in 1853 the number had increased to 616. There are now 11 colleges, and 88 religious houses—15 for men, 73 for women; and the number of priests is 875. 'The number of attendants on the Census-Sunday (making an estimated addition for 27 chapels, the returns of which were silent on this point) was: morning, 252,783; afternoon, 53,967; evening, 76,880. It will be observed that in the morning the number of attendants was more than the number of sittings. This is explained by the fact that in many Roman-catholic chapels there is more than one morning service, attended by different individuals.' It appears on this showing, that, though the increase is considerable, arising entirely, we believe, from the increased facilities for immigration from Ireland, and though the tendencies towards Romanism have been strongly marked in both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, there is nothing like the general aggrandizement of popery, about which so much alarm has frequently been expressed by Protestants, and so many boasts have been uttered by papists. In the counties of Huntingdon and Rutland no place of worship for Roman Catholics is returned; in Bedfordshire 1; in Westmoreland 2; in Cambridgeshire 3; in Hertfordshire 4; in Herefordshire 5; in Nottingham 5; the largest number, 114, is in Lancashire. The number of sittings is one in a hundred of the entire population—a smaller number than that of the Calvinist Methodists, one-fourth of the number provided for by Baptists,—one-sixth of the number provided by Independents—one-twelfth of the Wesleyan Methodists,—and less than one twenty-ninth of the Church of England. In Lancashire, where they most abound, they provide sittings for rather more than two per cent. of a population amounting to 2,067,301; while, in the same county,

the Church of England provides sittings for more than nineteen per cent., and other protestant churches provide for more than seventeen per cent. In London they return no places for St. Luke ; East London ; West London ; Shoreditch ; Bethnal Green ; St. Saviour, Southwark ; Newington ; Lambeth ; Camberwell ; Rotherhithe ; or Lewisham ;—while their largest congregations are in Kensington ; Marylebone ; St. Pancras ; City of London ; Bermondsey ; Greenwich ; and the largest of all in St. George's, Southwark.

One of the most astounding particulars in this Report relates to the ' Latter-day Saints, or Mormonites,' of whose history we have given a detailed account in a former number. They now occupy in England 222 places of worship, in which are 22,555 free sittings, and in which were 35,326 attendances on the Census-Sunday.—Of these there were 1685 in London ; 223 in the south-eastern counties ; 942 in the south-midland counties ; 635 in the eastern counties ; 1235 in the south-western counties ; 2645 in the west-midland counties ; 1961 in the north-midland counties ; 1969 in the north-western counties ; 1053 in Yorkshire ; 192 in the northern counties ; 2739 in the Welsh counties. We have none in Cornwall, Westmoreland, or the North-Riding of Yorkshire ; but they are more or less spread over nearly the entire country. Of many of the following congregations we never heard before :—Orthodox Christians, New Christians, Primitive Christians, New Testament Christians, Original Christians, United Christians, Gospel Pilgrims, Free Gospel Christians, Believers, Gospel Refugees, Free Thinking Christians, Teetotalers, Benevolent Methodists, Israelites, Christian Israelites, Temperance Wesleyans, Temperance Christians, Free-thinkers, Rational Progressionists ; and we did not expect that in 1851 there would still be four congregations of *Southcottians*.

The most oppressive question suggested by the Report is that which we have often pondered—*How are the working men who do not attend our places of worship to be reached by the Gospel ?* We cannot think of doing more than advert to it now that we have reached our limits. It deserves a separate discussion, on which we propose to enter with as little delay as possible in an early future number of this journal.

Brief Notices.

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1. *The Russians of the South.* By Shirley Brooks. pp. 147.
 2. *Indications of Instinct.* By T. Lindley Kemp, M.D. pp. 144.
 3. *Adventures in the Wilds of North America.* By Charles Lanman.
 Edited by Charles Richard Weld. Parts I. and II. pp. 300.
 London: Longman and Co.

THESE publications belong to the 'Traveller's Library,' of which they form Parts 53-56 inclusive. Each has a character of its own, and will be read with much pleasure by a large class. 'The Russians of the South' is one of the best books we have read on the Southern provinces of the Czar. Within narrow limits, and at a very small cost, it supplies a large mass of facts illustrative of the social condition, and commercial prospects, of a people of whom we have hitherto known so little. Mr. Brooks is a keen observer, an industrious collector of facts, and a very pleasing narrator of the incidents noticed. There is a pleasantry in his style which keeps attention alive, while his words bespeak a truthfulness which insures respect and confidence. In common with all other well-informed witnesses, he bears strong testimony to the universal corruption of Russian officials, and the wretched condition of the great mass of the people.

Dr. Kemp's 'Indications of Instinct' is designed 'to present to the traveller a little popular scientific reading, which, it is hoped, may be interesting.' It is slight praise to say that it answers its purpose. The instincts of plants, of animals lower than insects, of insects themselves, of fishes and reptiles, of birds and of mammals, with the reasoning powers of the higher animals and the instinctive beliefs of man, are illustrated in the course of eight chapters, in a style of intimate familiarity and of great interest. We have read the work with very considerable pleasure, and cordially recommend it as suited to enlarge the field of knowledge, and to deepen the impression of an all-pervading intelligence.

Mr. Lanman's 'Adventures' is a work of a different character from either of these. Relinquishing a mercantile career in New York, the

author started, some years since, 'for the Western States, more intent on pleasure than fortune making.' The narrative of his wanderings, was in part communicated to the American public, through the medium of their periodical press, and elicited warm commendation from some of the best writers of that country. 'I am glad,' said Washington Irving, addressing Mr. Lanman, 'that you intend to publish your narrative and descriptive writings in a collected form. They carry us into fastnesses of our mountains, the depths of our forests, the watery wilderness of our lakes and rivers; giving us pictures of savage life and savage tribes, Indian legends, fishing and hunting anecdotes, the adventures of trappers and backwoodsmen, our whole arcanum, in short, of indigenous poetry and romance.' This is high praise, and it is merited. We need not add anything to *such* commendation, and shall therefore content ourselves—in the language of the editor—with introducing 'Mr. Lanman to the English reader, feeling confident that he will be found an interesting and instructive companion.'

Memoirs of an ex-Capuchin; or, Scenes of Modern Monastic Life.
By Girolamo Volpi, a Converted Priest. London: Partridge and Oakey.

M. VOLPI has rendered an acceptable service by the publication of this small volume, which details the history of the monastic life of his friend, M. Crespi. Few of our readers are probably prepared for the disclosures which are made. Until recently popery, with us, has been a thing of the past rather than of the present; a matter of controversy more than one of fact. In our ignorance of its internal working, we have imagined that it had shared in the general progress of thought and feeling. We fear, however, that such a notion must be abandoned. It is with reluctance that we admit this conclusion, but the revelations recently afforded leave us no alternative. The present volume wears every appearance of authenticity, is free from the bitterness which has characterized some productions, and is sustained, in its general outline, by the best authorities we can consult. Our readers will do well to give it an attentive perusal, and if they are astonished at some of its disclosures, they will also be grateful to an overruling Providence for having exempted them from the delusions which are fraught with such present misery, and entail such a dearth of well-grounded Christian hope.

Twelve Years a Slave. Narrative of Solomon Northup, a citizen of New York, kidnapped in Washington City in 1841, and rescued in 1853, from a Cotton Plantation near the Red River, in Louisiana. 12mo, pp. 336. London: Sampson Low and Co.

ANOTHER harrowing tale of American slavery, which confirms too exactly the worst reports of other witnesses. In one respect the narrative differs from many recently imported. Solomon Northup was not born a slave, but, like multitudes of free coloured men, was foully

kidnapped, and for twelve years was doomed to the wretchedness and manifold wrongs of negro bondage. Such a circumstance is not of unfrequent occurrence in the States. There is reason to suppose that large numbers are thus deprived of the right which even American laws cede to this ill-fated race. It will ever be so while slavery lasts. Bad men will avail themselves of the system to advantage their pecuniary interest, and opportunities for doing so will frequently occur. It is in vain for the slaveholder to denounce the negro stealer. The receiver of stolen goods is, in many cases, more criminal than the thief. If the vocation of the latter is to be stopped, we must close the houses of the former. The indignant terms in which southern advocates sometimes denounce the kidnapper are nothing more than words. It is a poor, hypocritical philanthropy, of which they boast. The thing is seen through and despised by all true-hearted men. The volume before us goes far to prove this, and it should be read and pondered over by all who are desirous of tracing the actual working of the slave system. 'My object,' says Solomon Northup, 'is to give a candid and truthful statement of facts: to repeat the story of my life without exaggeration, leaving it for others to determine whether even the pages of fiction present a picture of more cruel wrong or a severer bondage.' The 'Narrative' bears abundant marks of authenticity, and will serve to deepen, if that be possible, our abhorrence of the system which constitutes the opprobrium and the curse of the American republic.

A Spring in the Canterbury Settlement. By C. Warren Adams, Esq. With Engravings. 12mo. London: Longman and Co.

MR. ADAMS has turned a fit of sickness to a good purpose. His medical adviser having recommended 'a long sea voyage, and a bracing climate,' he went to New Zealand and back, and, to judge from the vigour with which he tells his story, the prescription answered well. He visited only the *Canterbury Settlement*; and it is to be regretted that his statements confirm some reports of its managers having been imprudent in placing the price of £3 per acre on the lands. The consideration for this enormous sum was to be the performance of public works, *which are still to be done by the Association*, and which colonists would always do best themselves.

Mr. Adams speaks favourably of the country; and the settlers go on well with the natives, whose evident capability of civilization is here putting our humane policy to a severe test. It is satisfactory to add that, although the difficulties of their new life alarmed the large party of emigrants whom Mr. Adams accompanied to New Zealand, yet their perseverance was rewarded; and 'when he left the colony, they were all comfortably settled, and doing well.' It is understood that the eminent men, Lord Lyttelton and his colleagues, who, in a warm spirit of colonial enterprize, founded the *Canterbury Settlement*, have determined to meet the pecuniary difficulties which arise out of mere miscalculation, in a way to do themselves great credit, and, as there is reason to expect, without ultimate loss to the actual settlers.

1. *Poetical Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. Minor Contemporaneous poets, and Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst.* Edited by Robert Bell.
2. *Poetical Works of John Dryden.* Edited by Robert Bell. Vol. II. London: John W. Parker and Son.

THESE volumes constitute the second and third of the 'Annotated Edition of the English Poets,' of which the first volume was noticed in our Journal for February last. The former of them is introduced by a brief sketch of the 'Life of Surrey,' including a general critique on his genius, which forms a welcome addition to the labors of previous editors. Few names amongst our early poets are so familiar as that of Surrey, yet little is known of his writings, nor is it perhaps too much to say that they never can be popular. 'The affecting incidents supposed to lie at the springs of his poetry, his brilliant reputation as a representative of English chivalry in the age of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and the tragical close of his career in the prime of his life and powers, have invested his memory with a romantic interest.' Recent investigation has dissipated much of this romance; yet the name of Surrey is still cherished with fond admiration, and, in the popular faith, is regarded as a synonym for all the gallantry and accomplishment of his age. To his genius 'English poetry owes large obligations. . . . He founded a new era in versification, purified and strengthened our poetical diction, and, shunning the vices of his predecessors, set the example of a style in which, for the first time, verbal pedantry and fantastical devices were wholly ignored.' In his own age his productions were extensively popular, but his fame was speedily eclipsed by the resplendent genius of Shakespere and the other illustrious men who adorned the age of Elizabeth and James I. To all who are interested in the history of our literature and in the growth of our language, this volume will prove an acceptable present. It is edited with care, and its value is enhanced by the addition of the productions of several 'Minor Poets,' who were contemporaneous with the illustrious but ill-fated Surrey.

The other volume, forming the second of 'Dryden's Works,' contains amongst several other pieces, the 'Medal,' a political satire, in which the Earl of Shaftesbury is 'literally slaughtered piecemeal;' the 'Religio Laici,' wherein the supremacy of Scripture, as the sole rule of faith, is vindicated with rare felicity and force; and the 'Hind and the Panther,' in which, about four years afterwards, Dryden announced his conversion to popery, and under the machinery of a fable, sought to inflict a death blow on his former faith, and to establish the exclusive authority of the Church of Rome. The two latter productions present, so far as versification permits, and as the character of the writer allowed, the strength of the hostile creeds, and Mr. Bell has done good service by placing extracts from each in juxta-position. We thank him for the labor of selection, and need do no more than announce the publication of the volume.

The Land of the Forum and the Vatican; or, Thoughts and Sketches during an Easter Pilgrimage to Rome. By Newman Hall, B.A. pp. xv.—463. London: Nisbet. 1854.

To the reasons given by Mr. Hall in his preface for adding another to the many modern books of Italian travel, he might have truly added that every writer has his own class of readers, to whom the record of his experiences and impressions is sure to be interesting on personal grounds. His descriptions are always lively, his expressions of devout feeling appropriate, and his notices of works of art creditable alike to his intelligence and his good taste. The historical information will be acceptable, we doubt not, to the greater portion of his readers. The permanent worth of the volume is enhanced by his citations from former travellers, as well as from poets. But the disproportionate space occupied by minor details of no moment, and the long dissertations on theological topics, have made us regret that he should have been in such haste to print. We do not see the necessity for this. He would have done better had he allowed himself time for revision and curtailment. However important an event it may be in a man's life to visit Rome, even that does not preclude the propriety of taking due pains in the composition of a book intended for the public.

Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay, author of Erelina, Cecilia, &c. Edited by her Niece. A New Edition. Vol. I. London: Hurst and Blackett.

THE first volume of a cheap edition of a work which has strong claims on the confidence and admiration of our countrymen. Madame D'Arblay's 'Diary' throws much light on the court of George III., and thus serves to gratify the curious, at the same time that it explains some important public events. The author was highly esteemed by the most distinguished men of her day; and her productions, though now seldom read, occupy a marked and eminent place in the literary history of England. We are glad to see this reprint, and hope to hear of its extensive circulation. It is to consist of seven volumes, price three shillings each, and will furnish to the reader an ample supply of very interesting and not uninteresting matter.

Hours of Christian Devotion. Translated from the German of Dr. A. Tholuck. With a Preface, by the Rev. H. Bonar. pp. 256. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1853.

It has been often a matter of wonder to us, that the entire works of the illustrious German theologian and preacher, Dr. Tholuck, have not been rendered into our language; so that we hail this translation of one of his treatises with peculiar pleasure. There are but few really good devotional works. Of those already existing, many are either puerile or mawkish in their style, and, to a great extent, tend to encourage the dangerous sentiment, that the happiness of a religious

man is enjoyed separately from the endeavour to fulfil present duties. This admirable work of Dr. Tholuck presents healthy sentiments and correct explications of prominent scriptural truth. The present translation is well executed, evincing, not merely extensive, but exact acquaintance with the German language; and the rendering of many idioms, difficult to the student, is exceedingly chaste and happy. We have been peculiarly struck at the graceful manner in which the German poetry in the work has been rendered into English verse. To translate prose is comparatively easy; but to render poetry well into a language foreign from that in which it was originally written, preserving also the identity of metre, is that which an accomplished scholar only can achieve. In the present translation, however, the endeavour to do so has been successful. We venture to predict that this very neat and happily-executed little volume will become a favourite with devout and intelligent persons of all classes.

Review of the Month.

THE REFORM BILL IS POSTPONED FROM THE 30TH OF MARCH TO THE 27TH OF APRIL.—This is much what we expected, and we shall not be surprised if, when the latter day arrives, it is again deferred. The announcement was made by Lord John Russell on the 3rd; and his manner on the occasion—more particularly the tone of his reply to Sir J. Shelley—convinces us that it was an unpalatable task which he had to perform. His lordship is ordinarily cool and unimpassioned; it is rarely that his oratory exhibits much feeling, and hence it seldom stirs deeply the hearts of his hearers. On this occasion, however, he was greatly excited, and suffered himself to be provoked by the ungenerous taunts of the hon. member for Westminster. Each party, both Lord John and Sir John Shelley, ought to have borne in mind the circumstances of the other. Lord John should have realized the questionable position in which postponement placed him, and allowed, therefore, for the sensitive jealousy of his impugner; while Sir John Shelley ought surely to have remembered the difficulties of his lordship's position, and have abstained from the insinuations in which he so freely indulged. We deeply regret the fact of postponement, yet we sympathize with Mr. Hume's indignant protest against the course of Sir John Shelley. The position of the ministerial leader was embarrassed by the fact that he had so recently pleaded against postponement on account of the impending war. In doing so, however, he had probably calculated on large popular support; and as this was not forthcoming, as the public mind was evidently engrossed by the military preparations which are pro-

ceeding, he might honestly conclude that it was in vain to attempt to carry through his measure. Whatever may be thought of particular features of the ministerial bill, it is, as a whole, far too radical to be acceptable to the Upper House, or even to a large section of those who range under the denomination of 'liberals' in the lower one. Such a measure has no chance of success, unless public attention be riveted on it, and the force of popular support be unequivocally arrayed on its behalf. Now this is not the case. Whatever may be its cause, the fact itself is undoubted. Men are thinking on armies and fleets, are anticipating victory, and exulting over the expected humiliation of the Czar. Moreover, their material condition is too good to warrant the expectation of their bestirring themselves as in 1832; and some of those from whom better things were to be anticipated, have done their utmost to prevent popular enthusiasm, and to damage the credit of the government. We see, therefore, no probability of the measure being carried at the present moment, and are consequently disposed more contentedly to rest in its postponement. For the credit of the ministry, it would have been better had they contented themselves at first with sketching an outline of their measure. Had Lord John clearly stated the views of the Cabinet, and pledged it to their practical enforcement at the first eligible moment, instead of bringing in a substantive measure, he would have escaped the mortification of postponement, and have equally committed the statesmanship of the country to the principles of his bill. It is true that he could not foresee the want of popular support, and so far we admit a justifying plea. After all, the question of time is a very secondary one. A cabinet composed of the most moderate sections of Reformers—many of them known only as its opponents—are now committed to an extensive disfranchisement of small boroughs, to a large increase of the constituency, and to the admission to the franchise of several classes hitherto excluded. These are gains which infinitely outweigh the evil of postponement. Reform is no longer a doubtful matter. It will signify little, so far as this question is concerned, which party is in power. We shall soon have Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli bidding against their political opponents, and, at an earlier period than many imagine, may probably have a better measure than that which is now before us. Let the English people trust themselves, and they will yet triumph. Their own good sense and steady determination will accomplish their righteous purpose. Much may be gained by a further ventilation of the subject, and we counsel all who are interested in parliamentary reform to give attention to its details as well as its principles, that they may be prepared with energy, promptitude, and wisdom, to take advantage of the opportune occasions which will arise.

MR. J. CHAMBERS' MOTION RESPECTING CONVENTUAL AND MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS occupied the House of Commons on the 1st. Its direct object was the appointment of a committee to inquire whether any, and if any, what further legislation was called for by the present condition of these establishments. He showed that between the years 1843 and 1853, the number of catholic convents in England and Ireland had

increased from 56 in the former year to 220 in the latter,—17 out of the 220 being anglo-catholic establishments, which had risen into existence during that decade. This shows a multiplication of nearly four hundred per cent., or forty per cent. per annum. Mr. Chambers then adduced facts to show that females were immured in these houses, not only against the will of their parents, but against their own, and contended that these must be places of restraint and infliction which, in all ascetic systems of religion, were a recognised part of their discipline. He demanded the interposition of parliament to forbid, not spiritual, but physical tyranny; declaring that in these institutions there was not only a power to imprison and torture, but also, by means of affiliated societies abroad, to transport. The motion was opposed, though on different grounds, by Roman-catholic and protestant members. The former denied Mr. Chambers' facts, and denounced the proposal as an insult to their religion. Among the protestant opponents, we find Lord John Russell and the honorable member for Rochdale. His lordship declared that if he could believe that any cruelty was practised in convents, he should discard all feelings of delicacy; but he did not believe that Roman-catholic gentlemen would allow their daughters to be ill-used. At the same time, he most characteristically impressed upon the House the great constitutional principle, that they should not give way to the feeling out of doors. Mr. Miall opposed the motion on two grounds of a somewhat extraordinary kind. The first was, that no facts had been adduced to constitute a *prima facie* case for inquiry. But we imagine that the *prima facie* ground is sufficiently established by the very circumstances of the case, coupled with the known tendencies of human nature generally, and of the *genus* priest in particular. So long as there is a passion in the human heart which is gratified by the exercise of spiritual power, and so long as that passion can be gratified on the enthusiastic or the helpless, conventual institutions must present fair objects for magisterial surveillance; while the difficulty of obtaining conclusive evidence as to facts furnishes of itself the strongest motive for inquiry. Establishments so barred and shrouded as to preclude every ray of evidence touching the condition, the treatment, the practices, and the sufferings of their inmates, are inconsistent with public security and morality. Mr. Miall's second argument is, that while entering upon a formidable war, we should abstain from all that can occasion animosity between different classes of our countrymen. But surely our zeal for the overthrow of oppression abroad must be rather spurious if it supplies us with an argument for the toleration of oppression at home. If there be, as we have no doubt there are, a number of our countrywomen pining in an enforced conventual imprisonment, we fear that Mr. Miall's logic will appear to them about equally conclusive and consolatory. Should the faintest rumour of what is passing in the world reach them in their places of sepulture, we doubt if they will see any very close and satisfactory connexion between the perpetuation of their sufferings and the interference of the Czar with the sovereign rights of the Sultan.

The House of Commons appears to have felt the same difficulty, and

sympathizing more with the wrongs of young women than with the tactics of a ministry, left Lord John Russell in a minority of 67, and granted the committee of inquiry.

The motion of Mr. Whiteside should be here noticed. It was to the effect, that in the case of the disposal of property by persons under monastic vows, the burden of proof should lie upon the ecclesiastical superiors, to show that the disposition of the property was not made under any undue influence, whether spiritual, or otherwise; and that, in the absence of such proof, the disposition shall be null and void. It further proposes, that all persons regarded and treated as nuns should be so considered, and should thus come under the provisions of the bill, unless the contrary can be shown to the satisfaction of a competent tribunal.

Leave was given to bring in the bill, with the understanding that it should first be submitted to Mr. Chambers' committee.

THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER was brought before the House of Commons on the 6th. Under the imminence of the war the nation had been prepared for increased taxation, notwithstanding the commercial prosperity, which, through the sounder economy of recent years, had enriched the national treasury. The actual receipts of the exchequer, as compared with Mr. Gladstone's estimate last year, may be generally and briefly stated. Under the heads of excise, stamps, income-tax, post-office, crown lands, miscellaneous, and old stores, there is an increase; and that under some items, especially the stamps, the post-office, and the miscellaneous, to a considerable amount. Under the heads of customs and general taxes, we find a deficiency. The entire excess of the actual receipts over the estimates amounts to £1,035,000. On the other hand, the expenditure for which the house provided last session, was estimated at £52,183,000; but the actual expenditure, though swelled by charges for military operations, was but £51,171,000. So that while the income of the country was £1,035,000 more than the estimates, the expenditure was £1,012,000 less. After analyzing the details which constitute these results, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proceeded to lay before the House his estimates for the ensuing year. He reckoned the extra expense of our military expedition to the East at the rate of £50 per head for 25,000 men, or £1,250,000. After making other deductions, the result appeared an estimated deficiency of £2,840,000 per year. To meet this, Mr. Gladstone begged in the first place that no diminution should be conceded in the sources of revenue, and firmly laid down the principle that no new loan should be entered into, but that the entire expenses of the approaching war should be borne by the present generation. He proposed to increase the income-tax by one-half, levying the whole addition in respect of the first moiety of the year; in other words, to double the tax for the half year, raising its produce from £6,275,000 to £9,582,000. His next proposal was to abolish the distinction between the stamp charges on home and foreign drawn bills. He further expressed his intention to lay on the table a resolution for a vote of £1,750,000 for an issue of

exchequer bills. These proposals, after a very discursive debate, were ultimately agreed to. The press concurs with the legislature in approving this Budget. The Budget thus introduced, simply brings into question the important alternative of direct or indirect taxation. Equity appears to us obviously to sanction the decision of the legislature in favour of the former. Nothing, surely, can be more just than that every subject of this realm should pay for the protection of his property, as in ordinary cases of insurance, proportionally to the amount to be protected. The wisdom of an increased expenditure for a war with Russia, it is unnecessary here to discuss; but if increased national funds are to be raised for that or any other purpose, we deem it only fair that they should be contributed by each subject *pro rata*, rather than that a tax should be laid upon articles which some consume and some do not; thus merging all fiscal principles and practice in the vortex of a universal lottery.

WE ARE SORRY TO REPORT THAT MR. FAGAN'S MOTION for the abolition of the Irish tax called 'Ministers' Money' has been again defeated. It was submitted on the 9th, and Mr. Fagan proposed as a substitute that the protestant clergy should be paid out of the revenue of the commissioners appointed under the Church Temporalities Act. The history and nature of the rate are but little understood in this country. It was imposed by the 17th and 18th Charles II., c. 7, and consists of a rate of one snilling in the pound on the nominal rental of houses in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Clonmel, and Kinsale. No house can be assessed at a higher rental than £60, nor is any reduction allowed on account of the deterioration of property, which in many cases has been very great. The wealthy are thus favoured at the expense of the poor, the great majority of whom are Roman Catholics. Moreover, the tax is limited to those towns which are deemed Catholic. 'The protestant dissenters of the north of Ireland,' says the parliamentary committee of 1848, 'a powerful and influential body, are wholly exempt from an ecclesiastical charge, which the Roman Catholics of Ireland have always considered to be a grievance.' The protestant clergy are almost as unanimous as the catholic laity in reprobating the impost. Whatever difference may exist as to the substitute to be provided, all are agreed in condemning the tax as a fruitful source of irritation. Some would change its form, but the great majority of the people demand its entire extinction. Mr. Fagan's motion was seconded by Mr. Hume, and was met by an amendment, proposed avowedly as a *compromise* by Sir J. Young, Secretary for Ireland, and seconded by Lord Palmerston. We deeply regret the position which the government has thus taken. It is both unjust and impolitic, and affords no good augury of the course to be pursued respecting English Church rates. The vestry cess was abolished some years since, and all parties agree that its abolition was needful and wise. If so, the kindred charge termed 'Minister's Money' ought to share the same fate, and its maintenance betokens rather the strength of party than an enlightened estimate of what is just. In principle, the two imposts stand or fall together. A

condemnation of the one cannot be made to harmonize with a defence of the other. Both should be maintained or be relinquished, and the refusal of such a concession will only serve to accelerate the overthrow of the entire ecclesiastical system of Ireland. The Protestant Church of that country is a standing disgrace to our legislation. In proportion to its numbers it is the most richly-endowed church in Christendom, and the 'Minister's Money'—realizing only £15,000—is one of its most obvious iniquities. The plea of deficient funds raised on behalf of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners is utterly delusive, and goes far to show the reluctance with which the clergy will consent to part with the least of their immunities, however glaring the wrong to be corrected. On a division, Mr. Fagan's motion was negatived by 103 to 88.

Sir John Young's amendment that all houses rated at and under £10 should be exempted; that no houses built in future should be liable to the tax; and that means should be taken to ascertain what houses and tenements have hitherto been rateable, and the amounts they have respectively paid, 'with the view of providing that they should continue liable to the payment of that amount, and no more,' was affirmed on the 10th by 136 to 93. We are glad to observe that three English members, Messrs. Miall, Bright, and Hadfield, strongly protested against this amendment, which is clearly open to the same objection as had been urged against Mr. Fagan's motion on the ground of the inviolability of Church property. If there is no sacrilege in depriving the clergy of the contributions derived from houses of a £10 rental, there is clearly none in exempting those of a higher value. So far as *principle* is concerned, the amendment is open to the same objection as the original motion, while it utterly fails to meet the claims of justice or to satisfy the demands of the Irish people. 'He did not speak,' said Mr. Bright, 'as a dissenter personally opposed to the Established Church; but if he were anxious that the Established Church of Ireland, as a religious and protestant, and not as a political institution, should increase its influence in that country, he should be extremely desirous that it should be settled, not upon the basis of an unsatisfactory compromise, but in such a manner that no Roman Catholic hereafter could object to it, and say he had not had full justice done to him.' The minority on both these occasions consisted of the foremost section of the supporters of government; whilst the majority was composed of 120 Tories, with nearly *thirty* holders of office, and *forty-four* 'liberals,' having, for the most part, personal connexion with members of the Cabinet.

According to notice, Mr. Miall divided the House on the second reading of the bill on the 20th; but his amendment, that it be read 'upon this day six months,' was lost by a majority of 106,—the numbers being 203 for Sir John Young's bill, and 97 against it. The constituencies of Southwark, Marylebone, Bristol, Coventry, and Northampton—to say nothing of other towns—should immediately communicate with their members, Messrs. Molesworth, Hall, Langton, Ellice, and Currie, on the votes they have given on this occasion. It is

of special importance that English liberals do full justice to the righteous claims of the people of Ireland.

ON THE 14TH MR. PELLATT MOVED FOR LEAVE TO INTRODUCE A BILL to enable persons who had conscientious objections to oaths to substitute a solemn declaration in their stead. Mr. Hadfield seconded the motion, and Lord Palmerston acquiesced in the introduction of the measure, 'reserving to the Government full discretion as to the course they might take with regard to its second reading.' He admitted that a great number of oaths might advantageously be dispensed with, but maintained 'that the more enlightened a man was, the more sensible he must be of the obligation imposed upon him, by a solemn invocation of the Deity, to tell the truth; and with regard to ignorant men, it was perfectly notorious that a man who wished to give false testimony, for the purpose of screening a culprit or enforcing a claim which he knew to be wrongful, would have the greatest possible inducement and facility for giving false evidence if he was allowed to exempt himself from the solemn obligation of an oath by a mere declaration that he entertained a conscientious scruple to an oath.' The Attorney-General explained the intentions of Government in the Bill introduced into the Upper House, founded on the report of the common-law commissioners, and contended that that Bill would afford to the really conscientious all the relief proposed by the honorable member for Southwark. 'The object to be accomplished,' he remarked, 'was to give relief to those persons who really entertained religious scruples against oaths, while they took care to prevent persons who did not entertain such scruples—but who did entertain apprehensions of the results hereafter if they called upon the name of God with falsehood upon their lips—from pretending that they did feel conscientious scruples on the subject of oaths.' On the whole, we think it would have been wise in Mr. Pellatt to defer his motion until the fate of the Government Bill was known. He, however, persisted, and his motion was carried by a majority of one, the numbers being 109 for, and 108 against it. We hope the measure will now be engrafted on that of the government. The feeling of the House in favor of alteration is gratifying, and we are satisfied that the interests of public morals will be advantaged by the change. Our present system is offensively impious, and justly obnoxious to conscientious scruples.

THE LAWS OF MORTMAIN, AND THE LAWS REGULATING THE GIFTS TO CHARITABLE AND RELIGIOUS PURPOSES, were brought by Mr. Headlam under the consideration of the House of Commons on the 16th of March. His purpose was to repeal the existing law, and to enact provisions more suitable to the circumstances of the times, and more effectual for the prevention of the particular abuses against which the law was directed, while they would be less obstructive and inconvenient, being enabling as well as restraining. Mr. Headlam showed that laws as early as the reign of Edward the First had been enacted to prevent the evasion of the statute, and that the arbitrary power of Henry the Eighth had quashed them by a decisive act. He proposed to remedy the hardship

of the present state of the law, that whenever a charitable bequest was given, there must be a suit in Chancery to administer the estate, and that the expences of that suit were paid out of the residue of the testator's estate, whose family, therefore, had not only to pay the charitable legacy, but also the expences of the suit. The great purpose is to secure that the devise of property, whether personal or real, should not be made in a state of comparative mental incapacity, and under spiritual *duresse*, on the death-bed. Mr. Headlam proposes that personal estate, of whatever nature, should be subjected to one law with respect to bequests, namely, that the will giving such estate must be executed three months before the death of the testator. With respect to real estate, he urged that the provisions of the existing law should be maintained intact. He proposes, however, that specific objects, books, pictures, statues, and objects of that kind, might be given without restriction to public institutions, such as the National Gallery, British Museum, and establishments of that description. His avowed object was not so much to alter the law of mortmain radically as to modify it with regard to personalty, and to supersede the oppressive litigation to which it now gives rise. Leave was given to bring in the bill, and the Attorney-General, on the part of government, declared that the time was come for a general reconsideration of the laws of mortmain. There is no danger of any relaxation of those provisions by which greedy ecclesiastics are prevented from alienating property from its natural heirs. But, if consistently with this restriction, facilities can be offered for the performance on the part of the rich of what may be called their posthumous duties, an end of no small importance will have been gained.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE LIBERATION OF RELIGION FROM STATE PATRONAGE AND CONTROL is prosecuting its work in real earnest. At the *Triennial Conference* of November last, it was resolved to appoint a parliamentary committee to watch the course of ecclesiastical legislation, and the Society has been fortunate enough to obtain the services of C. J. Foster, Esq., LL.D., as chairman of such committee. A more eligible appointment could not have been made. Dr. Foster is pre-eminently qualified for the post, and will do all which intelligence, earnestness, legal skill, and untiring activity, can effect. In order that the labors of this committee should be productive of their anticipated fruits, it is needful that the funds of the Society be greatly recruited. For this purpose a private meeting of its friends was held at Radley's Hotel, in the beginning of February, and a more numerous and public *soirée* took place on the 8th, at the Whittington Club, Strand, when several members of parliament, and other gentlemen interested in the subject, were present. A petition to the House of Commons, praying for the admission of all classes to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge was unanimously adopted, together with the following two resolutions:—

That this meeting, believing it to be the duty of the friends of Voluntaryism to avail themselves of multiplied facilities for commending their principles to the attention of the public and of parliament, regards with great satisfaction the arrangements made by the Executive

Committee for increasing the practical efficiency of the 'Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control.'

'That as the extent and the success of the Society's operations must be greatly dependent on the degree of pecuniary support which it receives, this meeting is prepared to unite in carrying out the proposals of the late Conference, to raise an annual income of £5000 for the next three years.'

A considerable amount of *subscriptions* for three years was immediately pledged, which we are happy to report has since been greatly increased. One of the most pleasing features of the movement is the appearance of several large subscriptions, ranging from £50 downwards. It is also gratifying to find that the Society is securing the co-operation of numerous parties who stood aloof from its earlier movements, and we trust that the number of such adhesions will go on and increase, until all sections of British Nonconformity are united in the zealous support of an association to whose principles they are universally pledged. Attention is now to be directed to the provinces, where we trust there will be displayed the same generous spirit as London has shown. We have known too much of the difficulties with which the earlier friends of the Society had to struggle from straitened resources, not to rejoice very heartily at the more prosperous financial career which is now opening upon it.

THE MINISTERIAL MEASURE ON THE UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGES OF OXFORD was introduced by Lord John Russell on the 17th. It comprises, as was to be expected, a vast number of provisions which cannot be clearly understood without an attentive perusal of his lordship's speech. To this we counsel our readers. The plan has many good features. It will undoubtedly correct manifold evils, and will open up to this ancient school the prospect of enlarged and progressive improvement. The governing body of the university is to be entirely remodelled; the encroachments of colleges are to be restrained; greater freedom of action is to be insured; progressive improvement to be provided for; and the general course of study to be adapted to the requirements of the age. Amongst other regulations pertaining to the colleges, it is provided that, 'All oaths directed against the disclosure of college matters, or the acceptance of college changes, are to be abolished. All preferential claims to college preferment arising from other circumstances than those of personal qualifications are, with certain exceptions, to be extinguished. Subject to these exceptions, all fellowships and scholarships are to be open to the whole university, and filled up by public examination. Fellowships are not to be made necessarily terminable, but they are to be held as vacated within one year from the time of election unless the holder shall be resident for not less than twenty-four weeks in each year, and shall be occupied during such period either in tuition, or in the discharge of university or parochial duties, or in private study.' In extension of the university system, it is proposed that members of convocation of a certain standing may be licensed to open their own houses, if within a mile and a half of the university, as private halls for the reception of students; and commissioners are to be appointed, who will be empowered, on the

colleges failing to do so, prior to the first day of Michaelmas term, 1855, to make ordinances for the foundation of professorships, the opening of fellowships, and other desirable objects. So far all is well. Without entering into a minute examination of the details of the measure, we cannot hesitate to express a warm approval of its general character. The bill, if carried through parliament, will effect a vast improvement. Some of its provisions may be open to exception, but, as a whole, the friends of university reform must regard it with favor.

On one point the measure entirely fails to meet the reasonable expectations of the country. 'There remains,' said Lord John, and his words will best explain our meaning, 'one question upon which there is no provision in the bill; but upon which I shall be ready at any time to give my opinion, and my vote in conformity with the opinion which I have always given. I cannot think that the purposes of the university are advanced while there is a test at the commencement of entrance into it. I never would consent to any measure by which the discipline of the colleges, or the conduct of the religious instruction in the colleges, or the attendance upon divine worship was in any way interfered with; but I do expect, certainly, that by the addition of these new halls facilities will be afforded which may induce parliament not to interpose the obstacles which have hitherto been interposed to the enjoyment of the benefits of those great schools of learning by a far greater portion of her Majesty's subjects than now enjoy them. I do not think that it would be wise, and her Majesty's government have decided accordingly, to insert any provision upon this subject in the present bill. It is a subject which divides both this and the other House of Parliament, and it should be, I think, a subject reserved for a separate measure, and for separate consideration. I certainly shall be always prepared at any time to give my vote in the same manner that I gave it twenty years ago. That vote I gave in company with the present Chancellor of the University of Oxford. I am afraid that I shall no longer give it with the sanction and countenance of such authority; but I shall be quite ready, nevertheless, to give my vote in favour of the admission of dissenters. As I have already said, however, that forms no part of the present bill.' The feelings of his lordship in making this acknowledgment must surely have been anything but pleasing. His own views are sufficiently evident. They have been recorded in the votes he has given; but as the organ of the ministry he is compelled to forego the most favorable opportunity his political life has ever known of carrying those views into effect. At the very time that Oxford is to be reformed, with a view of bringing it into closer harmony with the wants and sympathies of the nation, the one alteration which of all others is most suited to this end is thrown aside, and vague hopes are expressed of a silent revolution to be effected by private halls not yet existing, and which, for aught we know, may never be called into being. Such language proceeding from such a man is both painful and mortifying. What makes the case more glaring is, that a memorial was presented to his lordship on the 3rd, signed by one

hundred and two members of the Commons House, respectfully yet earnestly entreating that in any bill respecting the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge which the government might bring forward, provision should be made 'for the free admission of any of her Majesty's subjects, duly qualified by intellectual attainments, to matriculation and graduation at both these ancient universities without the imposition of any religious test.' Lord John and his colleagues were therefore fully apprised of the views of a large section of their supporters; and yet those views are coolly set aside under the flimsy pretext, and with the delusive intimation, mentioned by his lordship. It remains to be seen what course the memorialists will take. Opportunities will occur of testing the feeling of the House, and we hope they will be vigorously improved. Mr. Heywood has given notice of his intention to move the insertion of a clause for the admission of dissenters. Report says that the Cabinet will oppose him. Should they do so, we would have our friends propose a reference of the bill to a select committee. In its present form it will substitute King Stork for King Log. We do not want this, and if faithful to ourselves we need not have it. If nothing else will suffice, the ministry must feel the power of the men whose views they so disregard. Fear of the Upper House must be counterbalanced by fear of the Commons. Their desire to conciliate the bishops must be neutralized by their aim to retain the support of those who are amongst their staunchest and most intelligent supporters. Let no dissenting member be deluded by the expectation of a separate measure for our special benefit. Nothing of the sort will be attempted. Now is the time for action, and the measure before the House is precisely the one by which the admission asked ought to be effected. What cannot be obtained from the justice of ministers must be extorted from their fears. The second reading of the bill is fixed for Monday, the 3rd of April, when we hope that an instructive lesson will be read to Lord John and his associates.

THE REV. THOMAS STRATTEN, the honoured minister of Fish Street Chapel, Hull, departed this life just before the publication of our last number, and we desire to place on record a brief expression of our regard for his memory. Mr. Stratten was, in his youth, a member of Mr. Jay's Church in Bath, and retained through life a strong tincture of resemblance to his early pastor, in the tone and manner of his preaching. After studying at Hoxton College, he began his ministry at Chertsey, whence he soon removed to a large and handsome new chapel at Bishopwearmouth, Sunderland. There he laboured with much success and solidly advancing influence for twelve years; and, in fellowship with the late Dr. Matheson, and one or two other ministers who still survive, established the Durham and Northumberland Association of Congregational Churches, in connexion with which he actively devoted himself to the spread of the Gospel, and of non-conformist principles and usages in those northern counties. In the earlier part of his ministry, Mr. Stratten was but slightly disposed to dwell much on the peculiarities of dissenting churches; yet, having once entered a personal protest against church rates in his own parish,

he exhibited a stronger grasp of the fundamental truths of evangelical dissent, and laid himself out for their exposition and defence. In connexion with the formation of a congregational church at Morpeth, in Northumberland, he delivered to a crowded audience in the Town Hall of the borough a very extraordinary discourse, which he afterwards expanded in an able and interesting volume—‘The Book of the Priesthood.’ This was followed up by a smaller work, displaying much scriptural investigation, on ‘English and Jewish Tithes Compared.’

In 1832 or 1833, Mr Stratten—who had previously declined a proposal to become the minister of the Tabernacle in Moorfields—removed from Sunderland to Hull, where he ministered to a large and influential congregation, notwithstanding the secession of some prominent members of the church to form the new congregation at Albion Chapel. The only publication of any magnitude he sent forth after his removal to Hull, is an ingenious, judicious, and attractive volume on the ‘Apostolic Succession,’ and some kindred topics, bearing on the controversies with the Roman Catholics and the Tractarians. With much firmness of principle, decision of character, and independence of judgment, Mr. Stratten united a kind spirit, a tender piety, a deep concern for the spirituality of the churches, and the earnestness of the ministry, while he entered heartily into the genius and operations of the Evangelical Alliance. His cheerful companionship, his pastoral fidelity and diligence, and the general dignity and suavity of his demeanor, endeared him to a large circle of strictly attached friends, of whom it was the happiness of one of the editors of the ‘Eclectic’ to be among the oldest. The tidings of his death came upon us most unexpectedly: for he was a strong man, with all the elements of a probably long life. He was sixty years of age, and had but a brief passage through the final scene. Calm, and even joyful, he ‘crossed the flood,’ and has left a name of gentle and holy power in many hearts.

THE COURSE OF EVENTS, IN RELATION TO TURKEY, HAS BEEN MUCH WHAT WE EXPECTED. Russia declines to withdraw from the Principalities, and the preparations for war in France and our own country have proceeded with unexampled rapidity. Whatever opinions may be held respecting the indecision and dilatoriness of our ministry in the course of last year, all must admit the activity, determination, and promptitude of their recent proceedings. Large forces have been despatched to the east, and Sir Charles Napier has proceeded towards the Baltic, with the first portion of a squadron which, for magnitude and effective force, has never been equalled. The *Moniteur*, the *Hercule*, the *Duguesclin*, and the *Trident*, have also been despatched by the French Government, and several other ships are speedily to follow. This is as it should be. We deeply deplore the occurrence of war, but if it must be—and the necessity is all but universally admitted—then the more decisive its operations the better. The great disturber of Europe must be taught a salutary lesson, and we trust that the force employed will be sufficient for this purpose. His intense ambition must be checked in the only way of which it admits, and an effectual barrier be raised against the recurrence of evils such as are now threatened. The passion for territorial aggrandizement evinced

by the Czar is in itself sufficient to awaken the indignant protest of all free nations, but his offence is aggravated by the impious attempt to cover his ambition by the cloak of religious zeal. In his *manifesto* of the 9th of February, England and France are said to 'have sided with the enemies of Christianity against Russia fighting for the orthodox faith;' and, as if this were not enough, the language of religious zeal is prostituted to veil his perfidy and ambition. 'May the Almighty,' says the Czar, 'assist us to prove this by deeds. With this hope, combatting for our persecuted brethren, followers of the faith of Christ, with one accord let all Russia exclaim "O Lord, our Redeemer! whom shall we fear? May God be glorified, and His enemies be scattered."' A more mendacious *manifesto* was never issued. It was known to be so at the time, but crushing evidence has since been produced in the *Correspondence* between the courts of St. Petersburg and London recently given to parliament. A formal requisition has been addressed to the Czar by the western powers, requiring his immediate evacuation of the Principalities. To this requisition of the western powers, the autocrat refuses to render a reply. A royal message, announcing the termination of negotiations, has consequently been addressed to both Houses, which is to be taken into consideration on Friday the 31st. A declaration of war will follow as matter of course.

In the meantime, intelligent men are asking what can induce the Czar to persist in a course so manifestly ruinous to himself? A few days probably will enable us to answer this inquiry. We have not so mean an opinion of his political sagacity as to believe that he is influenced only by passion. We cannot but suspect a secret understanding with Austria and Prussia. For the honor and the safety of these states we hope it may turn out otherwise; but as at present advised, we mistrust their intentions, and are prepared for their ultimate adhesion to Russia. As intimated last month, we are no believers in the reported failure of Count Orloff's mission, and what has since occurred only serves to strengthen our doubts. To the position of Austria we have referred in another place, and shall not therefore say more at present. The German powers may not take an active part in the war—they are too selfish and too much crippled, it may be, to allow of this; but we suspect their neutrality, and have no faith in the honesty of their professions.

It becomes all devout men, in prospect of the fearful crisis which has arisen, to invoke the interposing providence of God, that permanent good may be deduced from temporary evil. The nations of Europe are groaning beneath a despotism which knows no mercy and observes no faith.. May the time of their redemption be drawing nigh. May the cry of the oppressed enter into the ear of the God of heaven, that the tenants of dungeons, the exiles now wandering from their father-lands, may return to their homes, ennobled by sufferings, and better prepared than ever for the reception and maintenance of constitutional freedom.

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THE
Eclectic Review.

M A Y, 1854.

ART. I.—*On the Plurality of Worlds.* An Essay. London :
John W. Parker and Son.

THIS is a remarkable production—in many points the most suggestive book we have read for a long period. It is a singular combination of the results of intuition and of logic, of physical deduction, and of poetic thought. We have found in it few leading ideas which we had not previously entertained and expressed ; but those thoughts which came to us as intuitions are here based on a foundation of rigid thought and overwhelming fact.

There is nothing more interesting than to watch the singular revolutions and returning circuits of human thought—to notice how a theory passes current for centuries—is at length assailed, exposed, and thought to be exploded ; and yet, wait another century or so, and it reappears, and is found after all to be true. It has been so with many mathematical, moral, metaphysical, and theological doctrines. Even alchemy and astrology, which had been treated for two hundred years as mere insanities, have now their votaries ; at least there are those, and very intellectual persons too, who think that great truths lie disguised under the strange terminology and dreamy mysticism of those two occult sciences. And so with the doctrine of a plurality of worlds. It was the general opinion till nearly the end of the seventeenth century, that our earth was the only part of the

universe (except, of course, the worlds beyond the grave) inhabited. Two years before the revolution which placed William of Orange on the British throne—Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle began a revolution of another kind, by the publication of his ‘*Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes*.’ This writer, although now almost forgotten, was a man of much mark and likelihood in his day. A nephew of the great dramatic poet, Corneille, a man of pure life and amiable disposition, distinguished by almost universal acquirements, possessing a poetic vein of considerable grace and felicity, and a knowledge of mathematics, legislation, metaphysics, statesmanship, belles-lettres, and astronomy, he added to all this an elegant and witty mode of composition, which completely fascinated his contemporaries. He lived to the prodigious age of one hundred; but amid all his writings, poetical, dramatic, critical, and fictitious, the only one that continued popular after his death, or that can still be said to be in the faintest degree alive, is that ‘*Sur la Pluralité des Mondes*.’ Its thought is far from being profound; its language seldom copes adequately with the sublimities of the subject, and its information of course is imperfect. But the ingenuity of the reasoning, the novelty of the theme, the playfulness of the fancy, and the graces of the style, combine to render it a piece of delightful reading. It was one of the first, and continues one of the best attempts to translate science into popular language, to bring it down to popular capacity, and to surround it with literary charms. Fontenelle was not a great original genius; but he was a dexterous and brilliant interpreter of the intuitions and conclusions of higher poetic and philosophic minds. He had read Newton, and his work formed a pleasant dilution of some of the principal deductions from Newton’s theories and demonstrations, and was garnished besides with many flowers, culled by ingenious fancy rather than by powerful imagination. The book ran like wildfire, it was translated into various languages, and wherever it came, it seemed to widen the horizon of human thought, and to substitute feelings of sympathy and interest in the heavenly orbs, for that superstitious terror and mystic reverence with which men had hitherto regarded them. We shall never forget the emotions with which having read it, in a very imperfect English version, at the age of eleven, we went out and saw the stars shining down over our native valley, or pausing on the tops of the magnificent mountains which girdle it in, a new light, and felt or fancied, as Fontenelle seemed to have proved, that they were worlds like our own, abodes of life and intelligence, scenes of trial and probation, arenas of contest and altars of worship. What though the splendid visions of astro-

logy had fled before the light of science—what, although, to use the beautiful words we had even then read—

‘ The intelligible forms of ancient poets,
The fair humanities of old religion,
The power, the beauty, and the majesty
That had their haunts in dale or piny mountains
Or forest, by slow stream or pebbly spring,
Or chasms and watery depths; all these had vanished,
And lived no longer in the faith of reason’—

Science seemed to have revealed in exchange realities yet lovelier than these abandoned dreams; new, rich, populous islands in that skyey deep, where we had thought that all was barren and vacant; mightier earths rolling round larger suns, and looking up to more glorious constellations; galleries of worlds rising and brightening as they rose, above each other, and all turning toward some unseen centre or core; inhabitants of every variety of shape and size and intellectual development, swarming in every planet, if not also colonizing the proud suns of the system themselves; everywhere bustle, progress, and animation, even in those orbs which at night had seemed the very metaphors of silence, solemnity, and death. Thus the stars began to glitter and sparkle to our eye as if a tide of fresh light had been suddenly poured across them, and as if from being silent they had begun to speak and their speech was poetry. And it was strange to feel how the heavens had been at once pushed farther off and brought nearer by the force of these speculations. While they no longer seemed to rest on the mountain tops, nor their stars at times to drop down upon the earth, but to stretch away in long file and multitudinous procession toward the Infinite, yet the knowledge that they had probably inhabitants not dissimilar to ourselves in bodily structure and in mental powers, shed a certain home-charm upon objects which had formerly seemed as much ‘strangers’ as they were ‘pilgrims’ in their perpetual progress through the midnight sky. These now shone upon us through an atmosphere which made them assume the aspect of lamps in upper rooms connected with a dwelling of which we occupied the ground floor, and we eyed them with this feeling: ‘We shall be hereafter up among your splendours, and shall, as brethren, mingle with your bright inhabitants.’

This youthful, and, on the whole, innocent Nature-worship, was greatly strengthened, not only in our individual case, but in that of thousands and of the public generally, by the appearance of Chalmers’s ‘Astronomical Discourses.’ More than perhaps any one book, except ‘Uncle Tom’s Cabin,’ more certainly than any

volume of sermons ever published, it electrified the reading world. It was found in every parlour and boudoir, in every steam-boat and track-boat, in the literary man's study, and in the weaver's shop, here surmounting a pile of old theologians in the chamber of the divine, and there peeping out timorously and half sunk amid paints, boxes, brushes, and sketches in the artist's studio. It seemed a combination of the theological treatise and the fairy tale. It led religion forth from her secret chamber with the timbrels and dances of fancy. It took up Fontenelle's views, it annexed to them the more recent and wonderful discoveries in the science of the stars, and it surrounded them with the powers of a far more fertile imagination, with the energies of a much more vigorous intellect, and with the pomps of an eloquence incomparably more impassioned and sublime. Men gazed in wonder at the splendid although meteoric production, and many thought and said, 'Here at last truth religious, truth scientific, and the beauty of genius have met and embraced each other. Here is a bright bridge, for the first time uniting Earth and Heaven.' But alas! after this momentary madness of admiration had passed away, it was found that the bridge was only a rainbow, beautiful, evanescent, unreal, and which disappearing, left heaven and earth as far asunder as it had found them.

So, however, it did not for a season appear to the public; and the impression made by Chalmers was kept up and extended by the many admirable speculations on astronomy contained in the works of Dr. Dick, Professor Nichol, Isaac Taylor, Sir John Herschell, and others, all of whom, amid their diversities of view on other topics relating to the science, coincided in taking for granted that other worlds must be inhabited by intelligent beings. It is not more than ten years since, we, in unison, we have *since* had reason to believe, with other thinkers both at home and on the continent, began to suspect that the evidence for the plurality of worlds might not be so strong as had been supposed, and that *à priori* their being inhabited was not very likely. In proof that this long ago was our sentiment in *germ*, we shall take the liberty of quoting a few sentences written by us in 1844 and published to the world two years subsequently. 'Science may and does hope that each fair star has its own beautiful and happy race of immortal intelligences, but Science does not *know*. For aught Science knows, those suns and systems may be seen only by our eyes and our telescopes; for aught she knows, the Universe may only be *beginning* to be peopled, and earth have been *selected as the first spot for the great colonization*. The peopling of our own planet was a gradual process. Why may not the same be concluded of the Universe of

which our earth is a part? May not Earth, in this sense, be as an Eden to other regions of the All? Are appearance and analogy pleaded as proofs that the Universe is peopled throughout? Appearance and analogy here utter an uncertain sound; for are not all the suns, or what we may call the continents of Creation, seemingly burning masses uninhabitable by any beings we can even conceive of? Do not many of the planets or islands appear either too near or too remote from the central blaze to support animal existence? The moon, the only planet very near us, has manifestly not yet arrived at the state necessary for supporting living beings, and Science remembers that innumerable ages passed ere even our globe was fitted for receiving its present population, and that, according to the researches of geology, the earth rolled round the sun for ages, a vast and weltering wilderness. Here then, Science is totally silent, or utters only a faltering 'perhaps.' Is it said that, but for intelligent beings, space would be empty? How! empty if it be full of God? Shall you call a room empty because only one immortal being sits and meditates there? Is God not society sufficient for his own creation? Shall you call the Universe empty, if God be present in it, even though he were present alone?

It will appear hereafter that there are singular coincidences between the views thus propounded and those of the author before us. Not that we wish to charge him with plagiarism, for it is exceedingly improbable that he ever saw or heard of our humble lucubration; but we wish to point out the remarkable fact that two thinkers, standing in some respects at opposite poles, the one a non-scientific and the other a scientific man, have been borne along by independent currents to the same conclusion, a conclusion in which we believe both will be soon joined by many in whose minds already the thought is beginning more or less clearly to stir.

It may be partly, therefore, from a very natural gratification at finding a favourite theory of ours taken up and handled with the power of a master; but it is not *entirely* from this cause that, we repeat, we have seldom read a book with more delight and never one with a more thorough intuitive conviction, 'this is *all* true,' than the treatise at present on our table. We proceed, as a labour of love, first, to analyse its contents, and secondly, to supplement its statements by a few additional remarks.

We must confine ourselves to a bare outline of the argument, leaving our readers to acquaint themselves with the style and manner in their manly energy, clear precision, and philosophic calm, not unornamented by brief bursts of eloquence, and not undiversified by rapid gleams and rich cross-lights of poetry.

The author commences with stating the astronomical objection to religion to which Chalmers has attempted to reply, an objection which passed transiently through David's mind when he asked : ' When I consider the heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained. What is man, that thou art mindful of him ? and the son of man that thou visitest him ? ' This objection seems to have been founded in the psalmist's view simply on a general impression of the vast distance, the multitude, and the unearthly splendour of the starry orbs when compared with the meanness, grossness, and density of the globe on which he was standing, and the consequent insignificance of man, whom he felt to be a mere mote upon his own planet. But the strength of this objection, our author shows, is greatly increased since David's time, by the discoveries of science, which he proceeds with much mastery and clearness to recount. The discoveries of the real shape of our globe—of its great inferiority to many of its neighbour planets in size—of its dependence on the Sun—of the innumerable fixed stars, being probably suns of equal or superior grandeur and magnitude to ours—of the telescopic stars in their multitudes—of the nebulae and their resolution, by Lord Rosse's telescope, into distinct points of light—of, in short, the prodigious dimensions of the material Universe, as well as the high probabilities supposed to be established in favour of the notion that many if not all of the planets are inhabited, have served vastly to increase the intensity of the idea of insignificance, in regard to our earth and its inhabitants, expressed by the old Hebrew words, ' What is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou visitest him ? '

In the second chapter he states at length the objection to religion which has been based on the current theories of astronomy, preferring, however, to look at it under the light of a difficulty felt by a friend to Christianity rather than as a stumbling-block thrown in its way by a foe. The statement is substantially this : ' I believe that God has made the world—made me a moral being—provided for, loved, and cared for me and for my race, and sent his only begotten and well-beloved Son to die for and deliver from a great moral calamity all who trust upon him. These are my cherished faiths ; but when I look up to the heavens, and remember that this earth is only a unit amid endless millions of worlds containing moral beings, like, or different from, or superior to man, I am overwhelmed, I am confounded, and tempted to doubt whether God *has* in such a peculiar and transcendant manner interfered for me or my insect race. '

In the third chapter he considers one part of Dr. Chalmers's

reply to this objection. He does not enter on the consideration of his argument as a whole. We have elsewhere attempted to show, first, that Chalmers's logic, in his 'Astronomical Discourses,' is 'conveyed,' as Ancient Pistol has it, bodily from Andrew Fuller's 'Gospel its own Witness;' and, secondly, that it was not worth the trouble and toil of the conveyance, being weak and unsatisfactory, made up, on the whole, of assumptions and truisms. Our author, however, holds it in somewhat higher estimation, and invites especial notice to that portion of it which is based on the discoveries of the microscope, which is certainly the most original and beautifully developed thought in the volume. But what, asks he, after all, does it prove? That God can provide for innumerable worlds besides this, without being withdrawn, or distracted, or wearied in his operations in this earth, because the microscope proves that he is sustaining *animal* life, sustenance, and enjoyment, for innumerable more inhabitants of the earth than we were aware of. This reasoning might quiet the mind of one whom astronomical discoveries had led to doubt the ordinary doctrines of natural religion, and had given a LIMITED notion of the power and resources of the Great Supreme. But our author denies that these discoveries are calculated to start such a doubt as the microscope is brought in to answer—maintaining that, on the contrary, they are fitted to lead us, in themselves, to the belief that Divine Wisdom and Power are not only great, but great in a degree we cannot fathom or comprehend; that they are, to our apprehension, infinite, and to the infinite, *how* can you and *what* can the microscope add? Once you admit that God made the worlds, it follows, without any need of microscopic aid, that He *could* quite as easily have made animals to inhabit these worlds. Whether He has done so or not depends upon considerations altogether apart from microscopic discoveries, which show us indeed life revelling on earth, but say less than nothing as to whether it be likely that this is or is not the case in those orbs which shine

‘Beyond the solar path and milky way.’

‘If astronomy,’ he adds, ‘gives birth to scruples which interfere with religion, they must be found in some other quarter than in the possibility of mere animal life existing in other parts of the universe as well as on our earth. That possibility may require us to enlarge our idea of the Deity, but it has little or no tendency to disturb our apprehension of his attributes.’

In the fourth Chapter he gives a farther statement of the difficulty. Hitherto, he has been speaking upon the supposition of other worlds teeming only with brute, or reptile, or insect existence, and he finds little there that can create religious doubt,

or unsettle religious convictions. It does not even disturb the conclusions of Natural Religion, far less interfere with the principles and dogmata of Revealed. But if we admitted that these worlds were tenanted by intelligent, moral, and religious beings like man, the state of the question were entirely altered. For man is not only an intellectual, but a progressive, an historical, a moral, religious, spiritual creature, entirely and essentially distinct from, and superior to, the lower animals. Now here occurs a biforked difficulty. Is the earth alone the abode of such or similar beings, possessing a progressive, moral, and religious constitution, it being granted to be a mere speck and atom amid the vast array of material structures? Or are other regions in space peopled with beings who, like man, have a history, who, like him, have a moral sense, who, like him, are, in a manner, related to the divine nature, and entertain the prospect of a nearer relation still?

‘To extend such suppositions to other worlds would be a proceeding so arbitrary and fanciful that we are led to consider whether the alternative supposition may not be the more admissible—that is, that man is in an especial and eminent manner the object of God’s care; that his place in the creation is not that he merely occupies one among millions of similar domiciles, provided in boundless profusion by the Creator of the universe; but that he is the servant, subject, and child of God in a way unique and peculiar; that his being a spiritual creature makes him belong to a spiritual world, which is not to be judged of merely by analogies belonging to the material universe.’

Now here, as the author finds the choice embarrassing, he proceeds in the fifth Chapter to inquire if other sciences besides astronomy may not help him in determining it. Even granting that the other bodies in the universe are fitted, like the earth, to be the abodes of life, yet it would require a great deal of evidence to make us believe that they have inhabitants like ours, or that, though planets did revolve round the fixed stars as centres, that they were at all similar to our earth, and such evidence is altogether wanting. But may not geology furnish us with evidence *on the other side*? That it does he proceeds to show by such arguments as these: ‘The earth has been in existence for innumerable ages; it was long untenanted, save by reptiles and brutes; successive acts of creative power introduced successive races of beings; man did not arrive till late, at the very farthest not more than 10,000 years ago; he was not the mere continuation and culmination of a long line of antecedent inferiors, but a being essentially distinct and ineffably superior, as his gift of language, his moral sense, his power of progression, his perception of general principles, and his recognition of his own divine origin sufficiently prove. It follows, therefore, that God does not look upon vast

tracts, whether of time or space, as utterly barren and vacant, because not peopled by man, that,—

‘ If the earth, as the habitation of man, is a speck in the midst of an infinity of space, the earth, as the habitation of man, is also a speck at the end of an infinity of time ; that if we are as nothing in the surrounding universe, we are as nothing in the elapsed eternity, or rather in the elapsed organic antiquity, during which the earth has existed and been the abode of life ; that man has occupied but an atom of time, as he has occupied but an atom of space ; that, as he is surrounded by myriads of globes which may, like this, be the habitations of living things, so he has been preceded on this earth, not possibly or probably only, but certainly, by myriads of generations of living things ; and yet that, comparing his history with theirs, he certainly has been fitted to be the object of the care and guardianship, the favour and government of the Master and Governor of All in a manner entirely different from anything which it is possible to believe with regard to the countless generations of brute creatures which had gone before him.’

It will be observed that this argument accomplishes several objects at once. It proves man’s peculiar dignity and grandeur ; it meets an objection to his insignificance in space by a proof of his importance in time (so that if the stars threaten to crush, the fossilized remains conspire to crown him), and it more than insinuates the probability that, if his destined abode remained empty of intelligent and moral beings for incomputable ages, it may be the same, as yet, with all other planets and systems, without detracting one atom from our conception of the power or the wisdom of the Most High. It adds force to this, farther, to remember that the greater part of earth even is still unpeopled ; that the sea, so far as intelligent beings are concerned, is a howling wilderness ; and that the interior of the planet, by far its largest portion, is probably vacant. But once grant man to be man, an intelligent, moral, religious, spiritual being, then ‘ we can have no difficulty in believing, if the evidence directs us to believe, that that part of the creation in which he has his present appointed place is the special field of God’s care and love ; by whatever wastes of space and multitudes of material bodies it may be surrounded, by whatever races it may have been previously occupied, of brutes that perish, and that, compared with man, can hardly be said to have lived.’

It might still be urged, ‘ Your geological argument is very strong, but are not the analogies in astronomy conclusive against it ?’ To this, then, the author proceeds to address himself, proposing to inquire ‘ whether astronomy really does what is claimed for her ; whether she carries us so securely to the bounds of the visible universe that our fancy may take up the task and people the space thus explored ; whether the bodies which astronomy

has examined be really as fitted as our earth to sustain a population of living things; whether the most distant objects in the universe do really seem to be systems or the beginning of systems; whether astronomy herself may not incline in favour of the condition of man as being the sole creature of his kind.' He commences with the *nebulæ*, 'the outskirts of creation.' Ever since 1846 the general opinion has been that all these curious cloudy scatterings, those spilt drops in ether, are collections of suns; but this conclusion our author controverts, if not with thorough success, certainly with great ingenuity and great boldness. To prove it possible that many of the unresolved *nebulæ* are unresolvable, and that it is not distance alone which prevents the telescope from melting them into stars, he adduces the Magellanic clouds, in which two strange groups there are stars of various magnitudes, clusters of various forms, *nebulæ* regular and irregular, nebulous tracts and patches of peculiar character, and all so disposed that the most distant of them, whichever these may be, are not more than one-tenth more distant than the nearest. In those regions of space there co-exist in a limited compass, and in indiscriminate position, stars, clusters of stars, *nebulæ*, regular and irregular, and nebulous streaks and patches, such things as *nebulæ* side by side with stars and clusters, nebulous matter resolvable occurring close to nebulous matter unresolvable, which seems to prove that these are different things in themselves, not merely different to us, and that whatever inference we may draw from the resolvability of the *nebulæ*, we may not draw this that they are more distant and contain a larger array of systems and worlds in proportion as they are difficult to resolve. Nay, he proceeds to ask who shall say assuredly that the bright points into which the telescope resolves the *nebulæ* are suns like ours; who shall tell how large they are, at what distances, of what structure, of what solidity, of what use? 'All that the telescope tells us is that the substance of *nebulæ* is not continuous, but discrete, separable and separate into distinct luminous elements. But he were a bold man who should aver that each of these elements was a sun like ours, surrounded by planets, and each of these planets the seat of an animal and vegetable creation.' He then attempts to prove, by arguments drawn from the mechanical structure of the spiral *nebula*, that they are mere confused, indiscriminate, incoherent masses. These arguments seem exceedingly ingenious, but we must refer our readers for them to the book itself.

He comes next to the fixed stars, and shows first from the gyratory motion of some of them that their substance is much less dense than that of our sun. Secondly, that planets revolving about or among a pair of suns which are at the same time revolving round each other, would form a scheme too complex and

impossible to be arranged in a stable manner. Thirdly, that in reference to single stars they resemble indeed the sun in giving light, but their inferior density, the extraordinary changes in colour through which many of them have passed, the fact that some of them have entirely disappeared, and the acceleration which takes place in the motion of others, combine in proving that they are not yet solid, but only solidifying, and not till this process is complete can they cast off planets. Some of them turn, indeed, like the sun, upon their axis, but that motion is not in him necessarily connected with his having near him the inhabited earth, and those orbs in which this phenomenon exists are unlike the sun in having one side darker than the other; there is no proof that the fixed stars have planets round them, and even though they had, there is less than none that these planets have gone through such changes as our earth, or have borne such a progeny as man. It is more likely that if they exist they are in the state of the moon. He alludes in the course of this chapter to an illustration of Fontenelle, who compares one who should deny that the stars and planets are inhabited, to a citizen of Paris, who, seeing from the towers of Notre Dame the town of St. Denis (it being supposed that no communication between the two places had ever existed), denies it is inhabited because he does not see the inhabitants. Our author, however, contends that the image is not fair, but should be modified by supposing rather that we inhabit an island from which innumerable other islands are visible, but the art of navigation being unknown, we are ignorant if any of them are inhabited. Whether they are or not, becomes a fair field for conjecture and inquiry. Various judgments will be formed according to various phenomena. But since we see that some of these islands appear to be barren rocks, and others clad in eternal ice, and others to be raging volcanoes, while ours, on the contrary, is a quiet, comfortable, temperate spot, occupied by a numerous race of moral and religious beings, the strong probability comes at last to be that it alone is as yet inhabited.

Chapter nine treats of the planets. He begins at the outermost point of the system—the planet Neptune. It is a very dark and a very cold world. The sun, as seen from thence, is reduced to ‘the *star* of day’—a *full Jupiter*. Still there might be animals in Neptune, with their vital scheme accommodated to the scanty supply of light and heat, if there were any general ground for assuming inhabitants. But in order to prove that there is none, he adduces the moon. This body lies nearest us. Its distance from the sun would admit of animal and vegetable life similar to ours. It has evidently been made for other purposes than merely to shed a glimmering uncertain ray upon our

midnights. It is within a distance which makes it susceptible of very close scrutiny. And yet all, or almost all, grant that it is not inhabited. The conclusion is, therefore, since of the two bodies of the solar system which alone we can examine so closely as to know anything about them—the earth and the moon—if the one be inhabited and the other not, we have then no right to assume at once that any other body in the solar system belongs to the former of these classes rather than the latter. If, even under terrestrial conditions of light and heat, we have a total absence of the phenomenon of life, known to us only as a terrestrial phenomenon, we are assuredly not entitled to assume that when these conditions fail we have still the phenomenon—life. But it may be said the moon does not only show no traces of habitation, but it wants certain conditions of life, such as air and moisture, clouds and winds; but supposing that these are found in other planets of the system, shall we not grant that there may be life in them? It may be so, but ‘yet we should be led to judge also by analogy that the life which they sustain is more different from the terrestrial life of the present period of the earth than that is from the terrestrial life of any former geological period in proportion as the *conditions of light, and heat, and attraction, and density* are more different on any other planet than they can have been on the earth at any period of its history.’

He proceeds then to examine those conditions in reference to the question whether the planets are peopled. And, first, he compares Jupiter with the Earth. The Star of Jove, so beautiful and large, is about a quarter of the earth’s density, and is, probably, a mere sphere of water. This is proved by his oblate figure, and by his belts. It is possible even that he may be a mass of ice. The force of gravity, too, at his surface is so strong that animals of large dimensions would be oppressed by their own weight. If there are living creatures in a planet, the materials of which are so light, the gravity so strong, the heat so little, and the waters so deep, they must be boneless, watery, pulpy, glutinous masses. But if Jupiter be a mere mass of water, with perhaps a few cinders at the centre, and an envelope of clouds around it, it seems very possible that he may not be a seat of life at all. It may be asked of what use then that splendid array of moons which circle his brow? The answer is—of what use our moon when it rolled around the uninhabited primitive rocks? As to Saturn, the larger portion of his globe seems to be vapour. If, therefore, he has inhabitants, which is extremely unlikely, they are ‘aqueous, gelatinous creatures; too sluggish, almost, to be deemed alive, floating in their ice-cold waters,

shrouded for ever by their humid skies. To them the glories of moons and rings would not avail to give much pleasure, nor would the solar eclipses of fifteen years' duration, to which their planet is sometimes liable, give much pain. The case is still stronger, and on the same grounds, with Uranus and Neptune. Mars approaches more nearly to the condition of the earth, but his distance from the sun, his density, and cold, would fit him for the abode rather of the great land and sea saurians, the iguanodon, and dinotherium, than such animals as live at present on earth. The small asteroids are not, of course, held to be inhabited, they seem either fragments of an exploded world, or, as our author holds, 'results of some imperfectly effected concentration of the elements of a new planet, never fully formed,' and are chiefly remarkable besides, because the tiny specimens they have sent our world in the shape of meteoric stones, contain no chemical elements but such as are to be found in the mass of the earth. As to Venus, it is hard to say what kind of animals we could place in her, except, perhaps, the microscopic creatures, with silicious coverings, which, as modern explorers assert, are almost indestructible by heat. The difficulty in reference to Mercury is vastly greater. Thus, in no part of the solar system, except in some measure in Mars, does he find the conditions for supporting animal existence, like what alone we can conceive animal existence to be.

In the Tenth chapter he gives his theory of the Solar system as a whole scheme. Jupiter and Saturn are spheres of water and aqueous vapour, combined, it may be, with atmospheric air, in which their cloudy belts float over their deep oceans. Earth, too, has a considerable atmosphere of air and vapour. In Venus and Mercury we see no traces of any gaseous or aqueous atmosphere. His conclusion is, that the water and the vapour, which belong to the solar system, are driven off to the outer regions of its vast circuit; while the interior masses—Mars, Earth, Venus, and Mercury, are solid and dense. The differentia, therefore, of Earth's physical condition is this, she is situated just in that region of the system where the existence of matter, alike in *a solid, a fluid, and a gaseous* condition, is possible. Outside Earth, or at least Mars, there is, in the planets, no solid matter; inside, toward the sun, there are no traces of water, vapour, or gas. Earth alone combines ground to stand on; air to breathe; water to nourish vegetables and animals; solid matter to supply materials for their more solid parts; and withal a due supply of light and heat, a due energy of the force of weight. It is thus peculiarly adapted, by a curious and complex combination of properties and relations which are found in no other planet, to be,

and is, probably, the sole world of life. Here he is reminded of the zones in the earth itself, and expresses the analogy in the following beautiful words: 'The earth is the temperate zone of the solar system. In that zone alone is the play of hot and cold, of moist and dry, possible. The torrid zone of the earth is not free from moisture; it has its rains, for it has its cold upper atmosphere. But how much hotter are Venus and Mercury than the torrid zone? There no cold vapours can linger, they are expelled by the fierce solar energy; and there is no cool stratum to catch and return them. If they were there, they must fly to the outer regions; to the cold abodes of Saturn and Jupiter: if on their way the Earth did not with cold and airy finger outstretched afar catch a few drops of their treasures, for the use of plant, and beast, and man.' He then shows that the earth is really the largest, because densest planetary body in the system; for the vast globes, Jupiter and Saturn, Uranus and Neptune, are only huge masses of vapour and water. The Earth, he says, is the domestic hearth of the solar system, adjusted between the hot and fiery haze on one side, the cold and watery vapour on the other. He closes by asserting that this theory alone brings together all these known phenomena, the great size and small density of the exterior planets, their belts and streaks, Saturn's ring, Jupiter's oblateness, the great number of satellites to the exterior planets, the planetoid bodies between Jupiter and Mars, the appearance of definite shapes of land and water in Mars, shooting stars, the zodiacal light, the appearance of Venus so different from Mars, and, finally, the material composition of meteoric stones. He proves also that it coincides with the nebular hypothesis so far as it goes.

In the Eleventh chapter he encounters the objection—Would God, the God whose works swarm with design, have left such vast spaces of the universe empty? This he meets in the most masterly and eloquent manner; proving that, although they were empty, they would still serve most important ends, and produce most blessed effects upon man; and that they have all bearing and connexion with his mysterious history and that of his planet. God works, besides, on a scale so immense, that 'the planets and stars may only be the lumps which have flown from the potter's wheel of the Great Worker, the shred coils which in the working sprang from his mighty lathe; the sparks which darted from his awful anvil when the solar system lay incandescent thereon; the curls of vapour which rose from the great caldron of creation when its elements were separated.' He asserts, in fine, that, although these stars and systems had only been made to form decorations and scenery to earth, as the stage of the Tragedy of the Cross, they had not been created in vain.

In the Twelfth chapter he shows more fully God's one grand purpose in creation to be connected with the moral and spiritual history of man; and brings forward a number of additional reflections to prove that man is confined to this earth, and that no portion of any similar species is found in the stars. God may have, and probably has, other spheres of Divine government, and these peopled with his subjects and servants; but it were rash and unadvised to place those extra mundane spheres in orbs on which we must reason upon *physical* grounds, and to which many of the laws and properties of terrestrial matter and motion apply.

In the Thirteenth and last chapter, he lifts up, very reverently, a portion of the veil of the future. He inclines to the belief that God is to interpose, by a new creation, or rather re-creation, of man; that thus he may organize a divine society on earth. But, as to the how or the when, the times, seasons, or methods of this interference, he does not venture to dogmatize.

This is, we admit, a very imperfect analysis of this admirable volume; but although we have been compelled, by want of space, to omit many of its most important arguments and illustrations, and often to break up the exquisite chain-work of his reasoning, we have, we think, fairly represented its sentiments, as a whole. The book, particularly in the last four chapters, contains much that is as eloquent, powerful, and poetical in language, as it is piercingly acute and suggestive in thought. If it be, as report says, Dr. Whewell's, it is, certainly, in eloquence and originality, a vast stride in advance of his former works. We could, indeed, point out a number of minor slips in style, language, and quotation,* besides two or three self-contradictions in statement. But it is time that we came to the closing remarks which we promised.

Firstly. We regard this book as a blow in the face of Nature-worship, which, in our day, and particularly among the young and the poetical, has become an absolute idolatry. Our heart is sick, as we remember the Brahminical ravings about nature uttered by one class and echoed by another in more measured and mathematical tones. Here we have a Carlyle shouting out his wild wolf-like Eureka about earth, 'She is my mother and divine.' There Emerson sings his hymns to 'Nature,' and as he steps over puddles and barren moors, under dull and dripping skies, 'almost fears to say how glad he is.' Yonder, poets and poetasters

* The quotation in p. 249 from Mr. Owen, 'On the Nature of Limbs,' which makes the Professor say as his own what he cites as the language of Cudworth, and represents him as believing what he opposes.

without number are emulously contending which of them shall say the most extravagant things in praise of the stars, and the smoke of ten thousand censers is steaming up the unconscious midnight. Yonder comes a lady, proposing in very bad verse that we shall henceforth recur to the old Gebir faith, and worship the sun. And in remoter distance stand the authors of the 'Vestiges,' and the 'Constitution of Man,' surrounded by their many mean-eyed votaries, and offering a more vulgar homage, unredemmed by any poetical elements, to their great deity the Diana of development. In this lamentable state of things it is refreshing to find one who is at once a master in science and a man of genius, coming forward and saying to this motley multitude, 'Stop, my friends, you are going a little too fast; you are like certain people of old, worshipping ye know not *what*. The stars are *not* worlds, they are mere chaotic masses. Nature is not such a finished rounded thing as you dream, much less is it God; it is only a crude process, not a perfected result, far less a living cause. This Universe, glorious as it looks to *man's* imagination, is not divine, is not infinite, is not beautiful even; it is but clay in the hands of an Almighty Potter. The earth is not our mother; we are not the children of development; we are born from above. Away with your childish worship of the gilded gingerbread you call natural beauty. Admire it, indeed, as much as you may; but if you wish to worship, in God's name choose a fitter object. Worship the Great Spirit, who is *in* the Universe, indeed, but who is not to be identified with it.' Before the words of this author how do illusions vanish! How does the glory of the sun, moon, and stars become but the morning light shining on the towers of a prison, or the gateway of an asylum, or the pinnacles and palaces of some Sodom of sin! Or rather we should say, how *would* his words produce such a disenchantment were it not for the bright futurity he depicts as awaiting man, and which becomes verily a 'glory that excelleth,' not a false, but a true and lasting lustre.

2nd. The author's deductions seem to us to coincide strikingly with the spirit and statements of Scripture. The tendency of these is to insulate our earth from the rest of the universe, as Sinai was from the wilderness, and to reveal it as the scene of a special display of Divine power, wisdom, and goodness. Thus, Moses, after describing, with considerable minuteness and at some length, the arrangements of our earth in preparation for the coming of man, when he speaks of the creation of the remoter orbs of the system, says, as if in a marginal note, or a parenthesis, 'He made the stars also.' And never, throughout the whole volume of inspiration, is the slightest hint given that there are any beings in space, except angels, men, devils, and the persons of the God-

head,—classes which exhaust those beings ‘in heaven,’ ‘on the earth,’ in the sea, ‘and under the earth,’ whom John describes as joining in a hymn to the Lamb; although Chalmers tries, with very indifferent success, to press them into the service of the popular theory. And in that sublime soliloquy of Wisdom in the Proverbs, the forming of the earth as a habitation for man, is made the climax of the strain, and the creation of the heavens is introduced as a mere preliminary step.

3rd. This theory puts man and his history in their true light. Our author’s demolition of the development theory is the most compact, complete, and triumphant we have ever read. He sees in man an incarnation of the Divine Mind, not only superior in degree, but essentially different in kind, from that of animals. He feels the depth and grand emphasis of the words, ‘Let us make man in *our own* image, and after *our own* likeness.’ He rejects with grave and severe scorn the notion that man has crawled up to his present position from the low level of the brute, and that forsooth a fungus can develop into a Foster, a worm into a Wordsworth, an ape into a Newton! He grants, indeed, that man has fallen; but he sees that this very fall has been the means of showing his importance in a new light, and of concentrating the divine regards upon him with peculiar intensity. But for the fall, the far nobler incarnation, of which Jesus is the first and highest instance, had never taken place, and the Model-Man, after whose pattern the human family, during the better days of the Church, are to be re-made, had never been born. ‘Sun, moon, and stars, what are ye in your brute burning masses, compared to the mystery transacted in that corner of a Jewish manger?’ And around that manger he sees, not only sages, but (as in the dream of Joseph) the sun, the moon, and the stars doing obeisance to the Infant God,—to that Second Man from heaven, who is the germ, pledge, and pattern of a sublimer creation. Feeling that, in the presence even of fallen man, matter dwindles into insignificance, he *might* have used this language of another: ‘The creation, large and magnificent as it is, is not equal in grandeur or worth to one immortal mind. Majestic the universe is, but can it think, or feel, or reason, or imagine, or hope, or love?’ Talk to me of the sun! One might say, standing up in all the conscious dignity of his own nature: ‘The sun is not alive: he is but a dead luminary, after all; I am alive; I never was dead; I never can die. I may therefore put my foot on that proud orb and say, I am greater than thou. The sun cannot, with all his rays, write on flower, or grass, or the broad page of ocean, the name of God. A child of seven can, and is therefore greater than the sun. The sun cannot from his vast surface utter an articulate sound. He is a magnificent

mute ; but out of the mouth of babes and sucklings God perfects praise. The sun shall perish ; but I have that within me that shall never die. He might, indeed, or the universe of which he is a part, arise and "crush me ; but I should *know* he was crushing me. I should be conscious of the defeat ; he should not be conscious of the victory." The whole material universe, in short, is only the nursery to my immortal mind ; and whether is greater, the nursery, or the child ? I am a spirit, and it is only a great and glorious clod.'

4th. It shows us the proper limits of science. Scientific men, dazzled with the triumphs of the past, have become infatuated in their worship of science and of themselves. They have talked as if geometry and the telescope had endowed them and their methods with omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence. The book before us, while undeifying matter, abates also the proud pretensions of those sciences which deal exclusively with it, seeking to bring thinkers down from those dreary wastes of space, of which we are never likely to know much that can satisfy our souls, to that moral and religious truth which lies around and within us, and its motto might be,

'The proper study of mankind is man.'

Man in these pages becomes *the centre of science* and of creation, and we are carried back from those remote regions where Fancy and Reason are alike appalled to this small but most important homestead of earth, and to Calvary, which is, morally and spiritually, as it was long ago called, the Navel of the World.

5th. It points forward emphatically to the Future and to the real Infinite. Well might the author take up the words of Young, in his immortal poem :—

'This is the bud of being, the dim dawn,
The twilight of our day, the vestibule ;
Life's theatre as yet is shut, and death,
Strong death, alone can heave the massive bar,
This gross impediment of clay remove,
And make us embryos of existence free ;
Embryos we must be till we burst the shell,
Yon ambient azure shell, and spring to life,
The life of gods, O transport, and of man.'

He sees in the upper heavens creation not complete, but *travailing in birth*. He sees in these our lower regions, nature and man 'waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God,' and hears them groaning as they wait. He feels that, hitherto, the history of things and men would be a fearful farce, a hopeless mystery, a dream of nightmare, were it not for the explanations and the

prospects of the future. He knows that the Universe is not the real Infinite, only its antechamber, and that at death we pass out of and beyond it for ever; that, in the words of Macintosh to Hall, 'we awake from this dream into other spheres of existence.' And so far are these thoughts from ministering despair, that they become in his bosom an everwelling spring of hope, consolation, and joy; for, in the fine old language of Herbert, his soul is purged to hear

'Church bells beyond the stars,'

and he is ever haunted by

'The sound of glory ringing in his ears;'

glory for this earth, poor and putrid in many respects, but as yet the chief amid its starry kindred, and destined to higher pre-eminence still; and glory for man, who is even at present, although 'subject to vanity,' at the head of creation, and who, when delivered into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, shall, by his union with higher intelligences, and his connexion with the mightier movements of an upper sphere, realize the mystic marriage sung by the same holy poet,

'Sweet day; so cool, so calm, so bright,
The Bridal of the earth and sky.'

ART. II.—*Nouvelle Lettres de Madame La Duchesse D'Orléans, Princesse Palatine, Mère du Regent. Traduites de l'Allemand pour la première fois, par G. Brunet, et accompagnées de Notes Historiques et de Fragments Inédits.* New Letters of the Duchess of Orleans, the Mother of the Regent, and Princess Palatine. Now first translated from the German by G. Brunet, with Historical Notes, and unedited Fragments. Paris: Charpentier. 1853.

CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, and mother of the too famous Regent, was born at the Castle of Heidelberg, on the 7th of July, 1652. Her education was such as German princesses in those days received, when they were left almost entirely free to follow the dictates of their own inclinations. Owing chiefly perhaps to her own tastes, her habits were rather those of a man than a woman. She loved dogs, horses, hunting; and such studies as she pursued were as masculine as her amuse-

ments. Her mind may have taken this turn, partly, perhaps, because she was so ugly and ill-formed—at least according to her own account—that she scarcely indulged in the common hopes and aspirations of her sex. It appeared extremely improbable, that any one who would be thought a proper match for the daughter of the Elector Palatine, at whose court the most extravagant notions prevailed on the subject of rank, should ever present himself as a suitor for her hand.

She was, therefore, labouring to reconcile herself to the condition of single blessedness, which in a court is far more irksome than anywhere else, when an offer, brilliant beyond all her hopes and expectations, was made in the usual way to her father. Monsieur, brother of Louis the Fourteenth, having recently lost his first wife—it is supposed by poison—was instructed to cast his eyes on the heiress of the Palatinate. Ambition in those days regulated the disposal of the heart, or rather of the hand, for marriage was simply a roving commission which entitled both husband and wife to follow the bent of their own desires, in whatever direction they might point. This was above all the case in Germany, which from time immemorial has been a sort of hot-bed for raising princes and princesses for exportation.

Of course Charlotte Elizabeth was in no way consulted on the subject of her marriage. Her father disposed of her as he would have disposed of a horse or a greyhound, and packed her off for France without the slightest affectation of ceremony. On arriving at the court of Louis the Fourteenth, the young German princess experienced no inconsiderable perplexity. Her husband was a man of weak mind and depraved manners, an opprobrium to his own family, and an object of derision to foreigners. For such a person it was impossible she should have any deep affection. In the first place, he gave her none, because in truth he had none to give, being so completely absorbed by the lower exigencies of his nature that his soul never could raise itself to the level of emotion or love. He married because it was respectable to possess a wife, or rather, perhaps, because his brother, who in this respect, at least, was incomparably his superior, detested his irregular propensities, and preferred paying deference to the laws of nature. Yet poor Charlotte Elizabeth very soon perceived that she had not been transported from Heidelberg to Paris, or St. Cloud, or Versailles to recline on a bed of roses. Her appearance was uninviting, her manners were ungraceful, or rather awkward and uncouth. She spoke the French language imperfectly, and was inspired by the most intolerable pride of birth. In his serious moments this was a recommendation to the king, who also greatly prided himself on being descended from a long line of regal bandits. But

vice is levelling almost as much as virtue. The king's mistresses, many of them low women, filled the court with their cabals and intrigues, and brought the most merciless raillery into fashion. From the wounds inflicted by this weapon neither man nor woman could escape; and when accompanied, as it then was, by the most unbounded indulgence in scandal, it must be acknowledged that a poor half-educated German girl, very bashful and very plain, had little prospect before her of a happy life.

She brought Monsieur several children, among whom one was the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, while her two daughters became queens. It is scarcely to be doubted that at first, as was natural, she sought to accommodate herself to the fashions prevailing around her, but finding this altogether impracticable, she soon took refuge in comparative retirement and study. Some portion of her time, princess as she was, she devoted to the care of her children, and the remainder, which she could not otherwise fill, she gave up to the practice of incessant letter-writing. Besides, the amount of leisure enjoyed at a court, especially by persons of high rank, is not very great. Even while engaged in writing one long letter she was often interrupted by visitors twenty or thirty times, and as etiquette required her to talk a little with every one who came, this was no trifling sacrifice. Her correspondents, at first few, multiplied as she advanced in life. She wrote to her aunts, to her cousins, and afterwards to her daughters, describing, in a minute manner, the every-day details of court life, relating scandalous anecdotes, drawing characters with more or less impartiality, and putting her own interpretation, sometimes far from a correct one, on the events she witnessed.

There is one peculiarity in the letters of this princess, we mean the intrepidity with which she speaks of whatever comes to her knowledge, that renders them more valuable than the writings of many authors greatly her superiors in ability. But, while indulging in the unrestrained liberty of observation, she cannot often be accused of malice. When she, therefore, brings down historical figures from their pedestals, and places them on the common level of court existence, we are not to attribute this to her envy or vindictiveness. She was as fond of Louis XIV. as a German princess could be of a Frenchman. She delights, also, to dwell on what she considered his great qualities, and pronounces, as she goes along, many a panegyric on his amiable virtues. Posterity may be at a loss to discover what those virtues were, but in her eyes he had a great many, and, therefore, we may, with the greater confidence, accept her testimony on the subject of his ignorance, his vice, his bigotry, and his contemptible weaknesses.

It would be erroneous to suppose that the ill instructed daughter of the Count Palatine could estimate, at their proper value, all the statesmen and generals with whom her position rendered her familiar. That of which she could judge was their manners, their morals, and the influence which, through these, they exerted on the social system of France. The schemes they formed for developing the civilization of their country, their financial or commercial ideas, their plans of conquest or defence, or even the intrigues into which they were urged by their ambition, exceeded the grasp of her intelligence. On these points, accordingly, it would be unreasonable to consult her letters. Historians of the greatest capacity have often failed in the attempt to do justice to the contemporaries of Louis XIV. Accustomed to the finished pictures of the Greek and Roman writers, one class has endeavoured to exalt them greatly beyond their merits, while, to escape the charge of pedantry, justly incurred by such exaggeration, another class has indulged in satire and caricature. To the latter, rather than to the former, the Duchess of Orleans supplies materials; but while we accept her information, and are not inclined to dispute her sincerity, we are frequently compelled to doubt the accuracy of her judgment.

It is quite otherwise when she is engaged in drawing the portraits of such men as Louis XIV. himself, her husband, the Chevalier de Lorraine, and even her son. These she is quite competent to paint. Still more completely does it fall within her province to delineate the ladies who distinguished themselves upon that stage of pomp and iniquity. With respect to one individual of this sex, the famous Madame de Maintenon, her prejudices may, perhaps, be allowed to have neutralized her sagacity. But many memoir writers, male and female, and compilers, falsely called historians, who without discrimination have adopted their reports, amuse themselves and their readers by exalting this intriguing woman into a sort of goddess. Still, it is impossible to call in question the strength and steadiness of her resolution, or the profound subtilty of her character. Much of what she accomplished may be set down to the account of circumstances. But when we contemplate her as a simple spectator in the crowd assembled to witness the arrival in Paris of the young queen from Spain, then consider her as the wife of the deformed poet, Scarron, afterwards behold her as the governess of Madame de Montespan's children, and ultimately witness her ascent to the highest place which a woman can fill in French society, we are forced to recognise her claim to be considered the ablest woman of her time. In her, the passions, the affections, the emotions, were held in complete subordination to the judgment. Whether chaste or unchaste, parsimonious or lavish of

her fortune, faithful or faithless to her friends, she kept her eye fixed steadily on the point to which she desired to attain. Her mental and moral resources were extraordinary. No woman's fascination was greater when she desired to fascinate. At one time she suggested the idea of another Cleopatra, all passion and voluptuousness; and at another, of a rigid politician, caring for nothing but influence in the regulation of state affairs; and presently afterwards, she appeared, even to careful observers, to be absorbed entirely by ascetic ideas of devotion. To Louis XIV. she presented herself successively in all these lights. First, she captivated him by the richness of her form, the brilliance of her eyes, the luxurious grace of her movements; she next obtained ascendancy over his mind by suggesting prudent counsel in his affairs, domestic and public; and lastly, she gave irresistible force to her authority, by wielding, with consummate adroitness, the weapon of superstition.

To estimate such a woman was not within the competence of the Duchess of Orleans. In the lively gossip of her correspondence, she often appears nothing more than a vulgar *intriguante*. Sometimes, the most offensive epithets are applied to her in the impotence of outraged vanity; and, no doubt, the persons most favourable to Madame de Maintenon will admit that the very strongest terms supplied by language might occasionally be applied to her conduct without much impropriety. Through her instigations it was that Louis XIV. was led to perpetrate some of the most portentous acts of wickedness which disgraced his reign. Owing her ascent, in a great measure, to the aid afforded by the disciples of Loyola, she could not afterwards, even had she felt the inclination, refuse to co-operate with them in the development of their iniquitous designs. The hands which had proved so powerful in bringing about her elevation, would otherwise have hurled her remorselessly from the bad eminence she had reached, even, if need were, by poison or the dagger. To them, therefore, she was bound, and it would be highly instructive, if it were possible, to explain the secret connexion between this remarkable woman and the 'Order of Jesus.'

From what has been said, it is evident that we are not to look in these letters for a key to the more important characters or events of Louis XIV.'s reign. Yet, if we properly study her minute and apparently trivial revelations, we may obtain considerable assistance. Among other things, we are shown very distinctly the means by which the French nobility forfeited and lost their position in society. The entire court was nothing better than one vast hell, in which gambling was perpetually carried on in its most profligate forms, in connexion with every cognate and congenial vice. To provide the means of indulging this

propensity, men sacrificed their estates, and women their virtue. Princes and lacqueys, duchesses and courtesans, stood confounded together, by the base desire of gain, and many ancient houses, with an historical lustre around their names, sank into hopeless poverty, and disappeared altogether from public life. All employments in France, as well at court as in the army, were at that time sold for money, and as the aristocracy, ruined by their vices, were at length unable to command the means of purchasing them, the richer bourgeoisie became their rivals, and drove them gradually out of the field.

At the same time the government exhibited the most reckless indifference towards the rights, the comforts, and even the lives of all orders of the people. At first the king enjoyed the command of an immense revenue, which enabled him to afflict the territories of his neighbours with all the horrors and miseries of war, and while so doing, to exhibit in his various palaces the utmost splendour and extravagance of luxury. His mistresses blazed with jewels, and their apartments, as well as his own, with plate of gold; they devoured nightly at their suppers the revenues of whole provinces, and fortunes of great magnitude were won and lost in half an hour at play. As the regal prodigal and his companions of both sexes passed through the streets of Paris, the dazzled multitude rent the air with acclamations. But wars are expensive pleasures. Louis XIV. by degrees exhausted the resources of France, and annihilated, at the same time, his own popularity. The people died in the streets by hundreds of cold and hunger, the provinces were depopulated, famine became a frequent visitor, and the king, who had formerly been regarded as an object of idolatry, passed through the streets unnoticed or only excited manifestations of disgust. He was driven to make in his own dwelling sacrifices which were utterly contemptible when regarded as means of carrying on a great foreign war; he melted, for example, his gold plate into money, and supplied its place with articles of common earthenware. Had this change been made to effect some good purpose, it would have been entitled to praise; but, designed as it was, to multiply scenes of blood and slaughter, it excites nothing but scorn and execration. This Louis himself at length, when too late, discovered. He descended to the grave amid the curses of the French people, and bequeathed to his successors an empty treasury, a public credit destroyed, a debauched aristocracy, an impoverished and indignant people, and the fiery Nemesis of a revolution.

There are circumstances, however, which should make us pause before we condemn with unmitigated severity this pompous and selfish, but, at the same time, unhappy man. It is no doubt true that the private sufferings of Louis XIV. were no com-

pensation to the inhabitants of the devastated Palatinate, or to the persecuted and exiled Protestants. Yet, considered in himself, even this king excites our compassion. He had not in his childhood or in his youth received that elevating knowledge or that wholesome discipline which leads men to feel for others, or to reflect properly on their own conduct. Cardinal Mazarin, who must be considered as his father, and his weak and irresolute mother conspired to bring him up in ignorance and immorality. All around him contributed, by adulation and the most culpable compliances of all sorts, to inspire him with a false idea of his own character and position. He never understood politics or properly felt the responsibility attaching to the regulation of a nation's affairs. He had been taught to consider everything simply with reference to himself, to his grandeur, to his reputation, to his pleasures, and never once imagined that the office he filled only rendered him the first servant of the public. Acting in conformity with his own theory, he at once ruined the country, and laid up for himself an inexhaustible store of anguish and remorse. His wife, whom he had deeply wronged, died before him ; his mistresses each in her turn betrayed and disgraced him ; most of his children became monsters of depravity, and surrounded even his death-bed with proofs of their worthlessness and ingratitude. Dissensions, mutual hatreds, and secret projects of revenge obviously prevailed among them, and almost with his last breath he strove, with the consciousness perhaps that he strove in vain, to reconcile them to each other.

Nevertheless, according to the Duchess of Orleans, he exhibited much equanimity and resignation at the approach of death. He was perhaps glad to die. For many years he had encountered nothing but defeat and humiliation abroad, witnessed nothing in France but increasing poverty and discontent, and found nothing in his own family but unkindness, meanness, and moral turpitude. Even the yoke of Madame de Maintenon, rendered more galling by the interference of the Jesuits, may have secretly become insupportable to him, so that, with the philosopher of Malmesbury, he may have said inwardly, if not outwardly, that he should be glad to find any hole to creep out of the world at. His sister-in-law, whose letters throw so much light on the character and constitution of his court, evidently entertained a strong affection for him, notwithstanding that she never spared in her secret representation to friends in Germany or in England his failings or his vices. She was herself growing old at the period of his death, and, though she does not quite confess the fact in her very frank communications, it seems probable that the character of her son, who for some years was to take the king's place in public affairs, inspired her with little confidence.

The peculiar weakness of Charlotte Elizabeth naturally inclined her to view everything royal with veneration, and it is curious to observe the struggle which constantly takes place in her mind, when her inveterate love of gossip leads her to depreciate any regal personage. But wholly incapable of reserve, she first or last lets everything out. Even the Regent does not escape her maternal frankness, for, though she always maintains him to be good, she is very careful to prove him to be wicked. So again, when the necessities of her correspondence lead her to speak of Louis XV. in his boyhood, after calling him handsome, charming, and so on, she throws out insinuations which would have undoubtedly led an observing person to foresee the character of his reign. Though ignorant and undisciplined like his father, he was full of conceit and profoundly self-willed. The very form of his head, as she describes it, excites a prejudice against him; it was round, hard, repulsive, and though the features were well-formed, his face inspired neither love nor confidence. He is, besides, supposed to have been corrupted at a very early age by his governess, whom alone for many years he regarded with anything like preference. Everybody else was irksome to him, and it seems highly probable that this was as much owing to his own evil nature as to the insidious instruction he received.

There are libels existing in French literature, under the name of memoirs or chronicles, which undertake to reveal, with far too great boldness, the mysteries of the Regency. Upon these, of course, when unsupported by other evidence, we cannot place much reliance. But if we examine carefully the revelations of the Duchess of Orleans, we shall see that the fabricators of fiction did not much exaggerate, perhaps because they could not, the excesses of the Regent and his associates; or rather, we should perhaps say, of nearly the whole aristocracy. The audacious immorality of Pope Alexander VI. was rivalled, if not exceeded, by that of the Regent and his three daughters. To convey an adequate idea of their achievements in vice would exceed the licence granted to history or criticism. We must leave the picture to be filled up by the reader's imagination, but may remark, by the way, that the letters of Charlotte Elizabeth suggest only part of the truth, though quite enough to justify the most portentous suspicions.

With one of the most remarkable episodes, in what may not improperly be called her son's reign, most persons are tolerably familiar: we mean Law's Mississippi scheme. Still, she supplies numerous particulars which were wanting to complete the delineation of that startling folly. But the pens of princesses assume a liberty, especially when writing to each other, which we

can neither envy nor imitate. It may be sufficient to observe, that in their eagerness for money, ladies of the highest rank in France overstepped all the bounds of modesty and decorum. Regarding Law as a magician, rather than as a financier, and ready to perform or submit to anything by which they might enrich themselves, they pursued the adventurous Scotchman into the most private recesses of his house. To obtain admittance they had often recourse to the most ludicrous contrivances. One duchess ordered her coachman to upset her carriage opposite his door, and when he appeared to be proceeding a little too far, she thrust her head out of the window and screamed aloud: 'Upset now, upset now, you rogue!' Mr. Law's coachman, partly by speculation, partly through the enormous presents he received by way of bribe, was soon in a condition to quit his lucrative employment. As he had always conducted himself properly, the financier very much regretted his loss, and honestly told him so. The coachman replied that he was very much flattered, but that if Mr. Law would trust to him, he would undertake to recommend him a person every way equal to himself; Law, who was a good-natured fellow, was resolved to humour his Jehu, who made his appearance next morning, bringing two coachmen under his wing. He then gravely entered into their characters, and requested Mr. Law to make choice of the one he preferred. Mr. Law did so, and then inquired what was to become of the other? Oh, replied the man, with great naïveté: 'I shall take him for my own coachman.'

Occasionally the duchess varies the thread of her correspondence with tragical incidents, which the want of proper newspapers rendered extremely interesting to her friends. Her manner of relating is clever and exciting. She gives the circumstances as they come to her knowledge, and leaves you in doubt for several days or weeks, as the case may be, about the *dénouement*; for example, in one of her letters, we find the following startling narrative:—An abbé, the member of a noble family, who was greatly addicted to gambling, and led in other ways a disreputable life, went out rather late one evening to sup with a female relative. He had won at play several thousand golden Louis, which he shut up in a cabinet in his bedroom. To meet the demands which they who indulge in games of hazard may have at any moment made upon them, he was, moreover, in the habit of carrying considerable sums of money upon his person. In those days the streets of Paris were not quite so safe as they are at present. The monarchy, by impoverishing the people, tended to multiply footpads and cut-throats, so that it was by no means uncommon for nocturnal revellers to stumble over dead bodies in the streets. The abbé,

however, escaped all external perils, and arrived safe and sound at the door of his own lodgings. Ringing the great bell, he awoke the *concierge* or porter, who distinctly remembered the late hour at which he returned, as well as the fact that he appeared to be in a state of great excitement. His valet, whom he had had in his service for many years, came half way down the stairs to meet him. They then mounted to the abbé's chamber together, and the porter distinctly heard them shut the door. After that the whole house became perfectly quiet, and there being no more lodgers to be admitted, the *concierge* and his wife retired quietly to bed.

Next morning, when they arose, the wife, in pursuance of her avocations, went into what we should call the drawing-room, which lay exactly under the abbé's bedchamber. On throwing open the shutters she was astonished to observe upon the floor, which was composed of variegated patterns in polished oak, small pools of blood, which were constantly increased by drops from the ceiling, which on looking up she perceived to be discoloured to a very large extent. Greatly alarmed, she rushed out of the apartment and told her husband. The terrified couple having awakened some of the humbler lodgers, proceeded along with them to the abbé's bedroom, which they found locked on the outside but with the key in the door. It may easily be imagined that they did not turn the key or enter without much trepidation. Nor were their fears groundless, for they had not advanced many steps before they found the unfortunate abbé lying stretched upon the floor, with his head literally severed from his body. Such sights freeze the blood of persons unaccustomed to slaughter, and therefore the whole of these good people stood for some time perfectly aghast, gazing at the hideous spectacle before them. They instinctively asked themselves who could have committed so shocking a crime, and probably the thoughts of all fixed immediately upon the valet. He alone possessed the key of the abbé's room; the porter had heard them enter together, and, so far as he knew, there was no other person in the house upon whom suspicion could with any probability alight. The valet, therefore, must be the criminal, and the process which had gone on in the porter's mind was repeated in the imagination of all his companions.

But weak and inconclusive is the logic of sudden fright. On looking a few paces further, they observed the unhappy object of their suspicions weltering in his blood upon the floor, and likewise with his head severed from his body. This discovery of course bewildered them, because it now became necessary to look further for the murderer, and they all shuddered at the thought that it might perhaps be one of themselves. At all

events they looked most uncomfortably at each other, and speedily vacated the apartment to lay an account of the dreadful catastrophe before the proper authorities.

At this stage of the proceedings, the story was related to the Duchess of Orleans, who, according to custom, immediately introduced it into her letters, and circulated it by the next post through the greater part of Europe. The persons who received these communications were necessarily put upon the very tenter-hooks of curiosity. Who could possibly have killed the abbé and his valet? For several days, perhaps weeks, they must inevitably remain in ignorance, though everybody in Paris, as the duchess assured them, was talking of nothing else. Perhaps the dreadful secret might have been divulged, and while they were torturing themselves with horrible imaginings, the poorest applewoman in the streets of the favoured capital of France might be in possession of the knowledge which was denied to them. Meanwhile the honest duchess went on writing, mixing up farce, tragedy and comedy together, sometimes making her female friends laugh and sometimes weep. From the conclusion of the abbé's story, however, she abstained for a considerable time. At length the fact is introduced that the valet had a wife, and that this wife loved a man who was not her husband, a common soldier, too, in the Grenadier Guards. These persons, it was discovered, were the actors in the fearful tragedy; but the woman only was apprehended, for the villanous soldier, her partner in guilt, effected his escape, leaving her to face death alone. Here again the duchess makes a break in her narrative, and amuses herself with matters infinitely trivial. You conclude, consequently, as you read the volume, that you are to hear no more of the abbé's murderers, and become by degrees almost reconciled to remain in ignorance. But by and by the merciless letter-writer reverts to the tragedy, and lets fall the significant phrase that the criminals had defrauded justice by committing suicide. We infer, consequently, that the soldier was apprehended, though when, where, and in what manner, we are not informed.

When the Duchess of Orleans happens to be in the comic vein, which is very often, her stories assume a character which prevents our making unreserved use of them. She had brought with her from Germany no very remarkable degree of refinement, and was probably inclined by nature to look contemptuously on the conventionalities of society; but when to her indigenous coarseness the experience she acquired at the court of Louis XIV. had been added, it is difficult to imagine anything which she would not have written or said. This German frankness, of which even her editors complain, spoils some of her best stories. There is one, however, totally free from this fault, of which we

shall endeavour to convey some idea to our readers. To enter fully into the spirit of it would require much familiarity with the French court of that day; but, independently of this, the narrative is sufficiently amusing.

The Duke de La Force having run through all his property, as dukes often do, died, leaving behind him an only daughter. To this young lady nature had been as unkind as fortune, for, according to the Duchess of Orleans, she was thoroughly ugly. Among the courtiers of that period this was regarded not so much in the light of a misfortune as of a crime; hence everybody appeared to be at liberty to despise and ridicule the ugly. Still Mademoiselle de La Force had not been treated so entirely like a step-daughter by nature as to be left altogether without attractions. Instead of other qualities, she possessed a large share of intelligence, extraordinary powers of conversation, and the most fascinating manners in the world, so that in the blaze of her mental endowments the plainness of her countenance was completely forgotten. It is by no means surprising, therefore, that one of the princes of the house of Condé should have been so enamoured of her as to determine, in spite of her poverty, to marry her. As may easily be imagined, all his relatives became greatly alarmed, and took counsel together respecting the best means of frustrating the lover's hopes. At the court Mademoiselle de La Force enjoyed the reputation of a sorceress, because, without beauty or opulence, she succeeded in casting a spell over men by mere dint of accomplishments. It was not without violence that the young scion of the house of Condé could be snatched from her side, and hurried away to the family palace at Chantilly. There, surrounded by all those 'potent, grave, and reverend seniors' who constituted the body of his relatives, he was taken to task like a child, and made distinctly to understand that through their influence with the king the marriage he contemplated with a person so much beneath him should certainly be prevented. Having no other resource, the young man formed the idea of escaping from the dilemma by drowning himself, and, rushing forth into the garden, made directly towards a deep canal, bordered by poplars and willows, which ran, and still runs, at the bottom of it.

At this point of the story an incident occurs which has always appeared to us inexplicable. It suggested itself to the mind of this fiery lover that it would be more agreeable to drown himself without his clothes, and so he paused on the banks of the canal, and began deliberately to undress. Among the other things which he took off was an amulet, which Mademoiselle de La Force with her own fair hands had suspended by a riband about his neck. The moment he had done this all his love vanished

into empty air. He looked at the cold water of the canal with a shudder, and putting on his clothes again, and taking up the satchet, he returned into the palace, and having coolly related what had happened to his relatives, expressed his readiness to abandon his mistress for ever. In this way the young lady was deprived of her expected husband, and left to re-commence her attacks upon the hearts of men. It was not very long before another inamorato presented himself. This was a Monsieur de Brion, the son of a person high in office and influence, who, after the example of the Condé, offered the most violent opposition to the wishes of his heir. The plan he adopted promised to be no less effectual than theirs. Though the young man had reached the rational age of twenty-five, Monsieur de Brion shut him up like a child, and positively forbade him to hold any intercourse by letters or otherwise with his mistress. But if in one sense love be blind, it certainly exhibits great wealth of invention and quick-wittedness in others. Mademoiselle de La Force became acquainted with a wandering musician, who travelled about with a troop of tame bears, which he made to dance in the streets as he played. It should, perhaps, be observed that this lady was a writer of romances, and therefore familiar with all the ingenious devices of passion. She now formed a design by which she doubted not she should be able to triumph over the argus policy of the elder De Brion. Her scheme was to get herself sewed up in the skin of a bear, and in this disguise to proceed in company with her ursine friends to the court of Monsieur de Brion's house, there to dance and play tricks for the amusement of her lover, whom she contrived to apprise of her intentions. Her scheme succeeded. The musician played, the bears danced, the ardent lover descended to the court, and there, while apparently engaged in frolics with bruin, concerted a matrimonial rendezvous. The marriage took place, and the enchanted couple proceeded to Versailles, where Louis XIV. gave them apartments in the palace. But, alas! for the felicity of this world. De Brion, the father, proceeded like a tornado to the parliament of Paris, and there exerting his influence and his eloquence—perhaps also the force of his cash—obtained a dissolution of the marriage. Mademoiselle de La Force, once more become a spinster, abandoned all hopes of connubial life, and betook herself to the uniting of others in the pliant pages of romance, inwardly no doubt detesting that social system which thus enabled the wealthy and powerful to sport with the feelings and happiness of the poor.

From these recitals, which we preferred giving in our own words, the reader will be able to comprehend of what sort of materials the correspondence of the Duchess of Orleans consists. But she is not always relating anecdotes or telling stories.

Occasionally she draws characters, and when her prejudices do not stand in the way, she performs this difficult task with much ability. We may observe, however, that the new collection of letters is by no means so characteristic as the old one. In fact, the former editor, whoever he may have been, had made the best use of the materials at his disposal. It would probably be lost labour to reproduce the whole of her letters, because, as she was in the habit of repeating the same remarks and telling the same stories to three or four of her friends at the same time, and often exactly in the same language, her repetitions would soon become unendurable.

The picture she draws of her son, the Regent, which many persons censure as much too favourable, is, in our opinion, as free from partiality, as, considering it was drawn by a mother, it could possibly have been. She admits most of his vices and nearly all his faults, but is very naturally disposed to view them with as much leniency as possible. Besides it is very clear that the Regent was desirous of occupying as good a place in his mother's mind as circumstances would permit, a fact which we interpret greatly in his favour. When he desired to account to her for the reckless way in which he spent his evenings, he used to say that he got up at six in the morning and applied himself diligently to public business for ten or twelve hours, after which most persons besides a mother would acknowledge that some little relaxation was necessary. He had probably spent the day in this manner two or three times in his life, and was resolved to make the most of the phenomenon, in order that he might stand high for industry in the estimation of his mamma.

We are not quite convinced, moreover, that those historians who speak with unmitigated harshness of the Regent, are entitled to more confidence than his mother. When, for example, they say that he was the idlest of men, and that he thought of nothing but gratifying his worst passions, we are unable to accept their testimony literally. That his vices were very great, we admit; that his failings were still greater and more numerous is likewise true; but he was not altogether without his good qualities, among which were the frankness and facility with which he forgave his enemies, his freedom from the spirit of persecution, and the desire, which we believe to have been perfectly sincere, to benefit France to the utmost of his power.

Still we are far from being the apologists of the Duke of Orleans. What his own mother admits to his discredit is quite enough to determine the place he ought to occupy in history. He was an audacious and unscrupulous profligate, vehemently addicted to self-indulgence, and not very solicitous about the feelings or happiness of those who made themselves the ministers

of his pleasures. But if he treated them recklessly, he allowed them, without the slightest anger, to behave in exactly the same manner towards him. The women who professed to love him, were in all instances faithless, and he knew it; but, instead of considering himself entitled to take revenge, he evidently believed them to be justified, and continued to them all the favours and honours in his power. It was not to be expected that such a man should be desirous of acquiring a reputation in the world. He knew this to be impossible, and accordingly never made the attempt. But it was not too much to expect that he would take some care of his health, in order that he might live to revel in the enjoyments on which he set so much value. But this he did not do. When his physicians informed him that he was in danger of losing one of his eyes unless he changed his manner of living, or at least observed some degree of moderation, he paid no regard to their advice, but lived exactly as before, eating, drinking, and sitting up late, as if he had possessed a constitution of iron. The inflammation in the eye went on, therefore, and symptoms of apoplexy followed; but even when death stared him in the face, he persevered in his habitual indulgences, as if, like the Roman emperors, he cared not for existence, unless it was accompanied by the delights of sin. Some have inferred from this—and not, we confess, without probability—that so desperate a perseverance favours the supposition of his having been guilty of crimes so great, that he could only endure to live while his conscience was clouded by libertinism and excess. He was suspected of having indulged in the prevailing crime of the age—the poisoning of enemies; and the Princess des Ursins, who was among the circulators, or fabricators of this report, inspired extraordinary terror in his mother, when driven out of Spain she found herself under the necessity of returning to Paris. But this emissary of Madame de Maintenon experienced few scruples, when the character of man or woman was to be assailed. She had occupied the most mischievous post at the court of Spain, where she was a sort of professor of calumny, and the Duchess of Orleans consequently knew that the hatred which this termagant bore her son would induce her to let loose the flood-gates of her malice against him, whether he was innocent or guilty.

Another of the persons, whose characters are painted in this correspondence, is the Cardinal Dubois. Of this odious individual history has already, perhaps, said too much. Yet, he was possessed of extraordinary abilities, was learned, eloquent, and insinuating in his manners, and distinguished by so much effrontery, that no event in life ever appeared to disturb his

equanimity. It is not without some reason, therefore, that the Duchess of Orleans describes him as the evil genius of her son. A story is told of this man, in one of the memoirs of the time, which, because it has not been often repeated, we shall introduce briefly in this place. Though, as a priest, he was, of course, bound to celibacy, he became enamoured of a young girl in one of the distant provinces where he was then residing, and because he could win her love in no other way, he married her. For some time he was amused by her society, but his ambition at length urged him to seek his fortune in the capital, where the appearance of a priest with a wife would have been regarded as an absurdity too great for belief. The poor girl, therefore, was left behind, and in good faith and simplicity, waited many long years for his return; meanwhile, the adventurer had risen first to be an abbé and then a bishop, and was on the point of being raised to the rank of a cardinal, when he bethought him of his connubial exploit, and of the prejudice it might cause him should some enemy come to a knowledge of the fact, and make it public.

These difficulties Monsieur Dubois laid ingenuously before one of his friends, a member of the virtuous aristocracy celebrated by Burke, and this worthy nobleman undertook to deliver the future cardinal from all apprehension of the consequences of what was now termed his youthful folly. This scheme having been matured, the nobleman repaired to the village indicated by Dubois, and at the inn where he stopped, inquired, with apparent carelessness, about the village priest; saying, that if he were a jolly fellow, he should not dislike to be invited by him to dinner. The information was conveyed to the priest, and the desired invitation immediately came. Upon the quality of the dinner we need not dwell. The guest found it excellent, as well as the wines which followed. Dubois' friend could probably bear more wine than the worthy curé, and, besides, was too deeply interested in remaining perfectly sober to be betrayed into any excess. Adroitly, as if by accident, he introduced into their merry conversation the subject of the expectant cardinal's marriage, which he was careful to say he did not in the least believe. Upon this remark, the good priest gave a knowing wink, and said, he knew something on that point, which was better kept secret. 'I see,' observed the nobleman, 'you are inclined to humour the joke; but it is quite impossible it should be true.' 'Not so impossible as you imagine,' replied the curé, 'since I have now the register of the marriage in the house, which I can show you if you are incredulous.' The guest affecting not to be convinced, the priest, with an important air, brought forth from a cupboard the fatal book, and, with some difficulty—for the wine had begun

to produce its effect—pointed out the entry of the marriage. Upon seeing it, the nobleman confessed he could not now doubt the fact, but became thoughtful and moody. Observing this, the curé said he would bring out a bottle of wine which would soon put his melancholy to flight. This he did, but the good man himself was the first to succumb beneath its power. Leaning back in his easy chair, he yielded to sleep, and began, no doubt, to dream of mitres and scarlet hats. This was the decisive moment. The melancholy nobleman, having torn the leaf out of the register, folded it carefully, and put it into his pocket; after which he closed the book, roused the priest, and speedily took his leave, having abused the good man's hospitality, and ruined for ever the hopes of Dubois' wife. What reward this person met with, we forget; but it is to be hoped that he finished his career in the galleys. Dubois, however, became a cardinal, and assisted largely in bringing about the ruin of the French monarchy.

Living among such persons, it is clear that the Duchess of Orleans could never be in want of materials, with which to fill her letters, or render them piquante. It is to her credit that she made the most of these materials, and has left behind her some of the most amusing and instructive volumes in the whole collection of French memoirs. Unfortunately, they cannot be translated, the duchess's pen being much too cynical to find suitable expressions in the English language. We have brought them before our readers as containing a specimen of literature which is popular in Germany and in France, and also as a curious instance of the amusements of persons in the most exalted rank. There is no advantage that we are aware of in being ignorant of such matters; and we think it better that they should be known to English readers in this manner than in translations by writers who would transfer to our language all the objectionable passages, as well as those which we have given. We conceive it to be no small part of our duty in providing materials for literary recreation, occasionally to make selections of this kind, guarding with all care against passing the boundaries which separate the right from the wrong—the safe from the noxious—according to our Christian standard. It is by proceeding on this principle, rather than by eschewing the lighter regions of literature, that we hope to avoid, on the one hand, the extreme of intolerable dulness, and on the other, that familiarity with gilded vice which is all the more dangerous that, by not disgusting with its grossness, it prevents alarm, and works on the unconscious reader an amount of mischief which it is as difficult to calculate as it is impossible to erase.

ART. III.—*The Bible in many Tongues.* London: Religious Tract Society.

2. *Bible Triumphs.* A Jubilee Memorial. By Rev. T. Timpson. 12mo.

3. *The Bible of every Land.* 4to. London: Bagster. 1851.

4. *The Bible in India.* 8vo. Calcutta.

5. *Report of the Forty-ninth Anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society.*

6. *Jubilee Tracts relating to the British and Foreign Bible Society.*
Nos. I.—X.

It has always appeared to us a remarkable phenomenon that it should have been left to the nineteenth century to commence a system of multiplying and distributing copies of the Scriptures in all languages, at all adequate to the wants of the human race. This omission is the more impressive when we remember what races of profound and fervent biblicists have lived in the world, or have consumed themselves with zeal, and yet never perceived what seems so very obvious to us—the vast means which a philanthropic association places at the disposal of the Christian scholar for imparting a copy of the word of God to remote nations, for the very knowledge of whose language and history we are indebted to the modern missionary. Nor is this neglect to have circulated a competent supply of copies of the Scriptures peculiar to one age or one country; for even the fathers of the Church, and those of them who made biblical studies their forte, never seem to have intended to multiply copies of God's word to any further extent at most than they had disciples. These disciples of the Christian faith were indeed of all nations; and hence we learn in various places of the works of Jerome and Origen, of early translations of the Bible into the Italic, the Syriac, the Æthiopic, the Coptic, and the Sahidic, as well as into the Arabic, the Mæso-Gothic, and the Armenian languages. But for the most part we are ignorant of the real authors of these early versions, though there can be little doubt of their existence; for, accustomed as we have ever been to the contemporary use of copies of the Scripture in our own tongue, from the first period of our religious sensations, it is difficult for us to understand how, in those furious ante-Constantinian times, men of so many different climes could have nurtured their piety to so great a height without the daily use of copies of Holy Writ. We imagine that Christians would in those days write out for their own use certain parts of the Bible, and at a time when books were rare even on

worldly topics, the habitude of men's minds must have been more independent of written records, and so the memory and the ear in those days perhaps were better cultivated than with us. And no doubt it was owing in great measure to that less extensive and less minutely accurate, or to that merely general knowledge of the Bible that we find so great a growth of the rankest heresies from the first to the end of the fourth century, and so feeble a spirit among even the believers in the biblical documents in developing the utter falsehood of novel and shallow beliefs, which, but for the extension of Mormonism among ourselves, we could scarcely credit to be tenable for an hour now, or to be owned by any except the entirely uneducated.

After the fourth century, when the spirit of antichrist was rapidly taking the papal form, we cease to wonder at the comparatively infrequent use of or appeal to the Scriptures that we find almost everywhere manifest in the movements of the churches; for saints had become the rivals of the prophets and the apostles, and of course their *pseudo* gospels, epistles, and apocalypses were in rising demand; and in dealing with heretic opinions we often find good and true men quoting books now unknown, or uttering sentiments at which one now smiles, while we are wondering why the champions for the truth did not quote the Scriptures boldly and at once. The truth is, the Scriptures were in those times much less known even by the teachers than they are now: writing, however good, is always difficult to read, at least for a long period; and, as entire copies of the Bible must have always been, while they depended on the pen, expensive articles, we can see at once why so many of our old MSS. only comprise parts of the Scriptures, and why polemic theologians have sometimes failed to quote passages which would have been most apt to the occasion.

Chrysostom, who lived in the fourth century, in his Second Homily on John, says, 'By the translation of the Scriptures into the native language of the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Indians, the Persians, and Ethiopians, who were formerly barbarians, the world had learned the true art of philosophizing;' while Theodoret, in the early part of the following century, makes a similar boast. For he observes, 'The Hebrew is not merely translated into the Greek, but also into the Roman and the Egyptian,' and he mentions too 'the Armenian, the Scythian, and the Sarmatian.' (Therap., Serm. 5.) Of the authors of these translations nothing satisfactory is now known. Nor does all ecclesiastic antiquity contain, that we know of, one single good book on the art of translation itself. From the fourth to the eighth century we are not aware of a single translation of the

Scriptures except one into the Georgian ; and, though in the age immediately preceding the Reformation there were many translations made of parts or the whole of Scripture into the French, the German, the Dutch, the Italian, the English and Spanish languages, for the most part they remained in MS. till the discovery of printing, one of those greatest arts which were born in heaven to re-organize the whole fabric of human society.

The works that stand at the head of this paper are of very different qualities. The last two, which are issued under the direction of the Earl-street Committee, make little pretension to authorship, and are published only as a part of the business operations of the society, with the exception of the Jubilee tractates, which are intended to bring before the Christian public a general summary of the labours and projects of the association. We recommend them to the careful perusal of those members of the various congregations of our common protestantism whose attention has hitherto not been sufficiently attracted to the claims of the Bible Society. 'The Bible in India' is a pamphlet written in that country, and is intended to show to how beneficial an extent the circulation of the Scriptures has already affected a considerable portion of the Indian population, to which the four hundred and three missionaries that labour there have no means of access. It is drawn up in a catholic spirit, and particularly points out to European Christians the great number of instances in which the mere reading of the word of God has led to the conversion of individuals. We quote the following from this tract which will interest our readers :—

'The Rev. C. Krauss, of Kishnagur, a few years ago related to the Calcutta Bible Association that a few months ago, there came to me an old man, a Muchi by profession, and of considerable property, with an old and much used copy of the Gospel of St. Matthew, carefully wrapt in a piece of cloth. Holding it in his hand, he said, 'Sir, a few years ago I met with this delightful book ; I have read it through and through, and the more I read in it, the more I am convinced of the truth of your religion. I am, therefore, anxious to obtain a larger book of your religion, as I perceive that there are such with you, and then, if you allow me, I will sit in your verandah and read it through all the day long. Your God shall be my God, and you shall be my teacher.' The narrator added, 'Since that time his sons keep him in a closet with his New Testament, and he is not allowed to come near me.'

The tract is filled with similar instances of the efficacy of the Scriptures alone to effect a thorough change in the heart of the Hindoos. 'The Bible Triumphs, is a Jubilee Memorial,' by Mr. Timpson, belonging to the industrious family of well-intended compilations to which its author and a large number of gentlemen who might have produced original works have devoted their at-

tention. This work will repay the perusal to all those who have not from other sources learned the history of the British and Foreign Bible Society. 'The Bible in many Tongues' is, we believe, the compilatory work of Dr. Angus, of Stepney College, and published by the Religious Tract Society, and, as a breviary of the larger subject, which is more scholastically dealt with by Mr. Bagster, it well deserves being made public. The little book of Dr. Angus is the contribution to the jubilee year of the Bible Society of a mind deeply imbued with the love of Oriental lore, but of which the author is modestly content to make no greater a display than is furnished by the few pages of 'The Bible in many Tongues.' We want both words, room, and time to speak adequately of the important 'Bible of every Land,' in 4to, by the house of Bagsters, to whose name modern biblical scholars are already so deeply indebted. It is indeed enough that the name of Bagster the publisher is as well known in the world of biblical literature now, as several of the time-honoured names of printers who lived at Paris, in Batavia, and at Amsterdam in particular, from two to three centuries ago; but the work of which we are speaking could only have appeared in our own age. We understand, indeed, the work is already out of print, so self-evident must have been its great advantages to that numerous body of biblical critics who are pursuing their knowledge of the Scriptures through the important medium of philologic analogy, or to the biblical amateurs who are merely desirous of gratifying their natural curiosity by examining the progressive fidelity with which our missionary translators have infused the sense of revelation into many languages which had no grammar till they made one, and could scarcely be pronounced a written language at all. 'The Bible of every Land' contains original specimens of all the languages into which the Scriptures have been translated, a brief history of the languages themselves, and most important historic notices of valuable labourers who at different periods had employed themselves in forwarding the translation of the Scriptures. The volume is especially rich in its department of Oriental translations, with which the great bulk of biblical scholars had remained, till our own age, almost generally unacquainted. We could heartily desire that a copy of this volume might be placed in every public library, which, indeed, as long as it lacks the boon, cannot be said to possess one of the most important works of the modern press.

The original writers of the Scriptures had the subjects presented to them without previous preparation; they had no philologic difficulties to overcome, nor had they any reason to be studious of their style; for they wrote as they were 'moved by the Holy Ghost,' or, in other words, as they were inspired. But

the translator, to all his other disadvantages, has to add the necessity under which he lies to understand the subject of which the sacred authors wrote, to study as well the genius of both the language from which he would translate and that into which it is his intention to convey the divine sense; and on no occasion may he depend on the divine superintendence which conducted the performances of prophets or apostolic men. The translation of the Scriptures is no ordinary enterprise; for whoever would undertake the labour should be a person in *moral harmony with the spirit of the authors*—should have a habitude of judgment, of competent self-controul, and be strongly penetrated by a profound deference to divine truth. A mere scholastic genius who believes the Bible to be a merely human production can never feel that sense of authority which belongs to every portion of the divine communications; and, destitute of the hallowed anxieties of which the life of biblical translators is so full, he—influenced chiefly by the hopes of human praise—would render the teachings of Christ and Moses with as little concern into a new language as he would the sentiments of Theocritus or Plato. So far from being actuated by a proud and over-confident reliance on the human faculties for his work, the translator of the Bible should possess a deep feeling of the liability of the best-constituted minds to go astray, and of the almost imperceptibly small occasions that are sufficient to induce the preference of error to truth. This sense of the inadequacy of our best powers for the work will force the translator into frequent habits of prayer; nor will he be ashamed to own his dependence on this source of illumination, as he can easily believe that God will as soon hearken to the wants of a literary servant of His as to those of a Christian who wants bread or health, defence from foes, or restoration to liberty. Besides the moral qualifications, the translator of the Bible should possess a sufficient amount of those that are literary. He should be so familiar with rabbinic learning as not to be carried off his guard by even such rare scholars as Reuchlin, Pagninus, Sebastian Munster, and old Buxtorf, who learned their views from those rabbinic teachers whose whole life had been spent in the conjectural interpretation of the Targums. On the other hand, our translator should not run wild into the other extreme of Forster, who, to guard against the follies of the rabbinites, thought a perfect knowledge of the Hebrew could be acquired from the sacred volume alone, and who was followed by Stockius, Gussetius, and others. The sound mindedness requisite to the translator will equally defend him from the follies of the Avennarian and the hieroglyphic schools, the former of which, from being too tenaciously attached to the idea that the Hebrew was the primitive language (vide his ‘*Liber Radicum*’), and the

latter embracing the cabbalistic system, which, by dealing with the Hebrew letters in the spirit of legerdemain, evokes from them almost every sense which the sciolist may determine. Of the vagaries of scholastic philology the translator is in constant peril ; for, while Herman Vander Hardt recognises the Greek as the most ancient language, M. d'Olivet believes that the Hebrew is the pure idiom of the old Egyptian, such as it was spoken in the times of Joseph, and that all knowledge of the Hebrew has been lost for ages (!) and that to translate the books of Moses properly he would be obliged to render many of the passages into senses that would shock and astonish all our ideas !

Every translator of the word of God, in addition to possessing an accurate command of the critical language from which he translates, should be familiar with the various versions that have obtained celebrity in former times, which, from having been made at a date anterior to the greater part of the oldest manuscripts we now possess, must possess considerable authority in deciding the primitive condition of the text, and of course determining the value of the *variæ lectiones*, though a wise translator must never forget either the time or place at which the version was made. It must be also remembered that although the old versions often figure in the pages of the commentators, they, as a body, have yet to be philologically criticised. Among the earliest of the versions is that of the Septuagint, which stood to the primitive Christians who could not read Hebrew in the character of the original Old Testament, and hence no doubt the reverence with which it was regarded. We ourselves care little for the opinions of either Rosenmuller or Bishop Horsley on the corrupted reputation which this version is supposed to possess. The greatest and most assiduous attention is due to its authority, and to it alone may often be attributed the safe clue to the disputed reading of the Hebrew Bible. The version of the Vulgate is every way inferior to that of the Septuagint, or even to some of the other Greek translations, but, whether the work which has so absolute an authority with the Roman Catholic Church owe its inferiority to the rapidity of its Jeronymian execution, or perhaps in part to later corruptions, we will not say, but we may certainly conclude that it is inferior to some of the older Latin versions that preceded the Vulgate.

Our translator should also be able to consult the authority of the ecclesiastical fathers. It would never become a good translator of the word of God to give too great a leaning even to the earliest and the best preserved of the fathers of the Church ; for we all know from how eccentric a stand-point many of them viewed the Scriptures ; nor must it be forgotten that in the greater number of instances the quotations of Scripture were

merely made from memory, and that before a period when the necessity for absolute accuracy of quotation had been generally received. As well as with the ancient versions our translator should also be familiar with the best of the modern translations of the Holy Scripture. The superiority of these, effected for the most part in an age when classical erudition was but half exhumed from the clay, will appear by comparing the English version of 1611 with the many that have been made since, whether made of parts, as Goode's book of Job, or the new translation of the Unitarians. Even the old version of Luther's German Bible will be attended with peculiar advantages to the translator in rendering some portions of the Scriptures, while from the works of Augusti and De Wette, and especially of that rare fund of philological science to be found in Gesenius's commentary, every translator would avail himself.

Omitting for the present the great importance of proper lexicons, critical commentaries, and concordances, &c., which may be necessary to the translator of the Scriptures, a translator of the Scriptures who aims at lasting utility and imperishable honour must also pay considerable attention to such universally-established canons of biblical criticism as inevitably bear on his object. According to Dahti, 'a translator must express the words of the original according to their true sense, without addition or abatement, agreeably to the language into which it is made, and without introducing into it modes of expression peculiar to the original. So that it can instantly and without difficulty be understood by those who understand no language but that of the translation, just as those understood the original for whose use it was made.' If this be true, then, a good translation must faithfully exhibit the sense of the original documents; and in doing this the translator has first to find the sense, to separate it from all ambiguity; but how can he be said to do either without the translator be ever faithful to every idea contained in the originals, and, in truth, to every ascending or descending modification of the sacred sense? Nor ought the translator to obtrude his own supernumerary ideas, or to give utterance to the sentiments of others in his work that are not in the original. A good translation must be literal without being slavish; free in spirit and in word, without licentiousness; not a mere paraphrase, nor something briefer even than the sacred writings; true, without being a mere verbal interchange; close, in opposition to a loose and languid style; simple as the talk of childhood, but rigidly correct as the enunciations of the geometer; the language and thought of the translation should be characterized by purity and energy, avoiding at the same time the either extremes of too great an air of antiquity or too near a re-

semblance to the polish of modern speech. It should be perspicuous whether the original be so or not, and there should be no discrepancy between one portion of the translation and another; uniform without monotony, and harmonious without an affected regard to the laws of rhythm. The terse idioms of the Hebrew and the Greek should be as rigidly preserved as possible, and in dealing with the various forms of figurative language with which the Scripture is overflowing, care should be taken to steer clear of the Sylla of a loose and indefinite phraseology, and of the Charybdis of too minute an imitation of orientalism.

Besides the above, the translator must be prepared to deal adequately with all the proper names of Scripture, with its anthropomorphic utterances, and by giving to the poetic, the historic, the prophetic, and the evangelistic portions of the hallowed records their appropriate attributes, yet preserve among the ubiquitous whole that fine spirit of uniform oneness which all the books of God must necessarily possess. He should ever bear in mind the influence which his translation will exert either to advance the reader in his search for the divine meaning or in hindering his progress. Nor to accomplish this end can the translator be indifferent to the customs and peculiar opinions that once prevailed among eastern nations; to their various views of chronology, natural history, meteorology, geography, and national history. And while he thus distributes his attention among all these topics, he must not forget that patient application to his own rules, and that frequent self-revision without which the translator will but ill prove that he is master of that dignified habit of mental sobriety which involves freedom from the prejudices of all the various schools of exegetical or popular theology. The peculiarities of the patriarchal, the Mosaic, and the Christian systems, the sects of the Jewish nation in the times of our Lord, and the reigning peculiarities of the Gentile world, so far as it was contemporaneous with the period in which the epistolary writings of the New Testament were produced, will be also necessary to a good translator of the word of God.

Now, the question occurs to us, were the translators of the Scriptures who have been employed or countenanced by the British and Foreign Bible Society men of this kind, or were they deficient either in the moral, the intellectual, or the scholastic qualities which we have thus conceived to be necessary to a translator? We believe for the most part in their aptitude for the great and the immortal works they have undertaken, and when the present generation is all extinct, and a purer age comes to the revision of their work, we believe that its verdict will be substantially like our own. It is, however, necessary that we

should lay before our readers a brief view of what the Earl-street Institution has effected in the first half century of its operations ; but, while we can do this, so far as its own documentary evidence furnishes the means, those documents, extensive and extraordinary as they are, furnish but a feeble survey of the grand entirety of the influence of this Society, that has embraced all nations in its comprehensive benevolence. Not to dwell for the present on the prodigious share which our own nation primarily, and the European kingdoms in general, have received from the labours of this Society, who can help feeling a noble exultation at the extension of its devout and energetic designs to evangelize those hundreds of millions of the human family which people with their monosyllabic tongues the vast field spreading from the east of the Burrampooter, including the Burmese empire, and extending from Thibet north to Siam and Cambogia on the south, and throughout China, including all its eastern seaboard ? These languages, indeed, are not very numerous, and are all based on the Chinese ; but they branch themselves into two divisions—viz., the Indo-Chinese and the Thibetan. Of these, translations have been made into the Assamese, of the entire Bible ; into the Munipoora, of the New Testament by Carey ; into the Khossee, of the four Gospels and the Acts, though the whole of the New Testament is translated ; into the Burmese, of the whole Scriptures by Dr. Judson of the American Bible Society and the Serampore Missionaries ; and into the Siamese, of two Gospels by the same translators. And then for the Chinese empire itself, now the seat of as much civil war as the effeminate Chinamen can command, we have, by Drs. Morrison, Milne, Marshman, and Gutzlaff, the whole Bible printed, and at so low a price that the New Testament can be sold with a small profit for 4d. per copy ; while the New Testament is also printed in the Manchou language by Lipoffzoff and Borrow. The Calmuc tongue now contains its version of the New Testament ; and for Eastern Mongolia we also possess a printed copy of the entire Bible in the Buriat language, which, though spoken by less than 200,000 persons, is of immense value in its cognate relations to other tongues.

In a linguistic point of view, the near forty languages of a totally different class spoken throughout India present to the European and Christian scholar aspects of greater exhilaration still. Beginning with the Sanscrit, the great classical mother of all the Indian tongues, we now possess the whole Scriptures through the translations of Messrs. Carey, Yates and Wengar ; and when we remember the extraordinary preference for this tongue among all the educated classes of India, its importance can scarcely be overrated. The Hindostanee, spoken by near thirty millions of

people, now possesses the entire Bible ; but for this immense population the British and Foreign Bible Society and all other private resources have only printed 113,000 copies ! To the Serampore missionaries, Northern and Central India is indebted for a translation of the Scriptures into the Bengali, spoken by at least 30,000,000 of people. The whole Bible also has been translated into the Orissa or Uriya language, which is spoken by 3,500,000 ; and for the upper provinces of Bengal, we have now the whole Bible translated into the Hinduwee, which spreads over a population of 25,000,000 souls. Translations have also been made of the whole or parts of the New Testament into the various languages of Central and Upper India, known to us by the names of the Bughelcundee, the Bruj, the Canoj, the Koshala, the Harrowkee, the Oojein, the Oodeypoora, the Merwur, the Juyapoor, the Bikeaneara, and the Buttaneer. Of the Sindhu, spoken by at least 10,000,000 persons we have a printed translation of parts of the New Testament ; but in the Moultan dialect, spoken by 4,000,000, we possess only the New Testament. The Serampore missionaries have completed the translation of the entire Scriptures into the Punjabee, or the tongue of the Sikhs, who are reckoned at 10,000,000 ; and besides translations of parts of the Word of God into the Jumboo or Mountain Punjabee, and the Cashmerian, which prevails north of Lahore among three quarters of a million, the same brave and hallowed band of Christian linguists have produced for the 2,000,000 of the Nepaulese the New Testament, in addition to parts of it in the dialects called by the names of Gurwhal, Kumaon, and Palpa. Thirty-three thousand copies of entire or parts of the Scriptures are all that have been yet printed for the 10,000,000 of Telingese, in the Madras Presidency. For the 7,000,000 of inhabitants who occupy the Karnatic, parts of and the whole of the Scriptures have been printed, but in what numbers we are not able to inform our readers ; but they may rest assured that it is only in proportion to the miserable 32,500 for the near 2,500,000 who occupy Travancore and Malabar and speak the Malayalim. And for the Presidency of Bombay, Christian, but chiefly missionary, scholars have printed in the Kunkuna, a dialect spoken by at least 1,000,000 of people, copies of the Pentateuch and the New Testament. The entire Bible has also been placed in the hands of the 3,500,000 who use the Mahratta ; and, perfected by the extraordinary erudition and zeal of the Serampore scholars, God's Holy Word is now printed in the Gujerattee, which is vernacular to at least 5,000,000 of the inhabitants of India ; while even for the little province of Cutch, not containing more than 50,000 persons, parts of the New Testament are already printed. And for the languages of Ceylon, British Christians have pro-

vided translations of the Scriptures both in the Pali (with Burmese character) and in the Indo-Portuguese.

Of the other Asiatic languages, in which the British and Foreign Bible Society have printed editions, we may mention 2000 copies of the Judeo-Arabic, in Hebrew characters, for the Israelites in various parts of the East; the Persic New Testament, by Henry Martyn, and the Old Testament, by Archdeacon Robinson, with portions of three other translations, in all 31,857 copies. For the use of the Affghans, above 4,000,000 in number, the historic books of Scripture and the New Testament; in the Pushtoo and in the Balochce, three Gospels have also been printed. If we pass to the nations bordering on the Caucasus, we shall find translations of some of the Gospels in the Ossitinian, the New Testament in modern Armenian, and in the Ararat Armenian, as well as in the Trans-Caucasian, or Tartar tongue, we have St. Matthew's Gospel. The New Testament and the Psalms have been printed in the Caress or Turkish Tartar, as well as in the Orenburgh Tartar. Either the Gospels or the New Testament have been also published for the Finnish tribe, speaking the Ischereschian and the Isscheremissian dialects; while for three other Finnish tribes we have considerable editions in print, either of the Gospels or the New Testament.

For the people of Southern Europe, besides editions in Italian, Piedmontese, and modern Greek, we have to record 12,000 copies of the entire Bible in the Turkish, both in Greek and in Armenian character; and 14,000 copies have been distributed among the 6,750,000 of the people occupying Servia and Bulgaria, in their respective languages. The New Testament in Armenian and in the Catalan, and parts of or the entire of the New Testament in the dialect of the Spanish Basque (Escuara) have been long since issued by the Earl-street Institution, as well as in the Quanian or Norwegian Lapponee, the Faroese or old Icelandic, and in the Esquimaux language.

While the sympathies of the Bible Society have been thus active in behalf of the people of Asia and Europe, they have not overlooked the claims of dejected Africa, for the entire Bible has been printed in the Amharic for the use of Abyssinia; in the Berber, parts of the Gospels; in the Bullom and Mandingo, St. Matthew, as well as in the various tongues known to us of Europe by the names of the Accra, the Yomba, the Grebo, the Namarque, the Sechnana, and the Caffre, as well as in the Sesuto, various parts of the Scriptures have been published, and no doubt with many a beneficent historic result, which will never be revealed till the sea of memory gives up her dead.

And in addition to these incredible results, the labours of the Bible Society have extended their devout care to the wants of

the different people occupying the continent of America. We find a record of 2000 copies of parts of the Old Testament and the whole of the New in the Esquimaux, for the district of Labrador, and similar portions of Scripture are printed in the tongues called the Mohawk, the Mic-Mac, the Chippeway, the Delaware, the Choctaw, and the Dakota, for the use of those doomed and diminishing races the aboriginal Indians. And for South America the Bible Society has printed several editions of portions of the Scriptures in the negro dialect of Surinam and Dutch Guiana, and in the same dialect of Curaçoa; and in the Cinnara for the region of Bolivia, and in the Mexican of the Gospel of St. Luke.

We have indeed but one district more to mention, which is that of Polynesia, which probably covers as great a space as the locality of any other of the diversely scattered parts of the human family. Beginning with Malay, the Society has at different periods published 36,000 copies of the New Testament. For the Javanese the same part of Divine Truth has been translated, and though only 3500 copies of it have been circulated, the people themselves at least amount to 2,500,000. In the Dyak language the New Testament has also been published, and while we can only boast of the publication of the Gospel of John for the enormous and long overlooked population of Japan, a beginning of the good work has been at last made. Through the translation of Dr. Bettelheim, Luke and the Acts have but recently issued from the press in the dialect of Loochoo. The inhabitants of Hawaia, Tahiti, and Rarotonga have many copies of the whole Scriptures, through the learned and laborious zeal of the missionaries, in their respective languages. A version is now in a state of preparation for the Marquesas Islands, while the Tongan and Maori have other parts beside the New Testament in circulation. In the Malayese, also spoken by at least 4,700,000 persons, the entire Bible is translated, and 27,258 copies of it have been distributed already. The people using the Feejean may now read the New Testament in their vernacular language; and the inhabitants of Mare and New Caledonia will shortly enjoy a similar privilege, while in the Papuan language a portion of the Gospel is already printed.

It would, however, convey but an imperfect idea of the extent of the labours of the British and Foreign Bible Society, if we were to confine our attention to the works it has performed for those nations which are more or less severed from Europe by the inappreciable distance of speaking another language. It were but a poor consolation to the biblically indigent in France, Germany, and England to be told that our Bible Society had been the means of distributing 2,000,000 copies of the Scriptures in

the various languages of India, if we could not also show that it had not expended all its charities on foreign objects. Besides, however, issuing near 30,000,000 of copies of portions or of the entire of the Scriptures in 150 different languages, the Society has remembered the growing poverty of one large section of the community in a high state of civilization, the rapidity with which books are worn out among us, from fifteen to twenty per cent., and has issued or has caused to be issued, 16,023,266 copies of the Old or New Testament in the English language, 117,543 in Irish, 816,759 in Welsh, 143,645 in the Gælic, and 7250 copies in the Manx language. And the following eight of the continental Bible Societies, all the daughters of our own, have issued—

' From the Swedish Bible Society	670,413	Copies.
„ Danish ditto	203,262	„
„ Netherlands ditto	487,911	„
„ Prussian ditto	1,694,620	„
„ Würtemberg ditto	623,515	„
„ Saxon ditto	218,400	„
„ Swiss Societies	719,719	„
„ Paris ditto	543,403	„

'In addition to these large issues, and a variety of private grants, not fewer than 800,000 copies of the German New Testament were furnished, at an early period, to some zealous individuals, for distribution; and a still larger number, both of Bibles and Testaments, have been circulated by those agencies of the Society hereafter to be noticed.'

Much, however, as has been effected, we must not forget what part of the work yet remains to be accomplished. Of the family of African languages, there are yet 201 into which the Scriptures have not been translated, 170 of the American; of the Polynesian, 62; of the Ugro-Tartarian, 39; of the Slavonic, 10; of the Indo-Chinese, 31; of the Monosyllabic, 13; of the Sanscrit, 23; of the Indo-European, 20; of the Græco-Latin branch, 10; and of the Celtic, 3 languages. What, however, are even these, compared with the table of languages as exhibited by Mons. Balbi or Adelung, the latter of whom reckons all the languages in the world to be no fewer than 3064, while the atlas of the former exhibits 800 languages and above 5000 dialects!

In reviewing, however, what has been effected, we would not monopolize to our Bible Society the whole credit of its wondrous achievement, for what could it have done without the coadjutory succour of the biblical scholars which have been found in every class of the modern missionaries? Nearly thirty of the agents of the London Missionary Society, ten belonging to America,

nine from the Wesleyan Society, and six of the Moravian Church have been employed in the department of translating the Scriptures; while a great number from the Baptist Society, the Church of England, and the Presbyterian Churches have also nobly shared the toil and are just claimants to a portion of the honour. We could indeed wish to see accomplished by some friend of the Bible Society who possesses a sufficient competence for the work, a history of all these new translations, in which their honoured authors would of course find their appropriate place; and if the work were undertaken by some one who would supply the public with the information which it would have an interest in receiving, we cannot doubt of its success. The difficulties, the invention, the frequent failures and the final success of the translators would be a laudable history; and as the Gospel must be translated into *all* languages before the people can be disciplined to Christ, the sooner the business of translation is undertaken the better for all classes of genuine Christians.

Not only, however, has the judicious and fervent zeal of the Earl-street Institution shown itself in providing some 150 classical channels through which it can pour the pure word of God into the ears of discordant nations, but the Society has been equally wise in providing a large staff of distributors of copies of the Scriptures when printed. Of all the means that bid fair to extend the knowledge of the Bible, especially among people not ripe for its reception, we know of no set of agents so aptly qualified for the work as the well-adapted *colporteur*, or the Bible-hawker. It is true that any person might sell copies of the Scriptures, whether he believed their contents or not, but such an one is not the pious *colporteur* of the Bible Society. He is a man of tried and approved probity, who loves his work, can brave the perils incident upon it, is bold enough to climb the mountain abodes of scattered cottages, or to visit the nefarious dens of men of abandoned manners; and so strongly fortified by the power of the experimental knowledge he possesses of evangelic life, that he can either maintain his ground with the Jesuit priesthood, the talented scorner of the Christian hope, or with the arrant but wily advocate of atheistic notions. With his pack on his shoulders, our *colporteur* tracks all the footsteps of men to the country wake or fair, to the gala shows of higher life, to the barrack yard of the neglected soldier, to the tide of emigrants about to quit their native country for ever, to the rendezvous of the sailor, or to those scenes of recreation where citizens congregate to spend their time or their money. And many a cheering message does he bring home in return for his labours, while the gross amount of copies that find their way into circulation by these means seems all but incredible. France appears

to be the country in which the idea of distributing copies of Scripture by the agency of the colporteur was originated, and the Parisian Bible Society now employs eighty-four of these individuals, who carry copies of the Bible for sale into those circles of the infidelized population whose youth passed under the irreligious influence of the revolution. Seventy of these eighty-four agents are converts from the Roman Catholic sect, and are, by the circumstances of their own history, peculiarly adapted to wrestle with a people who have neither seen any other form of Christianity than the papal one, or who having long learned to distrust it, are found too often ignorant of any other alternative than that of infidelity. Gratifying instances are frequently occurring in which the result of the colporteur's visit is not merely a free sale of copies of Scripture, but a large number of converts who have renounced the errors of the papacy, or of many of those infidel opinions that are commonly held in France. Leaving the difficulties of political science to the wiser body of citizens, the humble-minded colporteur, whose average income in France does not exceed £56 per annum, gives himself entirely to the business of evangelizing his country by opening passages for the formation of biblical institutions, or by merely selling as many copies of the Scriptures as possible. But let none of our readers imagine the calling of a biblical colporteur to be a sinecure, for he is constantly subject to the most galling and inquisitorial surveillance of the police, the gendarme, or the garde-champêtre. The law gives to these officials the right to suspect every man who carries a pack of books, to search the colporteur wherever they may meet with him. Woe to the colporteur that should have in his possession the least work not recorded in his prefectoral authorization; instant imprisonment is his reward, and the luckless colporteur becomes liable to a civil suit, the end of which would be a certain fine. Nor is it easy to become, in France—the country where, above all others, distributors of the Bible, by men that love their work, are wanted—a licensed colporteur; for he must comply with the requirements of several laws, produce an attested copy of sundry testimonials, and after he have done all, be told, in the language of suspicion and malice, that he has been admitted to act as a colporteur. Monsieur de Pressensé justly observes of this employment:—

‘Add to these annoyances, the further one—as was recently the case—of being obliged to renew this authorization at the end of each fortnight; and to have, for this purpose, to make a long, expensive, and fatiguing journey, in order to reach the chief town in the district, where the business is rarely ever settled with despatch. Assuredly—I repeat it—to confront all these obstacles, it is necessary to have a heart filled with a firm and unshaken determination to accomplish the

work to be done. From this I conclude that, looking at the matter under this aspect, we now have an additional and unexceptionable proof that the vocation of our colporteurs is not an affair of taste or fancy, and that it is by no means an easy way of gaining a livelihood, to be preferred before all others ; but rather that it is a calling from on high, to which the Lord has given them grace to respond for the advancement of his glory.'

It would be unjust to the colporteur himself not to exhibit one of the many proofs of even his incidental usefulness, which we quote from the communications of the gentleman just named to the secretaries of the parent institution in London.

'One colporteur relates that having, during the past month, been overtaken by a violent storm, he had to seek refuge in a solitary house, the first, indeed, to which he came on his road towards a village. He found two persons in the principal apartment ; the one an aged female, occupied at her spinning-wheel, and seated by the side of a bed, where lay a young man, to all appearance very ill. "The Lord be with you," said the colporteur, on entering, "and may all His gracious dispensations conduce to your good!" The two persons raised their heads on hearing these words, their countenances beaming with joy. The young man at once replied to the salutation of the stranger in a similar strain, which proved to our friend that God had conducted him among brethren, and when this is the case acquaintances are soon formed, and the most complete familiarity is soon established. The colporteur thereupon gleaned the following particulars for his encouragement and edification. In the year 1849, a Bible colporteur was in that neighbourhood, and called from house to house in the village, where he was very badly received. In one house only did he find admittance: it was the one in which the colporteur now was. At that period it contained another inhabitant, the head of the family, which consisted of the father, the mother, and the young invalid. The father had witnessed the unfriendly reception which the seller of books had everywhere met with, and had also heard the refusal of the innkeeper to give him food and shelter. From compassion to the traveller, he offered to give him a bed for the night under his roof ; and further, out of pure kindness, and not to send the traveller away empty-handed, they consented to buy a Bible of him, without, however, attaching much value to the purchase. Matters being thus settled, the stranger departed the next morning, much discouraged and very sad, but not without imploring the blessing of God on the hospitable dwelling where he had been so kindly received, and not without entreating its inhabitants to make a good use of the treasure which he had left in their hands—the Word of God. Some time afterwards the father was taken ill, and his illness kept him confined to a bed of suffering for several months, which he quitted only when his mortal remains were consigned to the tomb. His illness did not deprive him of the power to read ; and to amuse himself he took up the large volume of the book-merchant. It was not long before he became so interested in it, and so affected by what he read, that from

morning to night he would do nought else. The Spirit of God became his schoolmaster; that is to say, the Bible converted his soul, causing it to pass from death unto life a short time previous to his body passing from life unto death. The Spirit of God did even more. He made the sick father the instrument of communicating spiritual health to the soul of the wife and the son; so much so, that when the former drew his last breath, exclaiming, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!"—those who surrounded him—his wife and his son—confessed that they had been illumined by the same light. The son, who communicated these details to our colporteur, and who, as I have already said, is in the last stage of consumption, which would not, perhaps, leave him many more days in the land of the living—said with the greatest serenity to the colporteur, "I feel that the moment of my departure is approaching; but I know in whom I believe. Jesus will, in the last struggle, be to me what He was to my dear father: He will be my rod and my staff; and it is with full confidence I can say to Him, 'Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit.'" "Amen," added the aged mother; "and blessed be the Lord that we know 'that all things work together for good to those who love him.'"

The Bible Society has now been in operation sufficiently long to prove the goodness of its catholic foundation, and the great and growing need that exists for its beneficent influence; for its fundamental principle was evidently none of those pseudo and pretentious outflowings of benevolence, which, when first started, dazzle almost all minds, but that soon become impracticable of continuous operation. Such, perhaps, was the project of Henry IV. when he suggested the scheme of a jury of nations to try the real claims in any *casus belli*, and finally to disarm all the nations of Europe; and probably such has been the often projected scheme of turning all our penal punishments into merely reformatory processes of restoring the character of criminals. The Earl-street Institution, which sprung from the same benevolent source, aimed at an object which thwarted the interests of no one except such as believe it is dangerous to read the Scriptures; and though it was at first pelted with the ribald and profane scoffs of the mere makers of money, or those keener politicians who believe that it is easier to govern an ignorant than an enlightened nation, the Society rapidly grew into public confidence. Its catholic constitution was, no doubt, one of the important causes of its growth; and it is owing to it and other kindred Societies, framed on the same principle, that we now so commonly witness members of all religious parties taking an equal share in managing its affairs, and by looking at the Institution from their different and even somewhat hostile points of view commending its claims the more heartily to all sections of the Christian church. Long may that diversely accordant unanimity prevail! and however severely the ecclesi-

astic war may obtain between the sects of Christendom, or the advocates of opposing theories of doctrine and of Church government, may England never witness the fall of this noble Institution, until at least there be no more translations of the Scripture to make, and no masses of the European population unable to supply themselves with the Bible.

ART. IV.—*Narrative of a Journey Round the Dead Sea and in the Bible Lands.* By F. de Saulcy, Member of the French Institute. Edited, with Notes, by Count Edward de Warren. In Two Volumes. 8vo. London: Richard Bentley. 1853.

ALTHOUGH these volumes relate to the East, that quarter of the world toward which all eyes are turned, their interest is derived from things far remote from those which now engross the public mind. Not only are the Ottoman and Russian empires mere powers of yesterday, in comparison with the states and cities which are here referred to, but ages ere the Assyrian kings had reared those stately palaces recently disentombed from the dust of centuries, the cities whose sites M. de Saulcy visited had flourished, fallen, and been well nigh forgotten. 'New worlds have risen, we have lost old nations,' since the plain of the Pentapolis became a place of desolation. To think of it as the abode of human life, as a scene in which man pursued his course of business and of pleasure, as he does now for very similar objects and with perhaps exactly similar feelings, is to go back to that day when Abraham stood in the door of his tent to receive the visits of angels—to a time when his once mighty but now scattered and desolate race was only a thing of promise. The mind reverts to the sublime simplicity of the patriarch's life in the solitude of the young world's flowery pastures, and to those passages of it which exhibit the greatness and beauty of his character. We follow him in his return from the pursuit of the seven kings, we think of the anxiety which the choice of Lot must have awakened in his mind, of his earnest pleading that the doomed land in which the worldly-wise son of his brother had decreed to sojourn should be spared, and of that terrible day when its doom was executed, and the smoke of its destruction rolled towards him in the plain of Mamre. The sudden and swift demolition of Sodom and Gomorrah is one of the most terrible episodes of Scripture history. The manner in which it has been recorded has always seemed to us to indicate something more than the mind can adequately comprehend, and the

scene of it has for ages been invested with a more than ordinary degree of interest. That interest has, moreover, been of a kind consistent with the character of the event itself. In the plain of the Pentapolis almost every traveller has seen what he conceives to be unmistakable evidences that the curse which blasted its cities still hangs over their sites. The appearances of nature, which in other regions would never attract any attention, here assume a supernatural and portentous character. If a storm sweeps along the solitary shores of the Dead Sea, even the wandering Bedouin, whom the hot blasts and fierce whirlwinds of the desert cannot terrify, is struck with awe. So deeply and powerfully has the catastrophe which befel the cities of the plain affected the human mind, that the region in which they stood seems to have been looked at in its lurid light. Travellers with whom the marvellous has always been an indispensable element of interest, have not been sparing of fables and legends respecting the Dead Sea. No living thing, we have been told, could cross its waters or find a home in its depths ; nothing but sterility, dreary and dark, could be seen around its shores.

M. de Sauley has done a good deal to divest our minds of these shadowy terrors. To him the plain of the Pentapolis had long been an object of the deepest interest, and when a severe domestic calamity induced him to seek relief in the excitement of travel, he resolved to make the exploration of it the principal object of his journey to the East. Having obtained from the French government such assistance as enabled him to proceed upon his travels as a *savau*, accredited for a scientific mission, he set out along with one or two companions, making the examination of the shores of the Dead Sea his chief intention. He visited it twice, performing the journey to Jerusalem and exploring some of the more interesting localities there in the interval. On the occasion of his first visit to the shores of the Dead Sea, our author seems to have been so far persuaded that the general belief regarding the sites of the Pentapolitan cities was not founded on any good grounds. An examination of the Scriptural account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, as well as the references to that event in the writings of heathen authors, had to some extent convinced him that the prevailing opinion as to the waters of the Asphaltic Lake having covered the sites of the destroyed cities was erroneous. His first sight of the region which had been painted in such dark colours by many travellers, had a considerable effect in shaking his faith in their general accuracy. Instead of the dreariness and desolation which they spoke of as characterizing the whole scene, he saw the waters of the Dead Sea rippling in the sunlight. Where he expected to find absolute barrenness and evidences of

complete natural deadness, he saw beautiful flowers and flocks of birds wheeling over the still and sunny waters. There was little in the aspect thus presented suggestive of the character which had been supposed to be so truly indicated by the name given to that solitary sea. Impressed with the conviction, then, that the cities of the plain were situated not in the region which the Dead Sea covers, but in its vicinity, he set to work in order, if possible, to discover something which would indicate where they stood. Experience had taught M. de Saulcy that traditions common among the inhabitants of a district were, generally speaking, more to be relied on than the opinions of men who had visited that district for the first time and made up their minds regarding it upon a process of reasoning rather than upon evidence fairly and carefully obtained. He accordingly sought for the site of Sodom on a spot which is still known to the Bedouin Arabs by the name of Djebel Esdoum, or the Mountain of Sodom. On this spot, situated at the southern end of the Dead Sea, he found a huge mountain of salt, on which, after a most minute examination, he discovered distinct traces of buildings. As to these being the remains of a city, there could be no doubt; whether or not they were the remains of a city which existed subsequent to the destruction of Sodom, was with him a matter for farther investigation. The character of the whole region and the silence of history on the point led him to believe that no city had existed there since the destruction of Sodom, and the obvious traces of volcanic action at a very remote period strengthened him in the opinion that the buildings, of which traces still remained, were of great antiquity. Resorting to the Scripture narrative, he found that Lot's flight from Sodom to Zoar must have occupied a much shorter time than is generally supposed. It is said that 'when the morning arose the angels hastened Lot' out of the doomed city 'towards the mountain,' and 'the sun was risen upon the earth when Lot entered Zoar.' This, M. de Saulcy thinks, considering the rapidity of an eastern sunrise, clearly indicates an interval during which only a few miles could be traversed. He found, then, at a distance of about three miles from the supposed site of Sodom and on the higher ground, a place known as Zoar or Zouera at the present day.

It is impossible to deny that the reasoning by which M. de Saulcy supports his alleged discovery, is at least as plausible in its character as anything that has been said of localities respecting which we have so little to guide us. At the opposite end of the Asphaltic Lake, and at upwards of seventy miles from Djebel Esdoum, he found a vast heap of ruins bearing the name of Kharbet-Gouram, which he identifies as the site of Gomorrah. 'If this discovery is disputed,' says M. de Saulcy, 'I beg my

gainsayers will be so obliging as to tell me what city, unless it be one contemporaneous with Gomorrah, if not Gomorrah itself, can have existed on the shore of the Dead Sea at a more recent period, without its being possible to find the slightest notice of it in either sacred or profane writings.' (p. 65.) This, it must be confessed, is a very fair challenge, and although it has been maintained that no city ever existed there, until it is met we feel bound to say that the evidence which our author brings forward in support of his opinion is entitled to some weight. The discovery of Zeboiim, on the Moabitish side of the Dead Sea, and of Admah, near to Sodom, at the southern end, resulted to some extent from those we have referred to, and depends upon somewhat similar proof. We are aware that M. de Saulcy's attempts to fix the sites of the Pentapolitan cities have awakened a good deal of opposition among travellers and savans both in this country and in his own. It has been alleged, for example, that what he took to be the remains of buildings are merely stones that have been washed down to the shores of the Dead Sea by the flooding of the streams that flow into it, and that he has allowed himself to be duped by his Arab guides, who never hesitate to suit their information to the traveller's wishes when they are well paid for doing so. We confess, however, that we see very little in the reasoning upon which M. de Saulcy's opponents proceed. His conjectures, if they are nothing else, are, at least, as plausible as theirs, and the grounds of them are not one whit less reasonable. While we must, therefore, accept of his statements with a certain degree of caution, we have seen little or nothing in those of others to render them improbable.

Some of our author's travelling companions were, like himself, zealous archæologists, men of ripe scholarship and high scientific attainments. The Abbé Michon, whose name must now be familiar to those who know anything about the living scholars of France, was one of them, and every member of the party seems to have been animated with a spirit akin to that which prompted M. de Saulcy to prosecute his interesting and often arduous investigations. In the course of their journey through the Holy Land, the travellers had their full share of the adventures and dangers connected with a sojourn in the now thinly-peopled deserts of Palestine. At one time they had to encounter the risks arising from an imperfect knowledge of topography, at another they were kept in jeopardy by the known proximity of wandering Arab robbers, while they experienced all the disagreeables and annoyances arising from the poverty and cupidity of the people with whom they had occasion to come in contact. The volumes before us are more especially interesting, however, for the supposed results of the investigations made, and we there-

fore pass over the ordinary incidents of travel in order to notice the more important of them.

After leaving the shores of the Dead Sea, the indefatigable band of Frenchmen repaired to the Holy City, where they anticipated meeting some of their countrymen who had preceded them. Whether or not we consider M. de Saulcy's researches in and around Jerusalem to have resulted in anything worthy of being called a discovery, they were of a very interesting character. Making all due allowance for archæological enthusiasm and credulity, we are disposed to think that discoveries of some importance were made in the course of his investigations. There is no reason to doubt that his careful and long-continued examination of that portion of the Holy City within which the Mosque of Omar and the Hahrem now stand resulted in a discovery of a large portion of the wall of Solomon's Temple. In prosecuting his investigations in this case, M. de Saulcy enjoyed advantages which have not been within the reach of many travellers. He obtained access to places from which the construction and direction of what has long been supposed to be a portion of the Temple wall could be easily seen. Comparing one part with another he perceived that the style varied very considerably, and was led to the conclusion that remains of the Solomonian wall still existed from a pretty extensive acquaintance with the structure of the oldest buildings in and around Jerusalem, as well as the difference existing between what he has been led to consider part of Solomon's Temple and the architectural remains of Herod's time.

A much more interesting investigation was however made by M. de Saulcy in the environs of the Holy City. The wall of the Temple has long been supposed to exist in larger portions than some travellers have been able to trace; but in the course of his observations around Jerusalem our author examined the interior of a building, which, on evidence of some weight, he conceives to be the Tomb of David. This building, which has been one of great magnificence, is situated about five hundred yards from the Damascus gate, and is generally known as the Qbour-el-Molouk, or Tomb of the Kings. Its vaults have been often described, but the descriptions given of them seem all to have proceeded upon a merely cursory examination of their structure. It has been supposed by not a few that the tradition which assigns to this mausoleum the name it generally bears, is, like the one regarding the tomb of Moses, and many other localities, of no value. David, it is thought, was buried on Mount Zion, and from the style of architecture in this building it has been supposed by most modern writers to belong to a much more recent date. Some have identified it with the tomb of Queen Helena, but that princess

and her son were interred together, and in the Qbour-el-Molouk there are more than two sepulchres. Chateaubriand and others, who have pronounced this building to be the tomb of Helena, forgot that Josephus describes it as having three pyramids, and as being entirely different from the one known as the Tombs of the Kings. Is the designation which tradition has assigned to this building the correct one then after all? Is it to be supposed that what has long been regarded as a name given without any reason for its application, is really the right one? M. de Saulcy is at great pains to ascertain this. He gives us what we must regard as very satisfactory evidence, that these 'tombs' are not the tombs of Herod's family, nor of the Asmonean kings, nor, as some have imagined, belonging to the monument of Alexander Jannes. He brings history, both sacred and profane, to bear upon the question so far as to clear it of the mistakes which have been made by other travellers, and then proceeds to inquire into the probability of this being really the building in which are to be found the tombs of the kings of Judah. After examining the different passages in the historical books of the Old Testament which refer to the death and burial of the kings of Judah, M. de Saulcy finds that eleven monarchs and the high priest, Jehoiada, were interred in the royal sepulchres, while three others—namely, Jehoram, Joash, and Uzziah, prepared for themselves sepulchres beside those of their predecessors, but were not buried in them. Now, as we have already said, M. de Saulcy found that the number of tombs in this mausoleum corresponded exactly with the number of the kings who had been buried, or had selected for themselves places of sepulture there. What appears to be a very conclusive argument against the royal sepulchres being on Mount Zion, that is, within the city, is found in the statement made in 2 Chronicles xxvi. 23: 'Uzziah slept with his fathers, and they buried him with his fathers, in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings, for they said he is a leper.' The inference from this passage clearly is, that the royal tombs were in a field, and not within the city. In addition to this, we know that the prescriptions of the Jewish law, as well as the customs of the people, were entirely opposed to burial near their habitations. If the number of sepulchres which M. de Saulcy found in the 'tombs of the kings,' coincided with the facts of history, so as to render it probable enough that the building he explored was really that in which David and his line were interred, the arrangement of the sepulchres tended greatly to confirm him in that opinion. We cannot go into the lengthened statement which he gives as the result of his most minute examination of the structure. Suffice it to say, that one portion of it bore traces of having been prepared at a much earlier period than the others,

and of having been designed moreover to be kept separate from the other tombs. The character of this chamber, taken in connexion with the evidence he brought to bear upon the subject, led M. de Saulcy to suppose that this was really the tomb of David. In it he found a portion of the lid of a sarcophagus, elaborately ornamented with a floral device of a very ancient style. The state of the tomb, and the approaches to it, convinced him that it had never been fully explored before, and he therefore regarded the relic of antiquity thus discovered with no ordinary interest. That it really was a portion of the sarcophagus in which the dust of Israel's shepherd king once reposed, is a point on which there is nothing like direct evidence. It was undoubtedly of great antiquity, however, and possesses considerable interest as showing the progress which the Jews had then made in the arts of design.

M. de Saulcy occupied himself during his sojourn in Jerusalem in carefully examining most of the tombs in the Valley of Jehoshaphat as well as the places of interest within the city. The light which his narrative throws upon many parts of Scripture history renders his volumes very valuable. Though not devoid of that credulity which is said to belong to most antiquarians, it is only justice to say that his mind was little prejudiced by so-called discoveries made at earlier periods, and that he jealously scrutinized and carefully weighed all the statements on which his conclusions were founded. He has succeeded, of course, in exploding not a few mistaken notions respecting the identity of places still existing with those mentioned in Scripture, and he has also divested of fabulous associations many localities to which a sacred interest will ever attach. After leaving Jerusalem, M. de Saulcy examined the remains of the temple on Mount Gehrezin, and discovered what he conceived to be the ancient wall enclosing the structure reared by Sanballat. He then pursued his course towards the deserts of Canaan, and reached an enormous extent of ruins—the remains, as he supposes, of Hazor, the ancient capital of the Canaanite kings.

‘On our leaving El-Khan,’ he says, ‘we marched for a considerable distance through continuous ruins, then the patches (if I may use such an expression) of large unhewn blocks became few and far distant, until they disappeared altogether. We had then passed the extreme limit of the Cyclopean city, which I propose to consider as being the Hazor that was first burnt by Joshua, and definitively reduced by Nebuchadnezzar to the state in which we now behold it. Generally towards this limit of the ancient city, whenever we reach a well-sized mound, we may be sure beforehand that it will be covered with these strange ruins of a city of giants. I confess when on the spot a thought struck me that a place constructed with materials of such enormous

proportions could only have been the abode of an extinct race, resembling that of the Anakims, the Emims, and the Rephaims, which we find expressly mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. I firmly believe that this is the ancient capital of the Canaanites, a metropolis built long before the days of Moses, and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar.'—pp. 528-529.

Such, then, are some of the more remarkable investigations made by M. de Saulcy in the Holy Land. Discoveries they certainly must be considered, whether the history of the localities is distinctly traced or not, and whether we accept his opinions respecting them or not. In the case of those vast ruins which are considered to be those of Hazor, for example, the evidence by which they are sought to be identified with the capital of Canaan is of a somewhat hypothetical character; but their antiquity is beyond all doubt. Any one conversant with the history of Palestine and the races by which it has been inhabited or invaded, may arrive at just conclusions on that point. If it is proved, and it can be proved by a reference to history, that such ruins have nothing about them indicating that they belong to any period of which we have written records apart from the Scriptures, the inference that they are of remote antiquity is, we conceive, a very just one. It is by a process of reasoning analogous to this, and through an extensive acquaintance with the minutiae of ancient history, so to speak, that M. de Saulcy has arrived at his conclusions. To the student of history, and especially of Scriptural history, the narrative of his travels cannot fail to be interesting.

- ART. V.—*Protestant Persecutions in Switzerland and Germany. Results of an Investigation into Cases of Protestant Persecution on the Continent; undertaken at the instance of the Executive Committee for the Vindication and Promotion of Religious Liberty recently constituted by the Homburg Conference.* By the Rev. T. R. Brooke, B.A., Rector of Avening; and the Rev. Edward Steane, D.D., one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Conference. To which are added the Minutes of the Homburg Conference. London: Partridge, Oakey, and Co. 1854.
2. *Evangelical Christendom*, February, 1854. Article on Religious Liberty in Germany. By the Rev. Theodore Plitt, Professor of Theology and Ecclesiastical Law in the University of Heidelberg. London: Partridge, Oakey, and Co.
 3. *Die Verhandlungen des sechsten Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchentages, zu Berlin im September, 1853.* (Report of the Sixth Assembly of the German Evangelical Churches, held at Berlin, in September, 1853.) Berlin. 1853.
 4. *Religious Liberty in Germany.* A Letter to the Assembly of the German Evangelical Churches. By the Rev. G. W. Lehmann, Pastor of the Baptist Church at Berlin. Translated from the German by the Rev. B. P. Pratten. London: Houlston and Stoneman.
 5. *Lettre adressée à M. le Prof. Merle d'Aubigné, sur le Principe de la Liberté Religieuse telle qu'on l'entend en Allemagne. Par un Membre de la Deputation en Toscane.* (A Letter to Professor Merle d'Aubigné, on the Principle of Religious Liberty, as it is understood in Germany. By a Member of the Deputation to Tuscany.) Neufchatel. 1854.

It will be long before the European Christian public, either on the Continent or in England, will have forgotten the sensation which was produced by the imprisonment of Francesco and Rosa Madiati, or the combined interposition, at once of political and of Christian influences, which ultimately led to the opening of the Tuscan dungeons. The public, however, beyond a very limited portion of it, does not yet know that out of the measures then taken ulterior proceedings have arisen, of wider hope and of greater promise. The general—or as, from its catholic character, it was termed the ecumenical—deputation sent from various parts of Europe to Florence upon that occasion, did not disperse without drawing up a paper of considerable importance, at once directing the attention of those who had sent them to the

numerous cases of religious persecution yet unrelieved, and offering grave suggestions for the adoption of more comprehensive measures. This document is not as yet, we believe, laid before the public ; but it is in reality the basis of all that has followed in this direction, as appears by the first sentence of the following extract :—

‘ Acting upon the views expressed by the Ecumenical Deputation, sent to Florence in October, 1852, a few Christians from different countries met at Homburg, in fraternal conference, on the 23rd, 24th, and 25th of August, 1853, to consider what steps it might be proper to take for the promotion of religious liberty.

‘ The conference was composed of nineteen members :—

ENGLAND—The Earl of Shaftesbury
President;

Sir Culling E. Eardley,
Bart. ;

Rev. J. S. Blackwood,
LL.D. ;

Rev. T. R. Brooke ;

Rev. E. Steane, D.D.,
Secretary ;

G. H. H. Oliphant, Esq. ;

J. Macgregor, Esq. ;

GERMANY—The Rev. Professor Tho-
luck, D.D., of Halle ;

Rev. L. Bonnet and K.
Sudhoff, of Frankfort ;

Rev. Th. Plitt, of Heidel-
berg ;

GERMANY—Rev. L. Leuthold, of Frie-
derichsdorf ;

Rev. — Humbert, of Dorn-
holzausen.

FRANCE — Rev. C. Cook, D.D., of
Nismes ;

Rev. L. Goguel, of Sainte
Marie aux Mines ;

Rev. Frederic Monod, *Se-
cretary* ;

Rev. Adolphe Monod, of
Paris.

SWITZERLAND—The Rev. S. Prieswerk,
D.D., of Bale ;

M. Adrien Naville, of
Geneva.

Homburg, the capital of the little principality of Hesse Homburg, is one of the gayest towns in Germany, and, during the last twelve years, has become a principal centre of fashion and dissipation for almost all Europe. For the sake of a large annual rental—something about £10,000 sterling per annum—the reigning prince has contracted with a company of speculators, who, reckoning on the frivolity of the age, have erected magnificent saloons, laid out beautiful walks, and constructed splendid baths, in the most spirited manner, providing for balls and promenades, for invalids and gamblers. And they have had their reward. Homburg is, as we have said, one of the gayest towns—we might say, perhaps, the gayest town in Germany. What could the ‘nineteen’—or, as we count them, the eighteen gentlemen named above, have in common with the frequenters of such a scene ? In truth, they had nothing in common with them, and it was for that very reason that they went there. They went there that they might be lost in the crowd, that they might be alone, that their meeting might appear to be, what it was in reality, a ‘fraternal conference,’ and might not be supposed to be, what it really was not, a political council.

Here, then, on the 23rd of August, 1853, amidst the din of musical performers, and the hum of fashionable promenaders, met these eighteen men—or nineteen, as the case may be—of devout character and eminent station, gathered from the face of almost all Europe, ‘to consider what steps it might be proper to take for the vindication and promotion of religious liberty.’ It was a noble thought, and not without occasion, as they deeply, and upon an interchange of sentiment, found that they unanimously felt.

Before, however, we proceed to notice the progress and issue of their deliberations, let us pay some attention to the facts on which they were founded. The interposition made on behalf of the Madiari had given rise to a strong and perfect conviction that there were, not only in Italy, but throughout Europe, many other victims of religious intolerance besides these, and that not only papal, but protestant powers were implicated in proceedings having the unquestionable character of persecution. These things, however, were known only by report, or by means of private letters, and it was found difficult, and, indeed, impossible, to arrive at the facts in any authenticated form; there being on the continent no freedom of the press, by virtue of which statements could be brought before the public, challenging inquiry and contradiction. Taking advantage of this state of things, it had become the custom of all functionaries, from the highest to the lowest, to ignore the facts altogether, and, if any inquiry was made in reference to them, to say, with the utmost nonchalance, that the whole must be a mistake, as no such things had ever taken place. We know that the British Government had been in this manner imposed upon, on referring some complaints made in this country to diplomatic persons in Germany. It was necessary that this method of pooh-poohing religious persecution should be broken up; and, accordingly, one of the measures adopted by the Homburg Conference was to send some of their own members to make inquiry, on the spot, into the cases of alleged hardship which had been brought before them; and to ascertain the facts from the highest authorities they could reach. The Rev. R. Brooke, rector of Avening, and the Rev. Dr. Steane, of Camberwell, kindly accepted this duty, and they spent several weeks in the performance of it, enduring considerable fatigue, and manifesting a large amount of Christian courage and sympathy. It is their report of this journey, presented on the 22nd of November last, to the executive committee appointed in virtue of the Homburg Conference, which is now in our hands, and from which we shall proceed to make a few extracts.

Our first extract makes due acknowledgments to the diplomatic and other persons from whom assistance was derived.

‘Being furnished with introductions for the purpose from our noble president the Earl of Shaftesbury, and one of us with a letter also from the Right Honourable the Earl of Clarendon, her Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, we waited upon Sir Alexander Malet, Bart., at Frankfort; Lord Bloomfield, at Berlin; and, after his lordship left that city, upon Lord Augustus Loftus, Chargé d’Affaires in his absence, and the Hon. J. D. Bligh, at Hanover; making them acquainted with the proceedings of the Homburg Conference, and with the mission which we had received from it. To each of these noblemen and gentlemen we are indebted for great courtesy, and for the readiness with which they furnished us with the letters we requested. Our acknowledgments are also due to Donald Cameron, Esq., Secretary to the British Legation at Berne, who, in the absence of Mr. Christie, Chargé d’Affaires, rendered us essential service. Nor can we omit to mention the valuable assistance of M. Eschenburg, professor of English in the University of Zurich, and of the Rev. G. W. Lehmann, of Berlin.’—‘Protestant Persecutions,’ p. 3.

The specific cases of alleged outrage into which the deputation examined were seven; one at Zurich, in Switzerland, one at Hilburghausen, in the duchy of Saxe Meiningen, one at Hersfeld, in Hesse Cassel, one at Ludwigslust, in Mecklenburg Schwerin, one at Bückeburg, in the principality of Schaumburg-Lippe, one at Bayreuth, in Bavaria, and one in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. It will thus be seen that the spirit of intolerance spreads its dark wings across the whole of protestant Europe from north to south—from Switzerland to Denmark—and it is known that Sweden is no exception to its rule. The inquiries of the deputation resulted in all cases in verifying the statements which had been previously made, and in authenticating them by references to the highest functionaries. Let our readers take a sample or two of the facts ascertained. Here is one of them.

‘In the town of Hilburghausen, formerly the capital of the Saxon duchy of that name, which is now united with the duchy of Saxe Meiningen, is a small Baptist congregation, not having a resident pastor, but forming a branch of the Baptist church at Hersfeld, in Hesse Cassel, under the superintendence of Mr. Beyebach, a Baptist missionary, stationed there. They are suffering under severe restrictions, so much so that a decree has been issued by the Supreme Government absolutely prohibiting their meetings, the circulation of tracts, and the administration of the sacraments; interdicting the visits of their pastor, and subjecting by name the chief person among them to a specified penalty if he receives them into his house. These prohibitions are enforced by fines or imprisonment, and the magistrates and gendarmes are charged to watch vigilantly against any infraction of them, and to lay immediate information, if any such case occur, before the state attorney. We saw some of these persecuted people, and received from them such an account of the manner

in which they stealthily hold their assemblies for Divine worship, as strongly reminded us of similar scenes and events related in the religious history of our own country. On one occasion, after having administered the ordinance of baptism, their pastor had a narrow escape from being captured by the police, and his little flock were scattered without being able, as they had intended, to celebrate the Lord's supper. Some time afterwards he ventured to visit them again. One of the members went to meet him at three hours' distance, and conduct him by paths lying out of the direct road, and through the Prussian territory, to the appointed place where the others were to await his arrival. It was at ten o'clock on a dark and rainy night when they all met on the side of a hill in the depths of a pine forest, to show forth the death of Christ. "Our table," says the good man who put the written statement into our hands, "was the mossy turf. I spread that table with a white cloth. How beautiful did the cup of the Lord appear upon it, while a few stars looked down from a clouded sky! It was so dark in the gloom of the forest that we could scarcely see the bread. But our hearts were the more full of joy as we had so long missed this sacred privilege. In commemorating our Lord's death he had strengthened our faith and love, and we joined in a song in the loneliness of a night in the forest."

'The communion over, the pastor dared not enter into the town, but, taking leave of his flock, he set off under the same friendly escort that had guided him to the spot where they were assembled on his return to Hersfeld. "We walked all night," the narrative proceeds, "when we came at length to a large water, and, fearing to fall into it, we stopped, taking shelter under an umbrella from the heavy rain. At daybreak we continued our course, and had to use great caution to escape being observed by the country people in the fields."—Ibid. p. 6.

Here is another, in the electorate of Hesse Cassel.

'In this electorate the intolerance is, if possible, still greater than in the preceding case. All religious meetings and ministerial functions are rigorously interdicted to the Baptists, and they are kept in a state of constant apprehension and alarm. Our attention was particularly directed to the state of things at Hersfeld. Here Mr. Beyebach resides, whose name has been already mentioned. He had been summoned before the authorities under the following circumstances:—On the 5th of May last, he was sitting with some of his friends in his garden at the back of his house, reading to them an account of the sufferings of the Madias, from the Journal of the German branch of the Evangelical Alliance, published at Berlin, when a policeman appeared and dispersed them. Strict inquiries were subsequently instituted at the houses of various members of his church, to ascertain where their meetings are usually held. On the 16th of the same month, a Christian sister was sitting in Mr. Beyebach's house reading a hymn book; again a policeman appeared, and though not another person was present, he insisted that there was a religious meeting. They remonstrated, but to no purpose; and, finally, he declared that as she was reading a religious book that was a religious meeting. Four days afterwards, on the 20th, Mr. Beyebach was cited before the Landrath,

who accosted him, angrily, as a rebel, whom he had the power to deliver up at once to a court-martial, but added, that, as in other respects he and his friends were orderly people, he should act more leniently. He then required him to give in a list of all the members of his church, and they were severally informed, by a serjeant of police, that they were forbidden, under a penalty of five dollars, or three days' imprisonment, to meet any of their friends for religious purposes. Under such a state of things the public and social exercises of religion are, of course, impossible, except as they may take place by night, or in secret places where the vigilant eyes of the police can be evaded.'—*Ibid.* p. 9.

We must content ourselves with one example more, which occurred at Ludwigslust, in Mecklenburg Schwerin:—

'On the morning of the 24th of February last, three officers presented themselves at the house of Mr. Wegener, the Baptist missionary residing there, bringing with them a search warrant. Having made their perquisition, they took away with them a number of books, the church records and seal, the communion plate, and several private letters. The next morning they came again, and repeated the search; boxes and cupboards were ransacked, and about a thousand religious tracts, eight Bibles, and a quantity of other books, among which were Baxter's "Saints' Rest," Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" and "Holy War," and "Memoirs of Mrs. Judson," were packed in baskets brought for the purpose, and carried off. In the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Wegener was cited before the authorities, and told by them that they were acting in what they had done under instructions from the highest quarters; that he and his congregation were not acknowledged by the State, and would not be permitted to celebrate Divine worship, and that he ought to obey the laws, and not act in violation of them. The missionary replied that he had always lived as a good subject, and had honoured the magistrates; that neither he nor his friends had ever spoken or done anything against the government; that they created no disturbance, but worshipped God peaceably; and that their only wish was to make the Gospel known among their fellow-creatures. He was finally told that there was only one alternative, submission or emigration, and was then dismissed. On the 19th of May he was apprehended, and sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment, every other day on bread and water, for having administered Christian ordinances.'—*Ibid.* pp. 12, 13.

It may be thought incredible, perhaps, that measures so arbitrary and severe should be taken against any persons on the score of religion merely, without their being in some other way obnoxious to censure. Upon this point, however, the deputation very properly made in all cases the strictest inquiry, and they uniformly received the most satisfactory answers. Thus at Schwerin, in the interview which the deputation had with the prime minister, Count von Bülow, they tell us—'We inquired if there was any other ground of complaint against the Baptists. He replied none whatever. He said also that he personally knew

some of them, and respected them for their excellent character, and that he believed they were generally sincere Christians, "to whom (he added) I can cordially extend the hand of Christian fellowship, as partakers with me of the true faith of the gospel, as I wish to do to all real believers." (Ibid. p. 17.)

And a similar testimony was borne even by his excellency M. Hassenpflug, the prime minister of Hesse Cassel, whose arbitrary spirit was the most intense, and carried him to a pitch of personal rudeness, which the deputation have felt themselves obliged to characterize in terms of unusual strength.

That deeds such as these narratives disclose (and we have given but a sample of them) will be responded to by a sentiment of deep and amazed indignation on the part of the entire English people, we cannot for a moment question. They want but to be brought to light to do their work; and we think that a most important service has been rendered to the cause of religious liberty in Europe, by putting them into a form in which they can no longer be either ignored or denied. Let the well-intentioned residents of Germany, who have hitherto been incredulous of these things, know what is really done at their very doors; let the snug police functionaries, who wonder at their doings being heard of so far off, understand that they are both well known and duly estimated in England; let ministers of state and ambassadors, both foreign and English, be convinced that these facts can no longer be concealed by artful underlings, who will not tell them the truth. Princes and gentlemen all! the murder is out, and be assured that public reprehension will follow.

It is one of the most mortifying and astounding aspects of these facts, that they occur, not in Papal, but in Protestant countries. That the hand of Romanists should be lifted up against Protestants we can understand while we condemn, and we know why the Madias were arrested and imprisoned at Florence; but that the hands of Protestants should be lifted up against Protestants is too flagrant. It is too bad that conscientious men should have to fight over again the battle that Luther fought, in the land where he not only fought, but conquered.

To return, however, to the Homburg Conference. With a group of such facts before them they proceeded to deliberate; and being unanimous in their opinion that a 'necessity for organizing a common action in favour of religious liberty' did exist, they went on to inquire, 'What are the principles on which such an organization should be based, and within what limits should its operations be restrained?' The principles on which the organization should be based are laid down in the following sentences, which we lay with pleasure before our readers:—

‘I. That desiring earnestly to bear witness to the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to fulfil the obligations of that brotherly love which unites the members of His body to each other:

‘And further, considering that it is the right of every man to worship God, as well publicly as in private, according to his conscience, and to propagate the faith which he holds, by every means not contrary to morals or good order, or to that obedience to Government which is enjoined in the Word of God:

‘This Conference determines, in humble reliance upon His grace, to assist those of their brethren in Christ who suffer persecution for worshipping God, for disseminating their religious principles, or for reading or distributing His Holy Word.’—*Ibid.* p. 61.

An attentive perusal of these sentences will probably suggest to a reflecting reader that they were not formed entirely under the influence of the English spirit. We ourselves, for example, and many others with us, should have been apt to begin by laying it down as the right and duty of every man to judge for himself in religious matters, and then to go on to the special sympathy due to our Christian brethren. But this mode of viewing things is, it seems, peculiarly English, and does not prevail, even among the most enlightened Christians, on the continent. It was in deference to the continental spirit, we doubt not, that there was placed first in their resolution the importance of recognising true piety wherever it appears, and of fulfilling the obligations of brotherly love, a mode of which we make no complaint; only we are very happy to see in company with this sentiment, although in a subordinate position, the more expanded truth, that ‘it is the right of every man to worship God, as well publicly as in private, according to his conscience, and to propagate the faith which he holds by every means not contrary to morals or good order.’ This, in our judgment, is one of the great lessons which Protestant Europe has to learn, although one from which at present the German religious mind, even in its most advanced forms, violently recoils.

A direct and striking evidence of this is supplied in the last of the pamphlets with which we have prefaced this article,—a Letter to Professor Merle D’Aubigné on the principle of Religious Liberty as it is understood in Germany. This, although a small, is a significant and important utterance of German sentiment. It is understood to be from the pen of the Count Albert de Pourtales, a Prussian nobleman of great piety, as well as of high social and diplomatic position, and it is directed explicitly against the clause of the Homburg resolutions which we have just recited, a clause already the parent of a European controversy.

It is not for us to take upon ourselves to answer the arguments adduced by this much respected writer, to whom, no doubt, Dr.

Merle D'Aubigné will reply in a manner equally courteous and effective ; we merely say in passing, that, after perusing them, we remain unchanged. The ground he takes is defined in the following sentence:—‘As a citizen I can plead the cause of civil, political, and religious liberty, and labour for its advancement. As an Evangelical Christian, I demand only liberty for the Gospel.’

‘Liberty for the gospel ;’ yes, that is all that is to be asked for by evangelical Christians, and it is all that the evangelical churches of Germany can entertain any thought of granting. Hence, when the question of the treatment of sectaries was mooted at the late meeting of the Kirchentag at Berlin, it had respect only to such sectaries as must be regarded as Christian brethren, no question respecting those of another class being allowed to exist. It is thus out of a good feeling that this advocacy of a restricted liberty grows. The better the man is the more jealous he is lest liberty, if it were not fettered by the police, should be abused ; and the only party demanding unlimited freedom is the infidel, or rationalistic party, with whom it alarms the evangelicals to be found in unison.

While much tenderness is due to good men thus placed in an infelicitous position, we cannot allow ourselves to shrink from a full expression of our sentiments on this important subject. And we must say that we do not see anything convincing in the distinction laid down by the author of the Letter between the Christian and the citizen. The Christian does not cease to be the citizen, and it is quite possible that something which he demands as a Christian may grow out of his rights as a citizen. Indeed, it seems to us that a man's rights as a citizen must be taken to comprehend all that he can with propriety ask from the government ; and, consequently, that ‘liberty for the gospel,’ or for evangelical worship and proselytism, if it be not a part of a man's rights as a citizen, cannot rationally be asked of a government at all. If it be more than his right, why should he ask it ? or, if asked, why should it be granted ?

To say to any government, grant me liberty for evangelical action because I wish to propagate evangelism, is clearly to urge a reason of the smallest possible weight ; a reason, it may be added, of no weight at all, except where the government itself is evangelical. This is the case, at least nominally, in the Protestant countries of Europe, and it is this which gives some measure of force to the pleadings for religious freedom now in progress in Germany ; but this is a mere accident, the reverse of which is easily conceivable. Such a plea in Turkey or in China would be either powerless or worse ; if the request were granted at all, it would be either under a pressure of external influences, or as the fruit

of an admission that it was a matter in which government ought not to interfere.

Besides, it is not the evangelical Christian only that might besiege a government with demands for liberty. Immediately after him comes the rationalist, the Friend of Light, the German Catholic, and a dozen other parties, each making a similar request, and upon a similar ground ; and each, so far as the argument is concerned, as well entitled to be heard as the rest. What is the Government, thus importuned, to do ? It is afraid to oblige all ; and it must either refuse all, or make itself a judge of what is good for the community, and fit to be set at liberty. Again, this may be very convenient to Evangelical Christians where the government is Evangelical ; but what where it is not so ? To concede to the government a right to judge in any case, is to concede it in all ; and the rule which in one instance might lead to the freedom of the Gospel, would lead, in others, with equal force and certainty, to its prohibition.

To the fears which are entertained by many good men in Germany that religious liberty would open the floodgates of error and irreligion, we should think some relief might be brought by a consideration of the fact, that matters in this respect could hardly be worse than they have notoriously been under the régime of protection. But we ask further, where is the faith of these worthy men in the power and destiny of truth ? To this it is replied, that, although truth would ultimately triumph, much mischief might be wrought in the interval, for which they dare not make themselves responsible. But let us be permitted to rejoin, by inquiring who has requested them to assume a responsibility for any issues of this kind ? Are not these things in the hand of the Supreme Ruler ? And ought not these friends *par excellence* of truth and human welfare to be content to leave them there ? Have they not in reality already assumed a responsibility alike unwarranted and grave, in undertaking to hold in abeyance intellectual powers which God has made for action, and to place upon moral energies fetters of a kind which he never meant they should wear ?

Count Albert de Pourtales enters into an historical statement, to prove that the question of religious liberty holds a different position in Germany from that which it does in France, Switzerland, and England. We have had to fight for liberty, they to contrive a peace, and a peace which they deem so essential to their national existence that it must not be broken. That is to say, the agreement of the Reformed and Lutheran churches to occupy the ground between them is to operate everlastingly to the exclusion of all other parties. This is nothing but a combined, instead of a single, despotism. A tyranny is none the less hateful or unjust

because parties who were once at variance ultimately conspire to maintain it, and agree to call it peace.

While the warmest friends of religious liberty among the evangelical party in Germany thus shrink from maintaining it without restriction, the political powers of the continent repudiate it altogether. The admirable paper of Mr. Plitt, professor of theology and ecclesiastical law in the University of Heidelberg, which we have placed at the head of this article, in a most luminous manner treats this question, and proves to demonstration the conclusion at which he arrives—viz., ‘By law we have no religious liberty in Germany.’ And such as is the law, so, with scarcely an exception, are the governments. Making honourable mention of the kingdom of Wurtemberg, which, we believe, is an exception, and of the kingdom of Prussia, in which the king has shown himself favourable to a tolerant system; we may say, that the general, if not the universal resolution of the governing powers, is, that no mode of religious worship shall be permitted except that sanctioned by law.

This avowal stands out particularly in the case of the prime minister of Mecklenburg Schwerin, Count von Bülow, a man of whose courtesy and christian feeling the deputation speak in the highest terms.

‘Lutheranism,’ he said, ‘was the only recognised form of religion in the country. There were a few congregations of the Reformed or Calvinistic faith, and two congregations of Roman Catholics; but their existence formed no exception to the statement he had made, since they were allowed, not by law, but by the special permission of the Crown granted in each particular case. Besides these there were no other churches, and none would be permitted. The Baptist worship consequently was illegal, and as such was suppressed. The Baptists had no ministers in Mecklenburg *de jure*, nor by royal permission, and would be allowed to have none, nor to organize churches. The hardships they had endured could not be complained of, because they were only the penalty justly inflicted for the violation of the law, which forbade the holding of religious meetings and the administration of the sacraments, of both which misdemeanours they had been guilty. They might entertain their opinions, but they must not profess them. They might worship in their families, but other persons might not be present; nor might they make proselytes. The law would not molest a man for being a Baptist or a Methodist, or of any other religious way that he pleased, for the law gave universal liberty of conscience, so that all men were free to embrace what sentiments they chose, only they must keep them to themselves. A man might be baptized and the law would not punish him, but the man who baptized him would be punished. The government must protect the Lutheran Church, and guard its subjects against the intrusion of any other faith; hence it was its duty to suppress all missionary efforts on the part of other

religionists, and it would continue rigorously to prohibit their attempts to propagate their views.'—Ibid. p. 16.

Such we believe to be the determination of the Protestant governments of Germany in general; and, although we do not shut our eyes to certain symptoms of a favourable nature—such as the kindly tone of the discussion at the recent Kirchentag at Berlin—we are far from being able to conceive with an eminently well-informed contemporary, that 'the reign of religious intolerance has received its death-blow in Germany.'*

* 'North British Review,' for February, 1854, Art., 'German Protestantism.' Having mentioned this article, we shall avail ourselves of the permission we have received to make use of the following remarks on it, by a gentleman fully qualified to speak on the subject. We shall only say that we entirely concur in the eulogy contained in the first sentence.

'The paper shows such an intimate acquaintance with the subject, and mastery of it, that it cannot but have great influence, and its questionable points are therefore the more worthy of notice. I shall touch on three.

'The first is involved in the sentence where the writer says, speaking of Religious Liberty,—“Its argumentative triumph is complete.” If he were writing of the logic of his subject, I should not, of course, deny the accuracy of his statement, or call it in question. In that sense all impartial persons would acknowledge the victory to be on the side of the friends of freedom. But he is giving its history, and it certainly seems premature to say historically that, in the field of argument, the victory has been achieved, when as yet on that field there has been no conflict. The discussion in the Kirchentag was not argumentative, and I have heard of no work issuing from the press on the one side or the other. The breaking of this ground has been what I have long wished for, and my hope is that the pamphlet of Count de Pourtales will lead on to something further. I heartily wish it may kindle the controversy. Besides which, does not this very pamphlet show that the essential principle of intolerance is still argumentatively entrenched in the minds of some of the most enlightened statesmen of the land? And I know that the position which he takes would be very extensively defended—the position that religious freedom for all is not a Christian principle, but must be maintained, if it be maintained at all, by political arguments, and not by the teachings of Christianity. This battle I fear is yet to be fought.

'The next questionable point lies in the opinion which he expresses very strongly, that “The reign of religious intolerance has received its death-blow in Germany. Of this,” he says, “there can be no question.” This opinion he justifies by two reasons, “the amended spirit of legislation,” and the “tone of the Berlin Kirchentag.” Let the latter stand for all it is worth. I would not wish to diminish its force. It took some of the leaders themselves by surprise, who were not prepared for such speeches as were made by Sack and Kapff; and it is a tone of feeling which must grow in the hearts of good men. As it increases it will neutralize intolerant laws, which, though they should not be repealed, will fall into desuetude before it. At the same time, that assembly was composed of only some 1200 or 1500 of the clergy of Germany, scarcely a tenth, I suppose, of the whole number, and these the best men amongst them. It will, I fear, take a long while for their leaven to leaven the whole lump. His former reason, the improved legislation of Germany, he finds in the Prussian law of 1847, putting toleration, as he says, “upon a legal basis;” and in the fact that a similar provision “forms a part of all the new constitutions.” No

It may to us, in this land of liberty, seem strange that the continental governments should cling with such inveterate tenacity to their despotic authority in matters of religion ; but two causes may be assigned for it, the one political, the other ecclesiastical. The former of these is forcibly exhibited by Mr. Plitt, in the following extract from his paper already referred to :—

‘Government will say, We know by experience that believing Christians are good citizens and faithful subjects; that infidels are very often disobedient citizens and faithless subjects. We have seen that chiefly the latter were implicated in the last revolution. It is a fact, that during this time and in the years immediately before the revolution, religious liberty was demanded generally, not for conscience’ sake, but to advance a political revolution. It is a fact that the propagandists of the revolution, when they could not act openly, endeavoured to establish one “free congregation” after another, such congregations as avowed a decided infidelity. It is a fact that it was the plan of this propaganda to undermine the Christian faith of our people, because they wished to use for their purposes the people who no longer believed in Christ. “Only then can things become better,” said one of the leaders of this propaganda, “when man is no longer attached to heaven by a single thread.” When the revolution had broken out, Ronge and Dowiat declared openly, that only blockheads believed them to be acting for religious purposes. They had used religion only as a pretence. They never had religious, but only political purposes. By these and similar reasons, the governments were induced to abolish, after the revolution, the religious liberty which was given during the revolution. It seemed that religious liberty had furthered infidelity, and infidelity the revolution.’—‘Evangelical Christendom’ p. 47.

It is thus that religious and political freedom are, to a certain extent, linked together, and that the denial of the one impedes

doubt something was gained, perhaps more than at present appears, when Prussia took the step referred to ; but what with remaining restrictions, police regulations, and officials almost everywhere thwarting the law, it has not worked out much practical liberty even in Prussia, while it has no effect at all over all the rest of Germany. And then as to “the new constitutions,” they now exist only on paper, and will need another revolution to vivify them again. The ecclesiastical legislation of Germany is an iron despotism with no flexibility. It is a yoke which must be broken, but will never bend.

‘The last point upon which I animadvert is the oversight, as I think it, involved in his approval of what he calls, “the not unnatural determination to deny in future all church offices and privileges to the separatists, who should be left to their own resources.” He forgets that “church privileges” take a wide sweep in Germany, comprehending marriage, burial, civil status, and touching a man in almost all the relations of domestic, social, and public life. By all means let separatists be left to their own resources, but do not at the same time deny them the use of the resources to which they are left. To cut them off from “church privileges,” in the existing state of things, is to put them out of civilized society altogether.’

the granting of the other. Even if this obstruction were removed, however, that which we have called the ecclesiastical hindrance would still operate. It is a fact well known, that, in many instances, the hostile proceedings have neither been taken spontaneously by the police,* nor required by the superior powers, but that they have been instigated, sometimes in a public and disgraceful manner, by the local clergy, who have an interest at stake in repressing every effort by which a reduction might be effected in their flocks and their emoluments. Thus are these intolerant and cruel measures to be placed among the bitter fruits of that fundamental folly and crime, the legislative endowment of Christianity, and the formation of national churches.

Both the ecclesiastical and political powers of Europe, however, may be assured that a system of despotism over the consciences of men cannot last for ever—it may not last long. The severe pressure of the governments on freedom of religious action is, at the present moment, very painfully felt, and it doubtless constitutes one of those sins against human nature which, in the course of national progress, is sure to find a just retribution. The question is worth the grave consideration of the German governments, whether it were not wiser and better, by the relinquishment of their religious control, to win the love,

* We hope we may be doing no more than justice to this class of functionaries in recording the following instance of good sense and good feeling among them. To their narration of the proceedings in Saxe Meiningen, the deputation annex the following note:—

‘ Since our return, Dr. Steane has received a letter from Mr. Wegener, dated Ludwigslust, October 19, in which he says, that on the 14th an officer of justice came to him from the minister, to say that an execution would be put into his house for the costs of the last proceedings against him, amounting to something more than seventeen dollars, and that he must proceed to take an inventory of his effects. “But where,” said he, “are they? Your things are already gone; your cow is sold; what shall I take now?” I replied that he must take my wife and children; for if I was deprived of everything else, I should have nothing with which to support them. The man looked perplexed, but said he must execute his commission, painful as it might be to him. “He knew,” he remarked, “and the authorities knew that I was a good and peaceful citizen, and it would be well,” he continued, “if all the inhabitants of the place led such a life as I did. They (the officers) would lay no hand on me, unless they were forced to do so by the ministry; and every one’s faith was certainly a matter between God and his own conscience.” Finding that there were no articles of furniture of any value left, the officer was about to set down the house, when he was told there was still a pig and a goat, and that he must take them. These words, Mr. Wegener says, coming from his wife, quite overcame the man. “Your cow is gone,” he exclaimed, “and will you now part with your pig and your goat?” and the man wept bitterly, adding, “How is it possible!”—Protestant Persecutions, p. 14.

instead of, as now, inspiring the hatred of those whom they rule.

It is a singular circumstance that the religionists, who have caused so much annoyance to the German governments, are chiefly Baptists. They have, in truth, sprung from the christian zeal and activity of an individual of this body, the Rev. J. G. Oncken, of Hamburg, assisted by Christians of the same denomination in the United States. Of all Christian denominations in Germany, the Baptists are ecclesiastically the most offensive, not only as by their name—but, happily, by their name only—associating themselves with a most infelicitous and fearful portion of German history, but also as standing in a peculiar antagonism to the interests and influence of the national churches. Baptism, indeed, is laid at the foundation at once of the ecclesiastical and the political fabric. It is from the registered baptism of the child by the state clergyman, that the only evidence of his social existence is derived: apart from this, throughout the whole of his life, he has no rights, no privileges, no recognition. He cannot be apprenticed, he cannot be married, he cannot be buried, otherwise than as a dog is buried. A religious community, consequently, who are not only separatists, which is offensive enough, but also deniers of baptism to infants, is an outrage beyond all endurance, since it threatens to undermine from its very base the ecclesiastical system, and to dry up the sources at once of its influence and its wealth.

It is on behalf of this body that the Rev. G. W. Lehmann, the truly respectable and worthy pastor of the Baptist church in Berlin, has spoken in the pamphlet at the head of this article. And he has spoken well—mildly—convincingly—firmly. Taking occasion from the reference to Methodists and Baptists in the proposition brought before the Kirchentag in 1853, in the discussion of which he was not permitted to take a part, he makes an appeal to the members of that body, which certainly ought not to be without effect. The tract has been translated and published in this country, where its circulation cannot but contribute to its influence in Germany. We should be glad to give copious extracts from it, but our necessary limits restrict us to a single one:

‘It is further to be considered’ (says Mr. Lehmann, speaking of the proceedings of the Berlin Kirchentag), ‘that however favourable and liberal the resolutions of the Kirchentag were in reference to the Homburg Conference, yet they seemed almost to have been improvised, and formed a decided contrast to the proceedings which took place at the beginning of the second day; that men of high and most important influential position, to whom power is entrusted, have expressed themselves about the sects in no very friendly manner; and that to some extent innovations have been hinted at in reference to the

application of secular means of compulsion; circumstances which by no means allow us to think of a change in the system which prevails in the government of church and state—(with us, indeed, most intimately connected and interwoven)—not to say that the Kirchentag is only a free association, without any legislative or administrative power. We must therefore fear that we shall hear further of persecutions, processes, incarcerations, fines, distrains, and banishments; elements in which our recent religious history is so abundant, and more so than most evangelical Christians appear to imagine. But who troubles himself to ask after the fate of the despised and hated sectaries, who, for the most part, move in the lowest walks of social life? The persecuted and imprisoned Baptists are not so fortunate as to create a sensation, like the Madiahs and the Cunninghames, or to put princes and statesmen in commotion. They receive in their cells their bread and water, looking up in silence and obscurity to Him who looks from heaven upon earth to hear the sighing of the prisoners, although no tear of sympathy be accorded to them by the high and noble of the earth. Oh! when the history of the Baptists in Germany during the nearly twenty years of their existence shall be unfolded; when the sighs and the tears, the threatenings and the forcible entries of their dwellings, the puffing and blustering of *gendarmes* and police officers—of bailiffs, sheriffs, magistrates, and judges; when the thousandfold distresses which they inflicted, who, with oaths and curses, broke up meetings where the most ardent love to God was poured out; when the witnesses of Jesus and the bearers of his holy word transported as vagabonds; when the poorest deprived of the veriest necessities; when the bound and imprisoned men, women, and children; when all these are at length presented in a vivid and intelligible picture to the Christian public, then will tender and feeling hearts assuredly be touched by it, and mankind will here too admire what the love of Christ can do, and to what joyful sacrifices it can constrain. Our age does not in any respect equal that of our fathers, not even in regard to what is suffered for the name of Jesus; but, if the people of God in all times are called upon to make up in their flesh what is yet wanting of the afflictions of Christ, then certainly it is the German Baptists to whose lot this has especially fallen in our time.’—Lehmann’s Letters, pp. 21, 22.

We know that the title which these worthy men have to the sympathy of the religious world is, not that they are Baptists, but that they are Christians; but we plead that they should not be cut off from the sympathy that is due to them as Christians, because they are Baptists. Indeed, we venture to assure them that it will not be so. With a noble catholicity, the Christian gentlemen who assembled at Homburg entered into their sufferings; and the executive committee have acted in the spirit of the conference. The sincere followers of Christ, of every name, will follow their example, and at once uphold by their prayers, and encourage by every demonstration of Christian love, those simple-minded confessors, upon whom it falls in so large a

measure to fill up what is behind of the sufferings of their Lord.

We trust it may not be long—for the Executive Committee will never stop here—before something is done for their effectual relief; and we should be happy to learn that the act of grace, which has for some time been promised by the king of Prussia, has been officially completed. It would be but taking a position to which he is well entitled, and performing an act from which the happiest consequences would follow throughout the whole of Germany, if he would set the example, in this instance, of a wise and enlightened policy. But, however this may be, we hold out most cordially to our persecuted—we have no scruple in using the word—to our persecuted brethren, the hand of fellowship. We say to them, be of good cheer, for we doubt not that God is with you. Let your Christian conduct put to silence the ignorance of foolish men; and may God, who requires you to act so distinguished a part in his cause, 'count you worthy of this calling, and fulfil in you all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power!'

ART. VI.—*The Prayer-book of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri.*
London: Burns and Lambert. 1853.

THE last new phase of Popery, so far at least as regards England, made its appearance, some time since, in the metropolis of this kingdom. It was a chapel devoted to the performance of Romish worship, in which none associated but clergymen who had seceded from the Established Church. The avowed object of this measure was, of course, the conversion, or, as we should say, perversion of other Protestants to the religion of Rome. The chapel, which was fitted up with extreme magnificence and splendour, was dedicated to an Italian saint—St. Philip Neri. Its clergy are, from the nature of the case, men of education, and in some cases of high birth; and are admitted to be the most active and zealous proselytizers in the whole world.

In this little *ruse de guerre*, Rome has shown her usual tact. The defection of so many of the clergy of the Church of England, and their accession to the Church of Rome, was undoubtedly a triumph to the latter. Here then was a means of rendering the fact conspicuous to the eyes of men—of keeping up the recollection of the disgrace in the public mind. And it was, not without reason, judged by the rulers of the Papacy, that the sight of a

body of officiating priests, entirely composed of clergy of the establishment, who had sought admission into the bosom of the Holy Catholic Church, would probably influence many of their flock to take the same step.

The volume, whose title stands at the head of this article, is a manual of devotion composed for the use of the congregation meeting for worship in the chapel we have just described; and on many accounts we are glad that it has fallen under our notice. It is always desirable to have within our reach authoritative evidence of the doctrines and practices of false religions; especially when we are placed in actual conflict with the bodies professing them. As regards Romanism this is particularly the case, as every one who has ever engaged in controversy with a popish priest will readily admit. We rejoice then at the publication of the 'Prayer-book of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri,' and shall at once proceed to inform the reader what really are the faith and worship of our leading Roman Catholic countrymen, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and in the metropolis of Great Britain.

One of the most noticeable features in this new Prayer-book—that which most forcibly strikes the Protestant reader—is, undoubtedly, *the excessive prominence, and blasphemous character of the worship of Mary*, as set forth in its pages.

It is well known that the Word of God not only does not afford the slightest sanction to the worship of the mother of our Lord, but as though to guard against that frightful idolatry which afterwards sprang up in the church, positively condemns any approach to it.

On only *three* occasions do we find our Lord addressing the mother of his humanity in the Gospels. The first was during his childhood, when Mary having found Him in the Temple remonstrated with Him, 'Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing.' The answer of Jesus was, 'Wist ye not that I must be about my FATHER'S business?' Here evidently our Lord does not recognise, but rather repudiate his mother's authority in the work of God. The next occasion on which Christ addressed his mother was at the marriage in Cana. His language there was, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come.' Who does not see here that the language was evidently chosen designedly to check any tendency to *undue* estimation of this excellent and highly-favoured female in after time? The last instance of direct address to Mary took place when our Redeemer was dying on the cross. 'When Jesus therefore saw his mother and the disciple standing by whom he loved, he said unto his mother, *Woman*, behold thy son; then said he to the disciple, Behold

thy mother.' Even here, be it observed, though in the agonies of death, he does not call her 'my mother,' lest it should afford some ground, though ever so slight, for abusing the expression, and styling Mary, as was afterwards done, the 'Mother of God!'

It is a remarkable fact, too, that she is scarcely even so much as named in any subsequent book of the Bible. John, to whose care Mary was commended, never once alludes to her either in his Epistles, or in the Revelation. Paul, who dwells so fully upon the great work of Christ's mediation, makes not the slightest reference to her. James, Peter, and Jude, pass her by in complete silence. She is never mentioned in connexion with the many interviews and conversations held by our Lord with his disciples previous to his resurrection, and only once subsequently. Even her death is unrecorded. Surely all this shows a settled purpose in the mind of the Spirit, to afford no handle for the undue veneration of Mary, on the ground of the relation which she bore to the humanity of our blessed Lord.

Bearing these facts in mind we open the 'Prayer-book of the Oratory,' and what do we behold?—Adoration the most extraordinary and blasphemous that can be conceived paid to Mary.

The very commencement of the devotions of the Oratory introduces this new goddess to our notice. Instead of what is called, in the Church of England, 'The Apostles' Creed,' though improperly so, we have the following *Act of Faith*:—

'I firmly believe—because God, who is infallible truth, hath so revealed it to the Holy Catholic Church, and through the Church to us—I firmly believe that there is one only God in three Divine Persons, equal and distinct, whose names are Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; that the Son became man, and through the operation of the Holy Spirit took flesh, and a human soul in the womb of the *most pure* Virgin Mary, died for us upon the cross, rose again, ascended into Heaven, and will come thence, at the end of the world, to judge all the living and dead, to give Paradise to the good, and Hell to the wicked for ever: and, furthermore, upon the same motive I believe everything that the Holy Church believes and teaches.'

Here it will be observed, what cannot be said of the Romish creed, as given in the missal or breviary of that church, Mary is styled *most pure*, and, accordingly, she is worshipped, in the subsequent pages, in a higher strain than in any of the service books of Rome that we are acquainted with. Take first of all the prayers addressed to the Majesty of Heaven, which are, nevertheless, full of the praises of Mary. The first prayer in the book is as follows:—

'In company with the whole court of Heaven, I adore Thee, O Eternal Father, as my Lord and my God, and I offer thee infinite thanks for all the graces and favours Thou hast bestowed upon *the*

most Holy Virgin, Thy beloved daughter, and especially for that power with which Thou didst enrich her, in her assumption into Heaven.

‘In company with the whole court of Heaven, I adore Thee, O Eternal Son, as my God, my Lord, and my Redeemer, and I offer Thee infinite thanks, for all the graces and favours Thou hast bestowed upon *the most Holy Virgin, Thy beloved Mother, and especially for that surpassing wisdom, with which Thou didst adorn her, in her assumption into Heaven.*

‘I adore Thee, O Holy Spirit, as my God and Lord, and in company with the whole court of Heaven, I offer Thee infinite thanks for all the graces and favours Thou hast bestowed upon *the Blessed Virgin, THY MOST LOVING SPOUSE, and especially for that perfect and divine charity with which Thou didst inflame her most pure and holy heart, in her assumption into Heaven.* I humbly implore Thee, *in thy immaculate spouse,* to grant me pardon for all the grievous sins I have committed, from the first moment I was able to sin till the present hour; I am exceedingly sorry for all these my sins, and I firmly purpose to die rather than again offend Thy Divine Majesty. *By the exceeding great merits, and powerful protection of thy loving Spouse,* I beseech Thee to grant me the precious gifts of Thy grace and divine love, together with those lights, and special aids, through which Thy eternal Providence has predetermined to save me and bring me to Thyself.’

Here we see the Oratorian even in addressing God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, does so for the purpose of extolling ‘the power,’ ‘the wisdom,’ ‘the perfect and divine charity’ of the Virgin; and not satisfied with the constant repetition of the ridiculous fable of Mary’s assumption to Heaven, exalts her to a level with Deity, by styling her the ‘Immaculate Spouse’ of the Holy Ghost!

The second prayer in the book is addressed to Mary herself. It is as follows:—

‘O Most Holy Virgin, Queen of Heaven, and Mistress of the Universe, I acknowledge and worship thee as the daughter of the Eternal Father, as the mother of the Eternal Son, and as the loving Spouse of the Holy Spirit. Prostrate at the feet of thy august Majesty, I beseech thee, by that divine charity with which thou wast filled to overflowing at thy assumption into Heaven, mercifully to take me under thy most powerful and secure protection, and to receive me into that fortunate company of thy happy servants whom thou lovest and cherishest in thy virginal bosom. Condescend, O my Mother, and most gentle Lady, to accept of this miserable heart of mine,’ &c.

Then follows another prayer in which ‘eternal salvation’ is besought ‘through the intercession of the mother of our Lord;’ after which occurs the following address to Mary:—

‘O Most Holy Virgin, Mother of the Word incarnate, *keeper of the treasures of grace,* and refuge of us miserable sinners; we have recourse to thy motherly love with lively faith, and *beg of thee the grace ever*

to do God's will and Thine. We give up our hearts into thy most holy hands, and *implore of Thee the salvation of our souls and bodies*, and in the sure hope, that thou, who art our most loving mother wilt hear us, we say with lively faith:—"Three hail Marys."

Nothing can be clearer than the fact that *divine worship* is here paid to Mary. But should any doubt remain that such is the case, it will be at once dispelled by perusing the following devotional exercises, which are headed

‘DIVINE PRAISES.

V.—Blessed be God.

R.—Blessed be His holy name.

V.—Blessed be Jesus Christ, true God and true man.

R.—Blessed be the name of Jesus.

V.—Blessed be Jesus in the most holy Sacrament of the altar.

R.—Blessed be the great Mother of God, the Most Holy Mary.

V.—Blessed be the name of Mary, Virgin and Mother.

R.—Blessed be God in His Angels, and in His Saints.’

Here, it will be observed, Mary is praised in conjunction with the Father and the Son, in a series of praises expressly called *divine*. The angels and saints are mentioned, it is true, at the close, but they are not praised, though God is praised in them. Mary, on the contrary, is praised in herself, precisely as God himself is!

The authors of the celebrated ‘Catechism of the Council of Trent,’ in expounding the practice of the Church of Rome, some two or three centuries ago, make the following statement. ‘We make use,’ say these fathers, ‘of two forms of prayer, widely different from each other; for, whereas in speaking to God, we say, “Have mercy on us,” “hear us;” in addressing ourselves to a saint, we say no more than “Pray for us.”* We shall not stay to inquire how far this is a correct account of the practice of Romanists at the time it was written, but this much is certain, that our modern Oratorians, under the guidance of Dr. Newman, have gone far beyond such moderate idolatry as this. In the prayers just quoted, we find Mary not only ‘besought’ ‘mercifully to take’ the suppliants ‘under her most powerful and secure protection,’ but even asked ‘to grant’ them ‘the grace even to do God’s will *and hers*;’ and to crown the whole she is finally ‘implored’ to grant them ‘the salvation of their souls and bodies.’

Here then we take our stand, and deliberately charge the Fathers of the Oratory with the practice and propagation of a system of creature-worship and idolatry equal in degree, and more deadly and destructive in its effects, than that of ancient

* Catechism. Rom., p. iv. De Cult. Sanct.

Greece and Rome. The deities of Paganism were never worshipped with the reality and the fervour which breathes in the prayers addressed by the Oratorians to the so-called 'Mother of God.' Jupiter and Minerva, Apollo and Ceres, never excited such feelings in the breasts of their heathen worshippers as we find expressed in the passionate entreaties of which Mary is the object in the prayer-book of the Oratory. Paganism, at the best, was but a cold and lifeless system. Founded on the mere fancies of the imagination, it never affected the heart, or influenced the life. But the Mariolatry of Romanism, as here set forth, consists in the transfer of the praises, the affections, the obedience, which rightfully belong to God and to Christ alone, to the person of a once imperfect and sinful mortal like ourselves. In a word, the worship of the Oratory takes with one hand the 'many crowns' from off the brow of Him who is the 'King of kings and Lord of lords;' and, with the other, places them on the reluctant head of a mere female, created by his breath, and redeemed by his blood!

Another saint who figures forth in the worship of the Oratory, as second only to Mary, is her husband Joseph—the reputed* father of our blessed Lord. As there was no actual relationship between this devout man and Christ, it is really marvellous how the ingenuity of the Romanist has contrived to invest him with divine honours. The following may be taken as a fair sample of the adoration of which 'St. Joseph' is the object:—

'O glorious St. Joseph, *most pure spouse of the Most Holy Mary*, even as the trouble and anguish of thy heart were great, in the perplexity of abandoning thy most chaste and stainless spouse, so, too, inexplicable was thy delight, when the angel revealed to thee the sovereign mystery of the incarnation.

'O glorious St. Joseph, most blessed patriarch, who wast selected for the office of reputed father of the Word made man; the grief which thou didst feel at seeing the child Jesus born in such great poverty, was suddenly changed for thee into heavenly exaltation at seeing the glories of that most resplendent night.'

[Here follows an invocation.]

'O glorious St. Joseph, who didst fulfil most obediently all God's commands, the most precious blood which the child-Redeemer shed in the circumcision struck death into thy heart, but the name of Jesus revived it, and filled it full of joy.

'O most glorious St. Joseph, most faithful saint, who wast a partaker in the mysteries of our redemption, if Simeon's prophecy of that which Jesus and Mary were to suffer caused thee a mortal pang, it filled thee also with a blessed joy, at the salvation and glorious resurrection

* Reckoned as his father in the public register of his birth.

of innumerable souls, which he, at the same time, foretold would thence proceed.'

[Here follows another invocation.]

' O glorious St. Joseph, most watchful friend and familiar attendant of the incarnate Son of God, how much didst thou suffer in supporting and serving the Son of the Most High, particularly in the flight which thou hadst to make into Egypt, but how much again didst thou rejoice at having always with thee that same God, and at seeing the idols of Egypt fall to the ground.'

[Another invocation.]

' O glorious St. Joseph, angel of the earth, who didst marvel at beholding the King of Heaven subject to thy commands, if thy consolation at bringing Him back from Egypt was disturbed by the fear of Archelaus, yet, when assured by the angel, thou didst dwell in joy with Jesus and Mary at Nazareth.'

[An invocation.]

It would be easy to quote abundance of other specimens of Oratorian saint-worship, but it is needless. We proceed, therefore, to mention another revolting feature in the religion of Dr. Newman and his fellow-converts, which is, the *grossly material character of their worship*, even when offered to Christ himself.

We did not need to learn from the prayer-book of the Oratory that the worship in which Romanists delight is material and sensuous. Every Protestant who has entered a Romish chapel must have been struck with the contrast between the religion of Rome and the religion of Christ in this respect. It needs, alas! no great spiritual discernment to discover that the worshippers who attend at mass do not '*worship Him who is a Spirit, in spirit and in truth.*' Still we were not prepared, we confess, for the extraordinary enthusiasm which these modern Romanists manifest towards the body of Christ, which seems to be fixed upon as the principal object of love and veneration, next to the so-called '*Mistress of the Universe.*' More especially are the heart and blood of Jesus singled out for praise and veneration, affection and worship. We have not only a '*Chaplet of the sacred Heart,*' but also a '*Prayer to the Heart.*' Then we find a '*Prayer to the Blood,*' and '*Offerings to Christ of his own blood from each of His five wounds, in as many distinct ecstasies.*'

Such is the empty, puerile, and, to us, disgusting kind of worship offered up in the Oratory of St. Philip Neri by this body of *neophytes* and their followers. It has often been discussed by writers against popery, whether the peculiar doctrines and practices of that religion are the result of certain inherent tendencies in man's corrupt nature; or, whether they have been invented by the rulers of that apostate church with a view to their own

aggrandizement and power. As is often the case, we think the truth lies between the two. The superstitions and errors of Rome have to a very considerable extent *originated* in the corrupt desires of the natural man ; but they have to, perhaps, an equal extent, been guided and moulded and fostered by a crafty and ambitious priesthood, for the attainment of their own selfish designs. And this is the true explanation, we conceive, of that remarkable feature in Romanism which we have just considered—the *grossly material* and *sensuous* character of the worship in which Romanists engage. Composed, as the vast body of them confessedly are, of unrenewed persons, the only kind of worship of which they have any idea is one which engages the senses. The tendency of the people, therefore, has always been to prefer what is *material* and *sensuous* to what is addressed to the intellect and to the heart. On the other hand, the priests and bishops have found their interest in establishing a form of religious worship which engages the attention and occupies the mind of the votary without affecting the heart. In this respect, popery has well been styled ‘Satan’s masterpiece,’ that whilst it calls itself Christianity, and contains in some form or other almost all the leading doctrines and practices of Revelation, it has with consummate artifice and skill contrived by its superstitions and its idolatries, so to neutralize their influence, or pervert their effects, that it no more now deserves the name of the religion of Christ than Mohammedanism, or Buddhism itself does.

ART. VII.—*Observations on the Abuse and Reform of the Monitorial System of Harrow School, with Letters and Remarks.* By the Earl of Galloway. London : Thomas Hatchard.

2. *A Letter to the Viscount Palmerston, M.P., &c. &c. &c., on the Monitorial System of Harrow School.* By Charles John Vaughan. D.D., Head Master. Second Edition. London : John Murray.

3. *The Daily News*, March 9, 22, 24, April 3, 4, and 15.

4. *The Observer*, April 3.

5. *The Weekly Dispatch*, April 9.

6. *The Times*, April 13 and 17.

7. *The Standard*, April 16.

PUBLIC attention has long been earnestly devoted to the vexed questions which relate to the education of the rising masses of our fellow-countrymen. It has been, however, partially directed through recent circumstances to the methods employed in the

education of the higher classes. It is obvious, that the numerical difference between the two classes under instruction by no means indicates the proportionate importance of the two subjects ; namely, the systems under which the high and the low, respectively, shall be educated in this country. The early discipline of the aristocracy is a matter of far greater moment to the people at large than would be indicated statistically by the ratio apparent on the face of a census. Their virtues stand out like a city set upon a hill, but their vices have unhappily a far more extensive influence ; for of these the humbler classes are at once the imitators, the instruments, and the victims. All that is vicious in their modes of thought and conduct, in their social habits and recreations, and even in their conventional discourse, percolates through the cleaner stratum of the middle class, and leaves there a comparatively innocuous tincture ; but it drains through to the lower levels of society with its full virulence, and impregnates with a poison, the more diffusible from its very refinement, those coarser dregs which are represented by the most numerous, the most useful, and yet the most dangerous section of the community.

It is, doubtless, a general conviction of such truths as these that has lately drawn aside the attention of the public from the most momentous political events, and engaged it with no little interest on the management of those great aristocratic institutions—our public schools. This has been directly occasioned by some recent occurrences at Harrow and Rugby, which have been ventilated chiefly through the persistent animadversions of the ‘Daily News.’ In some remarks which we lately took occasion to make on the proposed legislation with reference to conventual establishments, we pointed out the greater importance of public vigilance and supervision in proportion to the secrecy of those establishments, and the consequent difficulty of obtaining the very evidence on which such legislation should be based, and by which it would be clearly justified. The same principle equally applies to our public schools. The high reputation of their directors and masters, the exclusive privileges they possess, both by charter and by usage, their prestige as the nursery of statesmen and ecclesiastical dignitaries, and the high station of those who adopt them for the training of their sons, tend conjointly to lull suspicion as to their administration, and to surround them with a barrier impervious to popular scrutiny. But these very conditions, coupled again with the antiquity of their methods of management and discipline, make it only the more necessary that the press should seize upon the evidence of their maladministration which casually escapes, and vigorously turn it to the account of purification and reform. Two such instances have lately excited

very general attention, and they afford an opportunity of which we deem it our duty to avail ourselves of calling the attention of our readers to some capital defects and some flagrant wrongs connected with the regulations of our public schools. In doing so, we shall strive to keep within due bounds the feelings of indignation excited in our minds by the facts we are about to detail, and to indulge in no unnecessary censure upon those gentlemen, on many grounds highly entitled to our respect, on whose conduct we must take the liberty freely to animadvert. We shall commence with a simple narrative of facts as they are supplied to us by the public organs named at the head of this article.

The first case develops the operation of the fagging system, and the scene is, we might almost say accidentally, laid at Rugby. The second will show the effects of the monitorial system, which, again, only *happens* to have transpired at Harrow. Both may be fairly coupled together, and we shall have no difficulty in showing that they are the necessary results of one and the same system; and that in this respect the two schools may be fairly regarded as samples of the rest. We will only add, that so far as our careful investigation has extended, none of the facts published by the newspapers have been contradicted or impugned by those who have been forced by the responsibility of their position to undertake the task of apology.

A short time ago, two senior Rugby boys, sixteen or seventeen years of age, were exercising their lawful authority over a younger school-fellow, apparently about ten or eleven years of age, probably one of their fags, by insisting on his jumping over a wide stream of water. The little boy, conscious that it was impossible for him to clear the stream, did not dare to attempt it, and begged for mercy. His oppressors immediately proceeded to inflict upon him a cruel chastisement for this insolent rebellion; having first stripped him of his jacket, which they threw into the stream, and kicked out the crown of his hat. They further compelled him to wade through the stream, and then one of the ruffians beat him cruelly, while the other dragged him about by his hair. During these proceedings, a farmer's son, whose name deserves to be honourably mentioned, John Cranfield, was attracted to the spot by the cries of the suffering boy; and having learned the state of the case, rescued the poor little fellow from their barbarity, and inflicted on the dastardly oppressors such a severe punishment as they are not likely to forget. The summary justice of the village Hampden soon became the town talk of Rugby, and a report of the circumstances was forwarded to London by a correspondent of the 'Daily News,' and published in that paper. Shortly after this, the said correspondent was

stopped in the street by two of the elder boys, taxed with this offence against their local supremacy, pinned in a corner, and attacked with so much violence, that he was compelled, in self-defence, to knock down one of the ruffians, and to practise a little wholesome phlebotomy on the nose of the other. He then brought them before the local magistrates for the assault, and the ingenuous *alumni* having been remanded by the civil authorities to the tender mercies of the Head Master, were soundly birched *more majorum*.

Leaving Rugby for the present, we proceed to Harrow. A youth, of the name of Stewart, son of the Earl of Galloway, whose general good conduct had recently been reported to his noble parents by the Head Master, was playing at foot-ball on the Harrow play-ground. An opponent in the game, of the name of Holmes, was about to kick the ball, when young Stewart cried out to him not to do so, as he was 'behind;' that is, in a position in which by the laws of the game it was unfair for him to interfere with the play. Holmes at once admitted the objection, and drew back. Immediately after, another of Stewart's antagonists, of the name of Platt, came up to Stewart, and denied that Holmes was behind, adding, 'You are always behind;' thus charging Stewart with falsehood, and habitually unfair play. The boy replied, that either he (Platt) was ignorant of the laws of the game, or that he was attempting to lay an unjust charge upon him. Now Platt was one of the monitors of Harrow School, the son, by the way, of Mr. Baron Platt, one of the Judges of the Court of Exchequer. On the following morning, Platt summoned Stewart to his room, and told him he had done so for the purpose of inflicting corporal punishment upon him for his insolence on the play-ground. Stewart naturally defended his conduct, the justice of his case having been at once admitted by his opponent, Holmes, and declined to take the punishment. Platt reminded him that the inevitable consequence of his refusal would be his expulsion from the school. Stewart still refused, and said he would appeal to the Head Master, Dr. Vaughan. Before he could carry out his intention, Platt secured an interview with the Doctor. According to Platt's statement, which Dr. Vaughan does not dispute, the Doctor sanctioned Platt's administration of the punishment, and absolutely refused to hear Stewart's defence. At Platt's particular and very safe request, however, Dr. Vaughan received a call from Stewart, whom he recommended to receive his punishment; adding, that it was not cowardly to submit to any infliction under constituted authority! Stewart immediately resolved to go to Platt's room, to apologise to him for his retort, and to submit to his punishment. But here he was anticipated by Platt, who summoned him again to the monitor's

library, where all the monitors were assembled, before he could carry out his own intentions. The scene which followed must be described in Mr. Stewart's own *uncontradicted* words. Indeed, it is due to the ingenuousness of the young sufferer, to give the account in the terms of his own letter to the Earl. He says:—

‘When I saw Dr. Vaughan he was *especially kind*,’ (the reader will recollect that this was written after Stewart had suffered under the cowardly brutality of Platt, which Dr. Vaughan had sanctioned,) ‘and told me that he was exceedingly sorry that I should have got into a mess with any of the monitors, and that as far as he heard, I was to blame in what I had said, and so he should advise me to take the whipping, as there was no cowardice in taking anything from a legal power. And so I went away with the determination of telling Platt that I would submit, and begging his pardon. He, however, anticipated me, and sent for me to the monitor's library directly after dinner, where he told me what he had said before in the morning, and asked me if I had altered my determination? I told him that I had, and that I would submit. He then gave me thirty-one cuts, as hard as ever he could, across the shoulder-blades, with a cane more than an inch in circumference, for which he paid more than 1s. 6d., and with such force that he had to stop almost every cut to bend back the cane, it was so curled back with the violence of the blow. I almost fainted during it; but I cannot help being glad that I managed to get out of the room without making the slightest movement to show him that I felt his brutality. I was immediately taken to Mr. Hewlett, who told me that he had never, in the whole course of his life, witnessed such an unmanly and brutal outrage. He immediately went to Dr. Vaughan; and the consequence is that Platt has been turned down, his monitorship taken away, and he himself, I hear, obliged to leave at the end of the quarter. Would you believe it? there was a place two inches broad from one arm to the other, as black as ink, as if I had been stained. Mr. Hewlett said that my arm was swollen four inches above its natural size. I shall not be able to go into school again till Sunday; and so I hope to write to-morrow to tell you any little thing I may have forgotten. I will give you my word of honour that I have told you everything impartially.’

The surgeon's report to the Earl of Galloway is as follows:—

‘Mr. Hewlett, the surgeon of Harrow School, having been called upon to examine the injuries, he was very properly desired by the head master to furnish Lord Galloway with a certificate of his son's condition; which he did in the following terms:—

‘MY LORD— I have been requested by Dr. Vaughan to forward to your lordship my report of the injury lately received by your lordship's son, Mr. Stewart. This gentleman came to my house, in company with a schoolfellow, on Wednesday, November 23, in a state of great suffering, and requested me to look at his back. On throwing off the shirt, I found the whole of the back across the shoulders, from the border of the left armpit to the top of the right shoulder, one entire mass of bruises, the colour varying from a bright red to a deep black. There

was one deeply blackened spot over the upper and broad part of the shoulder, covering a space of very nearly four inches square by measurement. The injury he had received was sufficiently severe to render it necessary for Mr. Stewart to go immediately to the sick room, where he was detained until the following Sunday, under medical treatment.'

The next scene in this disgusting drama opens with a letter from Mr. Platt to his father, which for the present we shall transcribe without comment:—

'On the afternoon of last Tuesday I was grossly insulted on the Football Field by a fellow in the upper fifth. It will shorten my story if I give you his name—Stewart. The language used was such as at any time or place would have called for severe notice, but the fact of its having been used on the Football Field, where the position of a monitor is held to be peculiarly sacred, and to the head of the game, made it a serious offence. The next morning I sent for Stewart to my room, and eventually told him that I must punish him there for an affront offered to the monitors in my person. He then said that he should refuse to take the punishment unless I forced him to do so. I warned him of the inevitable consequence of persisting in his refusal, that is to say, expulsion from the school; but he still refused, at the same time using insulting language. I then sent him away for the time, and went to Vaughan to ask his advice. He perfectly approved of all I had done, and even refused to see Stewart upon the subject until I asked him as a favour to me to do so, in order that I might give him every chance of clearing himself. *Upon Vaughan's advice, I punished Stewart before the monitors in the afternoon.* The punishment I inflicted upon him was not so severe as I have known to be inflicted for slighter offences. Stewart afterwards went to Hewlett, and what passed between them I do not know, but Hewlett then went to Vaughan and told him that the punishment had been too severe. As to what Hewlett said, Vaughan acknowledged to me afterwards that he did not at all understand the meaning of the terms which Hewlett used, that he knew that he had said that something must be applied, but he did not understand what, but thought it must be something only applied in rather severe cases. Upon the strength of these thoughts, he has put me down eight places, whereby I am no longer a monitor.

'Immediately after his doing this, I told him that I should write to you, and tell you that I could not stay here after this quarter in a position of degradation. He was most urgent in urging my remaining in the school, and expressed entire satisfaction with the manner in which I had exercised my monitorial authority during this quarter, at the same time leading me to believe that it was his intention to restore me to my place at the beginning of next quarter.

'Strangely enough, after this he has filled up my place among the monitors, none of whom leave this quarter, and I therefore do not see how he can restore me.

'It was at his request that I deferred writing to you until to-day, as he wished me to think over the matter before I did so. My opinion is unaltered; and the experience of three days of degradation has taught

me that, unless in compliance with your express wish, I could not undertake to go through months of it.

‘Although my personal authority may remain the same, my *moral influence* in the school must be impaired by it; and nothing but restoration to my own place again can remedy the evil.

‘Vaughan acknowledges to me that his reason for punishing me *so severely (!)* is, *not that he thinks that I deserve it, but that he fears what “people will say” if he does not.* This moral philosophy reminds me of Paley’s infidel doctrine of expediency.’

On the receipt of this letter, Mr. Baron Platt addressed a note to Dr. Vaughan, the most material part of which is as follows:—

“You say you have reason to know that my son’s conduct was disapproved of by his brother monitors. To this their own conduct on the occasion affords a decisive answer. If there had, in fact, been any excess in the chastisement, and they had so far neglected their duty as to omit to stop it, they would have been equally guilty of the excess, and equally responsible for its consequences. Why did they not interfere and stop the chastisement of which they are now said to have disapproved, at its proper limit? The answer is obvious. Because, until the contumacious boy, smarting with resentment and the mortification of wounded pride, had walked to the doctor, shown him his bruises, and obtained the doctor’s formidable prognostication of prolonged injury (which, however, does not seem likely to be realized), they did not consider that in the infliction the proper limit had been exceeded. The facts as they now stand satisfy me that my son’s conduct was unexceptionable. May I, therefore, implore you to reconsider the matter, for the sake of my son, for the sake of his family, for the sake of Harrow, and, with sincere respect I add, for the sake of yourself. We are all liable to err. Even the judges of the land, in their anxious and single-minded pursuit of justice, often err. They are always too happy in such cases to correct their errors. My son has been degraded, I think, unjustly.’

The publicity thus given to the occurrences at Harrow occasioned a letter from Lord Palmerston to the Head Master, which to our great regret, but doubtless for obvious reasons, has not been made public. It led, however, to Dr. Vaughan’s published reply, which we have now lying before us.

Having thus detailed the facts of these two cases, we proceed to make a few comments upon them.

With respect to the Rugby case, our first sentiment is that of surprise, that any parents in the slightest degree considerate for the character or the happiness of their children, should be found to place them in such a den of cruelty, there to incur alternately the guilt of tyrants, and the misery and degradation of slaves. The correspondent of the ‘Daily News,’ who first exposed this particular outrage, declares, that it was by no means an exceptional case; that similar brutalities are of common occurrence;

but that the poor victims dare not complain, and that none of the authorities of the school care enough about the matter to repress, or even to inquire into them.

The exposure of this particular case, however, before the magistrates at the Rugby Petty Sessions, appears to have produced on the Head Master that effect which a little publicity invariably produces on the principals of public schools. All hands are piped up in a panic, and the peccant parties are, by a sort of *ex post facto* jurisprudence, forthwith flogged, as a sort of sacrifice to propitiate the god of casualty. This last infliction the writer in the 'Daily News' designates as No. 3, in his 'Series of Brutalities.'

'Brutality, No. 3, is enacted by the masters, who have no means of meeting one act of cruelty than that of inflicting another. According to the ethics of Rugby, atonement is made for flinging a boy into the river by submitting to have the back scored by a rod. Here, surely, the matter ought to have ended according to the theory of the Rugby masters. The problem was to turn a couple of young tyrants into two merciful young Christians. The solution of the problem was supposed to be attained by the infliction of pain. If boys would not be good tempered, and gentle, and mild, and merciful, when their backs were smarting from recent punishment, it was no fault of the Rugby masters. The experiment, it must be allowed, was not successful. The two boys turned out into the market-place, and meeting the person who furnished the report of their cruelty towards a school-fellow to the 'Daily News,' they violently assaulted him, and thus committed brutality No. 4.'

This opens an important and a difficult question. If it be decided that corporal chastisement should in no case whatever be adopted in schools, the matter is of course disposed of. Unless, however, all this be contended for, it is difficult to conceive of a case which seemed more stringently to require its adoption. Two cowardly bullies, like those who committed the assault, would of course be utterly insensible to reproof, disgrace, or any similar form of discipline, which to high-minded boys would be far more terrible than bodily pain. Such persons as these have only one portion of their entire nature endued with sensibility, and that is the cuticle; if, therefore, it was necessary that punishment should be inflicted, flagellation was the most suitable, if not the only one of which the case admitted. To meet the demands of justice, in our opinion, the boys should, in the first instance, have been soundly whipped, and then the masters deposed, and superseded by others, who should be qualified to educate the sons of English gentlemen without making sneaking and tortured slaves of the younger classes, and barbarians and blackguards of the elder. The statement of the 'Daily News,' 'the

problem was to turn a couple of young tyrants into two merciful Christians,' seems to us to betray singular thoughtlessness. The incidence of punishment is on the conduct, and not on the character. The infliction, like the threat, may deter from the commission of guilt; but neither has the slightest relevance to the conscience and the spirit. The only influence of punishment which deserves to be called moral, is that reformatory discipline which, under certain conditions of punishment, as that of comparative seclusion, may be brought to bear on the feelings and the conscience, and that deterring effect which, by checking overt acts of guilt, removes one of the great causes of crimes, which, in their repetition, necessarily harden the heart. No man in his senses would ever expect an early conversion from a flogging. It may, though indirectly, place the subject in a more favourable moral condition, and even that in most cases is extremely doubtful; while, to use the quaint language of South, 'You might as well expect to bring a *cart* as a soul to Heaven by any such means.'

Having thus touched on the subject of fagging, this may be the proper place in which to connect it with the monitorial system, which we must presently examine, and in doing so we must avail ourselves of the experience of the two most successful modern head-masters of Rugby and Harrow.

The recent occurrences at Harrow and Rugby, which we have already detailed, has induced Lord Palmerston to address a letter to Dr. Vaughan, which, as we have already stated with regret, does not appear upon the published documents before us. Dr. Vaughan's printed reply is, however, now before us. The Head Master of Harrow chiefly screens what we must deliberately designate as his own incapacity and misconduct behind the shield of Dr. Arnold's name. On some accounts, we are disposed to speak with great reverence of Dr. Arnold. That he was a man of considerable natural talents, of great learning, and of good feeling, will not now be questioned. That he was a profound thinker, we utterly deny; that he entertained, as a consequence of this defect, a variety of crotchets, rendered the more mischievous by the energy of his character, we believe; and that he was in all main respects in a false position, we are perfectly satisfied. A priest himself, by the very terms of the rubric of his church, he exploded the notion of a Christian priesthood; too earnest a Protestant for his position, he desiderated the popish road-side mementos with which he had been familiarized by his continental travels; and endowed with not only natural but Christian humanity, he sanctioned and advocated the cowardly and abominable system of fagging. Let us look at the broken reed on which Dr. Vaughan rests the

weight of his dulness and infirmity. Hear Dr. Arnold first, on 'Corporal Punishment.' 'Corporal punishment, it is said, is degrading. I well know of what feeling this is the expression; it originates in that proud notion of personal independence which is neither reasonable nor Christian, but essentially barbarian. It visited Europe in former times with all the curses of the age of chivalry, and is threatening us now with those of Jacobinism.'

Of this dictum Dr. Vaughan makes full use, and speaks of 'modern notions of personal dignity, and modern habits of precocious manliness,' adding a reference to 'a few cases of exceptional excess in the infliction of such punishment,' to which we shall refer hereafter. Dr. Vaughan next comes to the monitorial system,—

'There are,' he says, 'in every public school, certain minor offences, against manners rather than against morals—faults of turbulence, rudeness, offensive language, annoyance of others, petty oppression and tyranny, &c.—which, as public schools are at present constituted, lie ordinarily out of the cognizance of the Masters, and might, so far as *they* are concerned, be committed with impunity. Even some *graver* faults might, with due precautions against discovery, long escape the eye of a really vigilant Master.'

This is, perhaps, the most undeniable passage in Dr. Vaughan's pamphlet. Under the merely prefatory superintendence observed by Dr. Vaughan, we can well imagine that not only minor, but the gravest offences, might be habitually committed without ever vexing his soul or reaching his ear. But here, too, he hides behind the ægis of Arnold, and cites a passage which many of the admirers of the latter will read with a blush.

'It is idle to say that the Masters form, or can form, this government; it is impossible to have a sufficient number of Masters for the purpose; for, in order to obtain the advantages of home government, the boys should be as much divided as they are at their respective homes. There should be no greater number of schoolfellows living under one Master than of brothers commonly living under one parent: nay, the number should be less, inasmuch as there is wanting that bond of natural affection which so greatly facilitates domestic government, and gives it its peculiar virtue. Even a father with thirty sons, all below the age of manhood, and above childhood, would find it no easy matter to govern them effectually—how much less can a Master govern thirty boys, with no natural bond to attach them either to him or to one another! He may indeed superintend their government of one another; he may govern them through their own governors; but to govern them immediately, and at the same time effectively, is, I believe, impossible. And hence, if you have a large *boarding-school*, you cannot have it adequately governed without a system of fagging.'

—Dr. Arnold, as above, page 372.

This respectable defence of the criminal sluggishness of a Head Master suffices to reassure Dr. Vaughan against the obloquy which his administration of Harrow has so justly incurred. He boldly writes his endorsement upon the dictum of Dr. Arnold. 'Hence,' he says, 'arises the old custom of fagging. It is a memento of monitorial authority. * * * This is the ordinary assertion of monitorial power.' Now it becomes important to inquire what is involved in this system of fagging so highly sanctioned? It involves the daily practice of the most disgusting tyranny, and the most galling degradation. The blacking of shoes and the running of errands are small matters for the sons of gentlemen to be subjected to; but cruel floggings and persecutions, and even fatal exertions of juvenile barbarism, must at least be quite as well known to the head masters of Rugby and Harrow as to ourselves, and ought to be equally notorious to the public. If our memory serves us, we owe to 'Blackwood's Magazine' the details in which one boy was drowned under circumstances precisely similar to those we have already given in our account of the late outrage at Rugby; while in another case which occurred a few years ago at one of our great public schools, a fag was punished by being placed upon a fire, and we have the testimony of the surgeon who attended him, that he died in a few days from the frightful injuries he received. The case came before a coroner's jury, but, through the influence of the school authorities, was compromised and hushed. Such cases, from their very flagrancy, are likely to become known; but who can tell, or even imagine, the daily sufferings, degradations, and tortures which happen at Harrow and Rugby, not to mention other public schools, under the supine incapacity of a Vaughan, or the cold philosophy of an Arnold.

While establishing the connexion between the monitorial system and fagging, Dr. Vaughan might fairly have mentioned fighting as an innocent adjunct of the same system. A friend of ours, who had acted as an examiner at Rugby, told us, that in crossing the play-ground in company with the master (we will not startle our readers with mentioning his name), he witnessed one of these disgusting encounters, which he understood had been proceeding for about three-quarters of an hour. He remonstrated with the master on his tacit permission of such brutalities, but was informed in reply that it was impossible to prevent them, as they were essential to the present constitution of our public schools.

We were once in a company with a barrister, educated at another of our public schools, who coolly told us, to our unspeakable disgust, that he had been the *backer* of a young gentleman, the son of one of the most respected noblemen in the British

peerage, who, after fighting for an hour and three-quarters, died upon the ground. He stated that he carried off the corpse upon his shoulders; and bitterly complained of the injustice of the newspapers, which had reported that he had plied him with brandy, whereas, he said, he had only bathed his hands with brandy when they were too much swollen to allow of his clenching his fists!

Even Dr. Vaughan seems to be aware that some supervision over the members of a public school is necessary when they are away from the master's class-room, but his observations on this subject are so utterly silly, that had we not seen his name on the title-page of his pamphlet, we should have attributed them to one of the youngest boys in the school, provided, of course, that he was *not* a fag.

'You may adopt what might with equal propriety be called the foreign school, or the private school, system. You may create a body of ushers, masters of a lower order, whose business it shall be to follow boys into their hours of recreation and rest, avowedly as spies, coercing freedom of speech and action, or reporting to their superior what such observation has gleaned. This is consistent and intelligible. Ruinous to that which has been regarded as the great glory of an English public school—its free development of character, its social expansiveness, in short, its *liberty*.'

Free development of character!—Social expansiveness!—Liberty! With an honest desire to avoid the use of intemperate language towards gentlemen occupying such a position as Dr. Vaughan's, can we, after the details previously published respecting Harrow School, designate this otherwise than as a most impudent affront to the common-sense of society? Elder boys, it appears, are to supplement a head master's laziness; armed with his authority and his cane, to engage with their fellows at foot-ball or cricket, on the ordinary terms of the game; to violate, at their arbitrary will, all the recognised laws of play; to charge on their schoolfellows falsehood and unfairness; and if a word of remonstrance is uttered, to inflict a brutal punishment on the high-minded boy who incurs their displeasure; and this for the sake of the honour and glory of our public schools, and for its free development of character, its social expansiveness, in short, its *liberty*! These are the principles of moral education entertained by Dr. Vaughan, Head Master of Harrow School. In all such cases, however gross the injustice and tyranny of the boy who bears the function of monitor, he does not hesitate to constitute him the plaintiff, the jury, the judge, and the executioner, to the very top of his tyrannical bent.

Dr. Vaughan condemns the employment of subordinate masters to superintend the boys out of school hours as a system of

espionnage, under which the superintendent would be hated by the boys as a spy ; but does Dr. Vaughan think it impossible that high-minded men might be selected as subordinate masters—men with sufficient personal dignity and self-respect even to join in the amusements of their pupils without damage to their authority, and, by the union of gentleness, authority, and quiet remonstrance, to chasten their characters, while they insured their respectful affection ? If Dr. Vaughan cannot imagine men so qualified, we can. But, forsooth, even the monitors themselves must not be limited to the function of reporting misconduct to the master, but must be entrusted with the cane, to be used at their own discretion ; otherwise, he tells us, they would say—‘ We did not come here to be ushers ;’ but it does not occur to this short-sighted man that a generous boy like young Stewart (for example), whose nobility of behaviour, by the way, deserves the highest praise, and casts Dr. Vaughan and Platt together into the shade and slough of absolute plebeianism, might also exclaim, under the impulse of a higher virtue—‘ I did not come here to be a Jack Ketch.’

Dr. Vaughan intimated in his letter to Lord Palmerston, that this system shall not be changed while he is head master of Harrow. We rejoice to hear it, for as this detestable state of things will inevitably be blown away before the blast of popular censure, the public will be rid of a master as naturally and incurably incompetent to govern Harrow School as he is to occupy the Woolsack or to take the command of the fleet in the Baltic.

Nothing can be conceived more lamentable in its way than this late affair at Harrow, the details of which have been given at the commencement of this article. The monitorial system had existed, it appears, before Dr. Vaughan’s accession to office, though previously ignored. It was, however, thenceforth recognised and legalized by his own regulations ; and under these the pretended offence was committed. Its particulars, by an exception, and which from the evidence was occasioned by the private ill-will of the monitor, Platt, to Mr. Stewart, were made known to Dr. Vaughan. He sanctioned the infliction of the punishment by Platt, and recommended submission to Stewart. All the monitors were present, all consented to the infliction, and not one uttered a word of remonstrance against the prolonged brutality of the execution. The injuries inflicted necessitated a surgical report, and under all the torture of the punishment, young Stewart pens a letter to his father, in which he says that Dr. Vaughan was ‘ excessively kind’ to him in the interview. An apologist in the ‘ Times’ declares that this severity must have been an exceptional case, and yet, with singular obtuseness of logic, adds, that if the sufferer, instead of being a young gentleman, had been named Stubbs or Grubba,

the matter never would have come before the public. This of itself implies, especially as coming from a public school boy, that such occurrences are common. We have already taken occasion to observe, that the very paucity of evidence as to cruelties practised in monastic institutions constitutes a reason for a searching and authoritative supervision ; and we say again, that the same surveillance is equally required in our public schools. Lord John Russell, in the late debate, expressed his conviction that no English gentleman would suffer his children to be ill treated ; and yet here is the son of an English gentleman forced through a stream in November, and then thrashed while being dragged by the hair of his head ; and the son of a British peer caned by a brutal monitor until he is necessarily confined to his bed for days, and had his health been delicate, would probably have carried his injuries to an early grave.

We will not speak of the young tyrant in this latter case, further than to say that he can only be protected by the circumstance of his youth, and the hateful influences under which he has been educated, from the lasting punishment of expulsion from all respectable society. His shabby apology for an apology to Mr. Stewart, which he requested him to burn as soon as he had read it, stamps his character at once as unutterably mean, while the reply of young Stewart, desiring to stand with him on the same terms as before, evinces a generosity which is to our minds exceedingly touching. Of the conduct of Mr. Baron Platt and Dr. Vaughan, we can scarcely trust ourselves to speak freely. The Judge at once accepts the ex-parte statement of his son, declares his conduct as unexceptionable, and uses language to the Head Master with respect to his degradation from the monitorship, which can only be interpreted as a courteous threat. We hear, sometimes, a panegyric peculiarly British, on what is called the judicial mind—a purity of judgment incapable of personal bias—which alone befits the ermine and the dignity of the Bench. But how can this be ascribed to Mr. Baron Platt, who at once rushes into the lists in favour of the aggressor, and designates the victim as ‘a contumacious boy, smarting with resentment and the mortification of wounded pride ;’ on which the Earl comments, with his accustomed gentleness, ‘that he was a generous boy, “smarting,” indeed, but not “with resentment,” and “wounded,” indeed (though short of “mortification”), but not with “pride.”’ Our readers will probably hope that they may never be brought before Mr. Baron Platt in a case of brutal assault, except, indeed, as criminals, in which case they may hope to be dismissed from court as of unexceptionable character.

Of Dr. Vaughan’s conduct throughout this disgusting case, we feel it difficult to speak in such terms as fall within the limits of

fair and honourable criticism. He first sanctions, and, by his authoritative limitations, prescribes the system under which these abominations are practised, which, as we are told by their defenders, would have been confined, as to the knowledge of others, to the precincts of Harrow, had the victim been a 'Stubbs' or a 'Grubbs.' He hears the nominal offence, which had it been committed against any other player in the game would have been no offence at all. He declines to hear the defence; he sanctions the infliction of an unlimited punishment by a tyrannical coxcomb, who in his letter to his father only condescends to name him as 'Vaughan' (a piece of puppyism which, though Mr. Baron Platt does not notice it, deserved a sound application of the birch); he then degrades Platt for the very act he had sanctioned, and next, if Platt is to be believed, assured him that he punished him not because he thought he deserved it, but solely from regard to what people might say. We say, 'if Platt is to be believed;' but we must remember that he had probably been himself a fag, and that servitude and degradation are the natural parents of falsehood. This may be a lie, and Dr. Vaughan may not have so utterly disgraced himself as to have adopted this contemptible shift. If Platt has not been guilty of the most direct and calumnious falsehood, Dr. Vaughan ought immediately to be deposed from the head mastership of Harrow School.

And now, to review the case in a few words;—what is the character which the system of our public schools (for we are taught by the best evidence supplied by the London press to believe that they are all alike) must necessarily impress on the rising gentry and aristocracy of this country? We suggest the answer without hesitation. From ten years old to fourteen, mental degradation, cowardice, and duplicity; thence to eighteen, selfishness, cruelty, and despotism. An advocate in the 'Times' declares that they have produced our brightest ornaments in Church and State. In a few select instances we grant this to be true; but we think it capable of demonstration that their eminence was in spite of their training, and not in consequence of it. One of the greatest men of this generation has recorded his opinion in the 'Edinburgh Review,' that feebleness of intellect and contractedness of general principles are the characteristics of the students of our universities, which, as is well known, are mainly supplied by our public schools. Of our universities we say nothing. We well recollect the peculiar expression of countenance with which John Foster once designated them to us as the 'starry eyes of Europe,' and we have no hesitation in characterizing them as the most useless corporations, as compared with their bulk and pretension, in the whole civilized world. But against their nurseries, the public schools, we must bring a heavier charge: their system

operating on the more plastic mind of youth is, as at present constituted, only fitted to create a character of servility and selfishness; tyranny in the state, represented by the judge who said that 'the people had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them,' and by the boroughmongering duke, who declared 'he might do what he would with his own;' while in the Church, commencing with a sneaking servitude, and going on to an unmanly despotism, it matures the character of a Laud, a Bonner, and a Horsley; fostering all the passions which the Christian religion condemns, and inciting to acts over which it hangs the denunciations of a righteous retribution.

ART. VIII.—*A Bill to Make Better Provision for the Management of Episcopal and Capitular Estates.*

2. *A Bill to Relieve the Clergy of the United Church of England and Ireland, Resident in the Colonies, from any Disability as to the Holding of Meetings in such Colonies for the Regulation of Ecclesiastical Affairs therein.*

3. *A Bill to Continue Her Majesty's Commission for Building New Churches.*

4. *A Bill to Amend the Law Relating to Ministers' Money and the Church Temporalities (Ireland) Act.*

5. *A Bill to Make Further Provision for the Good Government and Extension of the University of Oxford and of the Colleges therein.*

Bills ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, Session 1854.

UP to the moment at which we are writing, there have been during this present session fifty-four divisions in the House of Commons. Twenty-six of them have been taken on ecclesiastical questions, and, in all, the government has voted *against* the side of religious liberty. In many of these divisions they have been left in a minority by their ordinary supporters, and have been saved from defeat by the more congenial temperament of the opposition members. Such was the case, for instance, in the divisions on the ministers' money question; in one only of which, out of seven, a severe whip of their immediate satellites, and a friendly rescinding of their former votes on the part of Messrs. W. Brown, Sir B. Hall, W. O. Stanley, R. A. Thicknesse, and James Whatman, obtained for them a majority of two without counting their Derbyite supporters.

Nor can we recognise the measures of the government as founding any more satisfactory claim than their votes, to the

support which dissenting members have hitherto rendered them, as freely, it must be admitted, and we rather think more reliably, than any other section of members on the liberal side of the House. Remembering what passed, and what is passing, with reference to the Charitable Trusts and Canadian Clergy Reserves Acts, and the Dissenters' Marriages and Chapels' Registration Bills of last session, and the Irish Ministers' Money Bill, the Colonial Clergy Reserves Bill, the Church Building Acts Continuance Bill, the Oxford Reform Bill, and Lord Blandford's Episcopal and Capitular Estates Bill—we cannot yet say anybody's Church-rate Abolition Bill—of this session, remembering all this, we can have no hesitation in endorsing the declaration of a dissenting M.P. high in general confidence: 'The coalition government is formed upon the basis of giving the dissenters nothing; and I am glad it is so, for that tells us what we have to do.'

We have commented upon some of these measures as occasion brought them into our monthly summaries. But it will, we think, place beyond cavil the view which we are desirous to lay before our readers of the actual relations between the government and the dissenters, if we now shortly state the points in each together.

The Charitable Trusts Act was a wise, just, and necessary measure. We would have consented that there should be no exemptions from it. We mean, deliberately, that we should have been willing, in order to avoid difficulty, that even such cases should have been included as, although not within the mischief to be remedied, were brought within the Act by the unavoidable exigencies of language. But if there were to be exemptions, they should be framed upon a recognisable principle, and, subject to the above limitation, should be conceded to all the cases within it. Now we have received communications from many dissenters, whose cases are evidently but types of a class, and who now find themselves uncovered by the rigid narrowness of the provisions introduced on their behalf. Meanwhile, all the Roman-catholic foundations in the kingdom are exempted in the lump for two years, with the understanding that they may, during that period, legislate themselves wholly out of the Act. We are not anxious to make complaint that in the first print of the bill London University was not named, like Durham, along with Oxford and Cambridge. It had hardly then acquired the position which rendered it likely to be recollected by the draftsmen of acts of parliament; and, indeed, it is still, unlike Durham, only a government board. But its claim to equality was represented to Lord Aberdeen in a memorial signed by most of the College 'Heads,' and was immediately recognised, with his expressed approval and that of the Lord Chancellor, by the House of Lords. When,

however, the exemption clause came up in the Commons, London University and its Colleges were again struck out, on the motion of the Solicitor-General, without notice to the House, and without communication to the memorialists. Upon urgent remonstrances, Lord Aberdeen offered to restore the University, but not the Colleges. The offer was declined, and the government only gained their point by the aid of the Derbyite benches. Now, the catholic seminaries, it will be observed, are provided for by the two years' clause ; and in asserting our belief that this policy was expressly aimed at the dissenting colleges, we speak of that in which we were at the time personally engaged, and in which our communications were so direct and distinct as to warrant us in now declining to accept any denial of the animus we have imputed. The hostile interference originated with a former colleague of Lord John Russell's, now a leading senator of London University.

The passage of the Canadian Clergy Reserves' Act has been frequently since referred to as a painful story. Introduced by Sir W. Molesworth for the avowed purpose of conceding to the colony the control of its ecclesiastical as well as its other affairs, and of freeing the mother country from all further liability as well as control therein, it was afterwards altered by Lord John Russell for the purpose of securing to the colonial clergy an imperial guarantee. The discovery that this guarantee was invalid is generally acknowledged to have saved the bill on the third reading. Mr. Gladstone, however, it will be remembered, stated his belief that the Colonial Legislature would not secularize the clergy reserves. We must now add the information of complaints recently received in this country from a responsible source, of a probably successful attempt on the part of the colonial office to verify this belief. An union is being effected, as is understood under its auspices, between the Episcopalian and Catholic parties in the Canadian legislature, for the purpose of preventing the late act from being carried out by the colony.

'When Lysander found the lion's skin too short, he eked it out with a fox's.' The hold which the tractarian party in the Church have obtained of the colonial pulpit has proved fatal, by the jealousy it has awakened at home, to all the Protean efforts of Mr. Gladstone to obtain for them legislative power. From 1850 downwards we have waded, somewhat painfully, through all Mr. Gladstone's bishops' and clergy bills, and all the debates upon them. We cannot complain that our labour was unprofitable, for we are conscious of having obtained by means of it a distincter conception of the character of Bottom's dream. 'It was past the wit of man to find out what it was like.' The measure now before the House comprises as much bewilderment in its solitary section as all the

multitudinous provisos of its predecessors together. It professes to enable the metropolitans and clergy of colonial dioceses to meet and agree upon regulations, &c. ; but such regulations are to have no force by virtue of the act which authorizes their passing. It seems to have had all the effect upon the House that Sin is represented as producing upon the heavenly host. At first it was, we believe, in some danger of being passed from the apparent impossibility of its being otherwise than harmless. At length suspicion was awakened, and several gentlemen tried their hands at rendering the bill innocuous. Sir John Pakington on one side, and Mr. Dunlop, Mr. Miall, and Mr. W. J. Fox on the other, framed clauses which, if carried, will, in all probability, take all the virtue (or vice) out of the measure. To Mr. Dunlop belongs the merit of an exact perception and an artistic avoidance of the point of danger. *The grand evil of the bill consists in its words.* No Act of Parliament has up to this time recognised a colonial 'metropolitan' or 'diocese,' nor, consequently, a colonial bishop, having, as such, territorial jurisdiction by law ; nor, consequently, an Established Church in the colonies. The passing of a measure using these terms would have been a legislative recognition of its existence, which time and events would develop at leisure. Mr. Dunlop proposed to strike out the technical words, and to replace them by equivalent expressions, differing only in not carrying with them the force of a *verbum artis*. It had also been observed that, although the regulations of the new colonial synods were not to be *law*, they would undoubtedly be *legal*, so that bishops could act under their sanction in a way from which the very arbitrariness of their present power precludes them ; and the avowed authorship of the measure among the colonial episcopate justified the assumption that one great object of the bill was to render the bishops' power practically usable. To meet this double danger, Mr. Miall proposed an amendment rendering nugatory any act done by the bishop by virtue of any synodical regulation. Mr. Dunlop has, we hope, practically succeeded. He certainly had the House distinctly with him upon the point of—No Established Church in the Colonies. The other amendments have yet to be discussed. But it has needed all the watchfulness of our members merely to be in a condition to oppose a measure for establishing the Church of England in the colonies, and enormously increasing its powers ; and this just at the moment when Lord John Russell is telling public meetings of his gratification in that the colonies are now being left to themselves, and that all interference from the home government is at an end.

With respect to the Dissenters' Marriage and Chapel Registration Bills, we think dissenters can hardly be aware of the points

involved in them. Lord John Russell, it will be remembered, withdrew them at the close of last session on the ground of 'difficulties' having arisen. It was then understood that objection was taken on the part of the Unitarians to being compelled to register themselves by their distinctive denominational name, and that they objected to the bills passing at all on the ground that the title 'Protestant Dissenters' was sufficient for all the purposes of the law—a view of the case, which, when first presented to us, undoubtedly did not command much of our sympathy. Further communications have satisfied us, and we think will enable us to satisfy our readers, that in whatever shape the objection may have been taken, the principle of it lies much deeper. The objection is really one of evidence. With whatever safeguard it be necessary to surround the marriage ceremony, it is all important that, that ceremony once performed, its proof shall be easy and indisputable. Thus only can you secure the peace of families and the due succession to property. Upon this principle it was always the rule, that although marriage must be solemnized in some *place* provided or recognised by law, *proof* on that point should not afterwards be required. The production of the proper officer's books, or of a certified extract recording the *fact* of marriage, was always sufficient. So it was in our churches; but so it is *not* in our chapels. According to the present law, and according to the bills to which objection is made, it is part of the necessary proof of a dissenter's marriage to show that the chapel in which the ceremony was performed was a place legally registered by compliance with all the technical provisions of the Registration Act. Were the objection to this a point of honour only, it ought not to be slighted. But it is one of grave practical importance. Doubts are intimated at the Registrar-General's office whether, owing to a mistake in the late act, any dissenting chapel can now be legally registered for the purposes of marriage, and consequently whether any marriage celebrated in a dissenting chapel since the date of the act is valid. We believe that the Committee of Deputies, the Liberation of Religion Society, and the Presbyterian Board, are now united in a determination to alter the bills.

Irish ministers' money is a tax of one shilling in the pound, imposed by an act of Charles II. for the benefit of the Protestant incumbent. It is levied only on the principal Catholic towns of Ireland, Protestant Ulster being exempted. The tax has worse incidents, but the above are to be perpetuated by the bill which the government perseveres in pressing. In 1848, a select committee of the House of Commons recommended its abolition, and the provision of a substitute from the (Irish) ecclesiastical commission fund. The fund, which was then reported

adequate, has now permanently doubled, and is in course of further increase; and during the last two years the commissioners have funded £60,000 from their surplus revenue. In the face of these facts the government resisted Mr. Fagan's motion for giving effect to the recommendations of the select committee; and the seven divisions to which we alluded at the outset, in which one hundred and sixty* of their supporters voted against them, were submitted to for the sake of saving to the church £15,000, or as Sir John Young says £7500 a year. By the seriousness of the risk, we may estimate the value attached to the object. That object is the preservation of the taxing power of the 'establishment'—in England, we may be assured, as well as in Ireland. The opposition lobby was seen to be filled with dissenters more than with Irish members, and the battle fought was not for ministers' money but for church-rates.

Our readers will hardly require us to complete in full detail an induction in which we already fear to have become wearisome. Lord Palmerston has been strongly pressed for his Church Rate Abolition Bill. It is not yet prepared; and since the last question in the House, it is said that an immediate subordinate at the Home-office has descended to the subterfuge of explaining that his lordship's expression of 'not ready until after Easter' was not the same thing as a promise that the bill should then be 'brought in.' Meantime (to say nothing of the obvious significance of the Ministers' Money Bill), Lord Blandford's bill precluding the application, as a church-rate substitute, of the surplus income of the episcopal and capitular estates, is being pressed on with government connivance. We use the word 'connivance,' knowing that Lord Palmerston's attention has been specially called to the point, and that nothing is being done. The one great concession which Mr. Hadfield's energy has extorted is the limitation to two years instead of ten of the Church Building Acts Continuance Bill; of which none of its promoters profess to know anything except that Mr. Horsman knows too much.

Without dwelling, then, on these, not minor details—for the church-rate bill alone will be a test of the government disposition worth all the experiences of a session—we proceed at once to the Oxford University Reform Bill. Short of their actual admission, nothing could well have been more satisfactory to dissenters than the apparent spirit in which this measure was introduced and received. But as Sir Robert Inglis said, on the introduction of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, we must thank Lord John Russell more for his speech than for his bill. The latter has

* The number is usually stated at 120. The last four divisions raised it to 160.

already become unsatisfactory even to those who are only anxious for a reform measure. Among gentlemen of this class it is common to hear something like sharp practice imputed to Lord John Russell in having obtained general sympathy for a bill which in real effect and animus differs so materially from his speech. It is common also to hear him exonerated on the ground that he could not be expected to be personally acquainted with its details, and that he, in fact, relied wholly on Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone, again, is excused on the ground of the impossibility, without abundant exercise of diplomacy and its incidents, of bringing together two such discordant elements as Oxford and Lord John Russell. It is urged that if the latter had been made fully percipient of the actual results of his measure, he would never have committed himself to its introduction; and, on the other hand, that if the bill had not contained every guarantee against its own working, it would never have been allowed to reach the Lords. However this may be, and we certainly believe that there is truth in it, the bill is not that grand measure of University reform which the dissenters have been quietly but industriously charged with sectarianism for jeopardizing, by the inopportune obtrusion of their 'private and particular' claims. It is not the one government measure with which the war is not to be allowed to interfere, or which cannot be made far more valuable by the delay of a session. The three great points of Oxford reform were the following. The University was to be emancipated from the despotism of the college 'Heads'; a liberalizing spirit was to be imparted and secured to its future government by means chiefly of the effective organization of the professoriat; and by a redistribution of fellowships, the large endowments of the colleges were to be made available to general merit. By the actual measure the first and third of these objects are not secured, and the second is to all appearance precluded. A few words as to each point. According to the new constitution of the University nineteen members out of the twenty-five of the hebdomadal council are to be elected and removable by congregation; with which, by virtue of its other powers, it is generally agreed that the supreme power in the University will practically rest. In this body the collegiate element prevails in the proportion of about 200 to 30; and of the sections of which the collegiate element is composed twenty-four *are* 'Heads,' about one hundred (tutors) are appointed and removable at their pleasure, and almost the entire remainder, although having ceased to be removable, owe to them their appointment and position. If, instead of the expression 'not secured,' we had said 'frustrated,' we think that upon these facts we should hardly have been accused of an over-statement. We must add that the

subordinate details appear to us to be carefully arranged to the same end. To select one instance. The weight of the professors must be affected by their independence, and that must depend upon the provision for their endowment. This is to be obtained from the college fellowships. But no college need contribute unless it has twenty fellowships; and colleges may raise the value of their fellowships, and so diminish the number, to an extent which enables them to render this portion of the bill practically inoperative. We sincerely wish that the proofs were not already before the public of their willingness to do so.

With regard to the second object, the retention of predominating influence on the part of the college Heads will be felt, we think, to justify our complaint of its frustration. But we may say also that if the present ecclesiastical tendencies of the University are surely strong enough in themselves to prevent any fear of a liberalizing spirit appearing in its action, those tendencies are aggravated by the bill. The effect of clauses 35 and 36 is, admittedly, to increase considerably the relative number of fellows in holy orders; and of these, it is odd to note, as showing the minute caution of the anti-reforming party, that a longer tenure of their fellowship is obtained for clerks, who will practically have received their licenses from the Bishop of Oxford, and being residents will have most power of making their position available. Well might Mr. Gladstone say 'we have conceded ourselves out of all opposition.' The question has begun to be, What is left, worthy of it?

The third change, that of opening the college fellowships has a great appearance—not so great, however, but that the friends of the bill are able to make its non-existence the ground of their non-interference on behalf of dissenters. It is said to us freely, and with every appearance of good faith, that the government measure is merely an organization bill; that if it effected any redistribution of revenues, the dissenters would be fairly entitled to complain of being excluded from its benefits; but that inasmuch as it is merely intended to put the University in a position facilitating the very change they want, it is unreasonable in them to reject what is so obviously a large instalment of their claim. The force of this is so much relied on, that it is even said to be now the intention of the cabinet to oppose Mr. Heywood's motion on that ground. Really we are rather at a loss to deal with either the facts or the arguments. We are first told that we ought to help in forcing the bill through the legislature, because it opens the college fellowships; and upon our asking why we should be acting parties to confining this benefit to one religious denomination, it is immediately replied to us, that, practically speaking, the college fellowships will remain pretty much as they

are, having long become to a large extent by custom the open endowments which it is now proposed they should be by law; and that all that the bill does is, by an improved organization, to render the University more probably willing to admit dissenters at some future time. As it is conceded on all hands that a merely enabling bill would not suffice for the smaller changes in contemplation, but that compulsory provisions are essential even for these, we should hardly in any case be enamoured of the offer thus made to us; but when the effect of the proposed changes in rendering the opening of the Universities still more unlikely than ever, is, to say the least, so easily possible, we confess to thinking it is about the last in which a feeling of self-respect would induce us to acquiesce. If one thing more were required to make even suspicion impossible, it would be the selection of commissioners. The Earl of Ellesmere, the Bishop of Ripon, the Dean of Wells, Mr. Justice *Coleridge*, and Sir *John Awdrey*, the two last being the leading spirits, are surely equivalent to 'No Dissenter need apply.' The strong leanings of Mr. Justice Coleridge led him even to the judicial declaration (in *Gosling v. Veley*) that the common law ought to be considered as having within it an expansive power, capable of providing new punishment for church-rate recusants, for whom excommunication and interdict had no longer terrors; while among the most explicit claimants of 'Oxford for the Church,' and repudiants of parliamentary 'confiscation' of collegiate, because private, endowments, Sir John Awdrey figures first. It is but just to say that when consenting to his nomination, we believe Lord John Russell to have been wholly unaware of his antecedents. It was probably one of the 'diplomatic incidents' to which we have been referred.

Here, then, is an unbroken series of measures, in which all that dissenters do not wish done is pressed forward, all for which they are anxious kept back, and even opportunities seem to be taken of specially excepting them from the benefit of concessions. It is no longer that the government do not go so far as some dissenters desire; it is that they have altogether given them up. It is no longer the whigs of whom we complain, it is the Coalition. And such being the settled policy of the Coalition, is it to count upon the dissenters in the House and in the country as its staunchest adherents, on the mere memory of the old Russell battle-cry of religious freedom? In 1835 we adhered to the whigs against Sir R. Peel, because they acknowledged the right, while he would only concede the boon. They have now joined his followers in refusing either, and they have won nearly every division against us, and not unnaturally, by the aid of those for whom Sir R. Peel was too liberal. *But are we to let in Lord Derby?* Well: our question leads to no such conclusion. I

ought not, and we hope it will not. What we ask is this,—Is the present basis of ministerial votes and measures to continue to be the basis upon which dissenting support is to be rendered? The government being, as a coalition, avowedly one of concession, is the concession to be all on one side? Of the new triumvirate, are the friends of one party only to be the proscribed, and are they to be consenting parties to the proscription? Is the government—friendly to religious liberty in the person of a Catholic, and amicably neutral in his case where it cannot be amicably active, witness its indifference to Mr. Spooner, its opposition to Mr. Chambers, and its goodwill to Mr. Lucas—to be sternly hostile to it in any shape of a dissenter? Is it to be the *mot d'ordre* among the constituencies, that the new elections are to proceed upon this understanding?—We believe that if the dissenting M.P.'s will only think so, they already hold the balance of party in the House. They are not less numerous, and they have unquestionably more weight (or, if they have not, the fault is their own), by their known principle, their personal character, and the importance of their constituencies,—they have more weight certainly than the Irish members. But the Irish members can at least defend their constituents against ministerial aggression,—aggression, too, from a government against which the majority of them have already done their worst by uniting with the opposition. Let the dissenters, then, if they will, give the Coalition their support; but let it be a reasonable, let it be an honourable support. Let them not be just the members against whom something very like a dead set is to be made by the government policy, and who do *not* need the 'whip' on a close division. Let them show that they are not terrified by the half-hinted threat of a dissolution, which will only increase their own numbers in the House. Let them make just the difference of supporting their principles first, and the government second, instead of urging their principles only so far as consists with the convenience of the Coalition, and they will not then commit the mistake into which some of them are falling, of supporting the government in opposition to their principles. With all respect, but with much earnestness, we do not think they have done all that their position in the House, and as they must now begin to feel the support which has been waiting for them in the country, would, well-used, have enabled them to do. The division lists show, that, exclusive of 'arranged votes,' they may reckon on from eighty to one hundred members as reliable,—a number larger than the difference between the two sides of the House. The number of members who would gladly see the government moving towards them is much larger. The number who would be greatly influenced by their decided stand, not only from their

personal convictions, but from their knowledge of the prevailing feeling of their constituents, is by no means despicable. Of the one hundred and sixty liberal members who voted against the government on the Ministers' Money divisions, some undoubtedly voted to please themselves, some to please their constituents;—none certainly to please the government. One of their staunchest friends in the House is known to have regretted the support he gave them, and has since made his weight felt on the dissenters' side. It is idle to say that these eighty votes—we take the smallest number—thus circumstanced, must always be so managed as to be thrown away. It is unreasonable to expect that we out of doors should be so satisfied. Let us not hear of difficulties; we know all about them, and that difficulties are things to be overcome. In 1832, the mistake was made which will not be repeated, of dissenters trusting their interests to a Church parliament. They will trust in future, our friends in the House may rely on it, to those who are with them *on* principle, and not against it. But where they trust, they must also look.

Brief Notices.

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Turkey; or, a History of the Origin, Progress, and Decline of the Ottoman Empire. By George Fowler, Author of 'Lives of the Sovereigns of Russia.' With Illustrative Notes, by Trevethan Spicer, LL.D., M.A. London: T. H. Rees; Hope and Co., 1854.

A GOOD and impartial history of the Ottoman empire is much wanted, and would in the present crisis be of great service. But we are sorry to say that the present volume does not satisfy our expectation. The author tells us that 'his volume may be deemed a sort of *travel history*; as the *gatherings* from *his rough leaves*, which were *dotted down* during

his many wanderings in that country; comprising, likewise, some report of the Sultan's court, of the seraglio, and other information relative to the government of the Grand Signior.' These lines are a fair specimen of the author. He has not studied the works of D'Ohsson and Von Hammer; his only sources are Gibbon and the 'Lives of the Sovereigns of Russia,' that is to say, himself. We are not, therefore, astonished when he assures us that 'we see in the finest portions of the globe, which, for the last four centuries, have been subjected to the Moslem rule, where the Cross once triumphed, but where the Crescent now rules, the light of truth extinguished, and supplanted by imposture,—the vital spark of liberty crushed, and *slavery reigning rampant over a people* who formerly breathed the air of freedom—viz., the natives of the once Greek empire!' Mr. Fowler seems not to be aware that the Byzantine empire was not a Greek but a Roman empire, and that from its beginning, under Constantine the Great, or, if he chooses, under Arcadius, down to its fall under Constantine XI., it never had free institutions, being kept under the yoke of the most absolute despotism, which never acknowledged, or even professed to acknowledge, the principles of civil or religious liberty.

Mr. Fowler thinks, likewise, that 'those very provinces of which Russia has now taken possession, would, no doubt, *under Russian protection*, and regular government, however tyrannical and restrictive, increase their agricultural and commercial wealth to an indefinite extent; but so long as they remain under the maladministration of the Turk, who is neither a farmer nor a man of business, and thinks it beneath the dignity of his character to follow any other profession than that of a soldier and a tax-gatherer, and who thinks all farmers and merchants only the legitimate prey of aghas and pashas, there is no hope of amelioration. (p. 300.) Our author may have long resided in the East, but it is difficult to guess where he obtained such notions. Has he really never seen Turkish merchants in the principal cities of the empire? Has he never seen Turkish farmers and agriculturists all over Asia Minor? Has he never heard anything about the constitution of Moldavia and Wallachia? He should know, at least, that no Turk is allowed to hold landed property in the Danubian principalities; that no Turkish garrisons are kept in Moldavia and Wallachia; that these provinces elect their own princes without constraint, and that the Turks cannot interfere in their domestic administration. No pasha, and no agha, has ever gathered taxes beyond the Danube, and it is therefore ridiculous to accuse the Turks of maladministration in those provinces. The Danubian provinces are as independent of Turkey as Canada is of Great Britain. Mr. Fowler should have studied the facts before passing such a judgment on Turkey. As another proof of the flippant way in which he writes his *Travel History*, we may mention that, in page 360, he describes Mosul, without making any allusion to Botta's and Layard's excavations, or to Rawlinson's and other discoveries. He says,—'At Numia, a small village on the other bank, is the site of Nineveh, but the ruins of Assyrian and Babylonian towns *being mostly of brick* (!) cannot be easily identified.' And such statements are printed in 1854!

The Poetical Works of Goldsmith, Collins, and T. Warton; with Lives, Critical Dissertations, and Explanatory Notes. By the Rev. George Gilfillan. 8vo. pp. 303. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

THIS is the last volume of the first year's issue of the 'Library Edition of the British Poets,' and it is simple justice to say, that the publisher and editor have faithfully performed their contract. Six such volumes as the one before us, at the small price of one guinea, fully entitle Mr. Nichol to meet his subscribers 'without fear of being charged with having overlooked the conditions on which he solicited and obtained their countenance to his undertaking.' For accuracy of text, elegance of appearance, and extreme cheapness, this edition has no rival, and we are glad to hear that it has obtained extensive circulation. The present volume contains the productions of three poets—Goldsmith, Collins, and T. Warton—the first two of whom are amongst our favorites, and will ever retain a strong hold on the admiration of the intelligent and tasteful of our countrymen. Mr. Gilfillan's introductory dissertations to these poets are amongst the best pieces of his writings. The previous labours of Prior, Forster, and Irving have not left much to be said respecting Goldsmith; but his literary biography and character are briefly sketched with a fondness which commands our sympathy, and a discrimination that does honor to the editor. The foibles of Goldsmith were obvious to all. They lay on the surface, and awakened the smile of his associates. Yet his death at the comparatively early age of forty-five, as Mr. Gilfillan truly remarks, 'was a severe blow to that brilliant circle of which he had been long the love, the admiration, the wonder, and the sport. Burke shed tears at the news. Reynolds dropped his pencil, and painted no more that day. Johnson said, 'Goldy was wild, sir—very wild—but he is so NO MORE.' Goldsmith's poetry is amongst the most pleasing in our language. Its subdued and graceful beauties will never lose their charm, and we are, therefore, glad to receive such an edition of them as the present.

Collins is also a great favourite with us, but in reading his productions we are never free from the impression of our pleasure having been purchased at a terrible cost to the author. Genius is a fearful heritage. That of Collins was of a highly imaginative order. 'He was a painter of shadows and gigantic ghosts;' and in following his career to his melancholy close, we cannot divest ourselves of the notion of his having been terrified by his own creations. His Odes to the 'Passions,' to 'Liberty,' and to 'Evening,' are amongst the most inimitable productions of the poetical faculty.

Of Warton we say little; he is not a favorite with us. Mr. Gilfillan speaks of him in much higher terms than we are disposed to employ; nor can we agree in thinking that his poetical works are entitled to be bound up 'in the same volume with those of Goldsmith and Collins.' We would not give a single page from 'The Traveller,' 'The Deserted Village,' or the 'Ode to the Passions,' for all the so-called poetry which Warton ever wrote.

Hester and Elinor ; or, the Discipline of Suffering. A Tale. 12mo. pp. 473. London : John Chapman.

WE have read through this volume with very considerable interest. It must not be regarded as a mere novel. The author, whoever he may be, has evidently a higher object in view than that of whiling away a passing hour by a succession of stirring scenes. He deals with the *subjective* rather than the *objective*, and treats more of the consciousness and experience of individual minds, than with the course of events and the varied scenery through which his personages pass. The imagination, indeed, is not unaddressed, but it is always in subservience to other and more practical faculties. The growth of mind, the formation of character, the effect of circumstances as constituting the discipline of life, are the topics dwelt on, and from which the interest of the volume is mainly derived. There is, however, one serious defect pervading the work, which greatly militates against the pleasure it imparts. Evangelical religion is uniformly caricatured. The personages introduced as its representatives are unamiable, narrow-minded, saintly hypocrites, who veil under its profession much secularity and selfishness. Mr. Lewis and Mr. Gordon are types of this class. We do not deny that there are such, but what we complain of is, that they should be represented as the genuine exponents of evangelicism. There is wretched taste as well as untruthfulness in this, and the author of 'Hester and Elinor' ought to have been superior to it. Let such sanctimoniousness be reprobated wherever it is found; but let justice be done at the same time to that more genuine and divine life which has been, in every age, the prolific source of human charity and self-renunciation. The character and history of Hester are unnatural. They are out of keeping with the probabilities of the case, and being so, they fail to administer any useful lesson. The shock experienced by Hester was no doubt great, but it fails to account for what followed. There is also a want of unity in the work, which consists rather of two tales than of one. It is only at the commencement and close of the volume that the fortunes of Annie and Elinor on the one hand, and those of Hester on the other, are united. For the most part they are distinct, as much so as if narrated in separate volumes. Notwithstanding these defects, the volume is one of considerable power, and in the light which it throws on the growth of habits and the formation of character it is entitled to much praise.

Russia. From the French of the Marquis de Custine. In Three Parts. London : Longman and Co.

THIS volume, consisting of three *parts* of the 'Traveller's Library,' pertains to a topic of special interest at the present moment. It is an abridgment of the work of the Marquis de Custine, which appeared a few years ago, and which enjoyed much popularity at that time. The details of the author's family, which the original work included, have been wisely omitted, together with some other matters which are apart from its main subject. The object of the

publication has been to meet the demand of the day, and the whole work is therefore issued at once. It was originally published in three volumes, and though full of inconsistencies and contradictions, arguing on behalf of theories which the growing experience of mankind has discarded, evincing many of the exceptionable qualities of French authorship, and propounding dogmas better suited to the middle ages than to the present day, it throws much light on the institutions and social condition of Russia, and will amply repay the labor of perusal. There is a vivacity in its style, which, notwithstanding its occasional mawkishness of sentiment, renders its perusal a pleasure. Catholic unity, and a revival of the semi-feudal spirit of Louis XIV.'s reign, are the panacea to which the author looks for the salvation of Europe. We need not say that we have no faith in such remedies. But we must not now argue the matter. It is enough to indicate the character of the work, and to recommend such of our readers as have leisure, to examine its multifarious statements for themselves. The general view given of Russia may be learnt from the following sentence, which, coming from such a quarter, is sufficiently instructive:—'A monstrous compound of the petty refinements of Byzantium and the ferocity of the desert horde, a struggle between the etiquette of the Lower Empire and the savage virtues of Asia, have produced the mighty State which Europe now beholds, and the influence of which she will probably feel hereafter, without being able to understand its operation.'

1. *Great Truths in Little Stories; or, Drops of Wisdom for Childhood.* By Maria Goodluck.
2. *Tales of a Large Family; or, Records of the Hive, the Nest, and the Bower.* By Maria Goodluck. London: Darton and Co.

WERE we disposed to be cynical, Dr. Elliotson's letter in the 'Times' of the 30th of last January, would effectually prevent our being so. Belonging to a race generally deemed captious, we venture to put in a bill of exception, and to claim at least some share in the kinder sympathies of the human heart. Two sisters, who have seen better days, are now, without fault of their own, 'in the depth of poverty, and to poverty is added sickness.' For some time past they have been endeavouring to maintain themselves by their literary abilities. The intellect of one has failed in the struggle, and the other, has sunk into sickness, and lost the use of a hand. Such is the condition of the author of these small volumes. We need say no more, but will add, in justice to Miss Goodluck, that her productions are distinguished by purity of sentiment, easy versification, and an admirable moral. The children of our families will be much pleased with her 'fables,' and such of us as are of maturer age, may gather from them both pleasure and instruction.

The Boatman of the Bosphorus. A Tale of Turkey. By the Osmanli Abderahman Effendi. In Three volumes. London: T. C. Newby.

UNDER any circumstances, these volumes would be entitled to attention, but in the circumstances of the day they are specially attractive, and can scarcely fail to be popular. To ourselves their interest is mainly derived from the light they throw on the character and habits of a people with whom we are now so closely connected. Their drapery is essentially Eastern. They exhibit the weaknesses and the strength, the bitter prejudices, and the many noble qualities of the Turkish mind, and will do more than graver works to remove misconceptions and to induce an intelligent and correct estimate of Turkish character and sympathies. The boatman, Hamet—the Jew, Zahroun, and his wife, Salome—Don Xavier de los Morenoues, and the gentle and loving Zarifa—the eventful history of their daughter—the varying fortunes and diversified character of the members of the Romanowski family—the Polish government of Duke Constantine—and the desperate effort of the Poles to achieve their national independence, are sketched with considerable ability and nice discrimination. We shall not attempt to abridge the tale. This would only be to mar the pleasure of perusal. Suffice it to say that the work has strong claims on public favor, and is perfectly free from all that is pernicious or even questionable in morals.

Facts Without Fiction. By the author of 'Thoughts upon Thought.' pp. 327. London: W. and F. G. Cash.

WE have read this little volume with very considerable pleasure. Indeed, it has rarely fallen to our lot to be so much interested in a work of this class. Having commenced its perusal we were constrained to go through it at a sitting, and now commend it to the early acquaintance of our readers. Religious biography is so frequently written in an inane and fictitious style, that we were not prepared for the treat which awaited us. Many works of this class repel by their dulness, or, at best, leave on our minds only the impression of ordinary facts narrated in a mediocre and uninviting style. 'The facts recorded in this work are strictly veritable, they are extracts from documents which have been placed in the hands of the writer.' Such is the assurance of the author, and his volume confirms it. The narrative is full of incidents, and many of its passages are written in a glowing and beautiful style. It is, moreover, pervaded by a healthful spirit, which improves while it interests the reader. We do not envy the sensibility or the piety of a reader who can throw it aside before the last page is gained.

Lectures on Female Scripture Characters. By William Jay. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1854.

THESE lectures were delivered more than forty-eight years ago, and were prepared for publication by the venerable author after he had

retired from the pulpit; indeed the last sheet was passing through the press when he was called home by his Lord and Master. Apart from this circumstance, so touching in its associations, the volume is distinguished by the known characteristics of his thoughts and expressions, and needs no commendation of ours to make it acceptable to our readers. The selection is miscellaneous. There are three lectures on the 'Shunammite;' two on 'Mary Magdalene;' two on 'Hannah;' one on 'Anna, the Prophetess;' one on 'The Woman of Canaan;' one on 'The Woman who Anointed the Saviour's Head;' one on 'The Poor Widow;' one on 'The Penitent Sinner;' four on 'The Woman of Samaria;' and one on each of the following: 'Lydia,' 'Dorcas,' 'The Elect Lady,' 'The Deformed Daughter of Abraham,' 'Martha and Mary,' and 'Lot's Wife.' The author intimates in his preface that he had five lectures on 'The Mother of our Lord,' the notes of which were in so imperfect a state that he found it was 'too much for him to think of filling them up at that time.' Most of his readers will regret that he was unable to reproduce them; yet it is a fine thing to see a preacher, at the age of eighty-four, actually dying in the midst of his work, and leaving so precious a memorial of his sacred diligence in a calling to which he had consecrated nearly three-score years and ten! The volume is dedicated, with much good taste and ripe Christian sentiment, to the widowed Countess of Ducie.

Biblical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, in Continuation of the Work of Olshausen. By Dr. John H. A. Ebrard, Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Translated from the German, by the Rev. John Fulton, A.M. pp. 630. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

DR. EBRARD rejects all the hypotheses which have been framed respecting the authorship of the epistle to the Hebrews, and gives it as his own opinion that it was written by Luke, under the general direction of Paul. The reason for this opinion appears to us more ingenious than solid. He regards the writer as aiming to prove from the nature and principal elements of the old covenant itself that the revelation and redemption through the Messiah, promised in the old covenant, is represented, even in the old covenant, as an absolute revelation, as sufficient in itself, by which the Old Testament types become superfluous? The composition itself is formally a treatise, rather than an epistle, designed for a limited circle of readers. The treatise is divided into five parts: I. The Son and the Angels; II. The Son and Moses; III. Christ and the High Priest; IV. The Mosaic Tabernacle and the Heavenly Sanctuary; V. The Laying Hold of the New Testament Salvation. The volume labours under the apparent disadvantage of not being accompanied with a new translation of the treatise or epistle. The reader is supposed to be familiar with the Greek text, and with the works of previous German commentators. To such students, the work is likely to be acceptable; but we apprehend that its usefulness to others will not be so great as the translator and the

publishers desire. At the same time the laborious expounder of the New Testament will find in it a scholarly exhibition of evangelical truth and many happy suggestions for the elucidation of this interesting portion of the Sacred Writings. We perceive nothing in the shape of preface or note to indicate the reason why Olshausen's name is connected with the volume, or what portion, if any, of its contents may have been contributed by him.

A Compendium of Ecclesiastical History. By Dr. John C. L. Gieseler, Consistorial Counsellor and Ordinary Professor of Theology in Göttingen. Fourth edition, revised and amended. Translated from the German, by the Rev. John Winstanley Hull, M.A. Vol. IV.

THE readers of Dr. Gieseler's former volumes will be glad to have the continuation of his compendium. The FOURTH DIVISION includes the period between the removal of the Papal Court of Avignon and that of the Council of Pisa, being a space of more than a century, in which the author condenses the history of the schism in the Roman Church, the moral and political relations of the national churches, the monastic orders, the state of theological sciences, and the religious condition both of clergy and people, the ecclesiastical tribunals, the heretical sects, the efforts for reform in Bohemia and in England, and the progress of Christianity and the hindrances to that progress, followed by useful appendices relating to the Greek and other Oriental Churches. Of the FIFTH DIVISION, only the first chapter is contained in this volume, where the Councils of Pisa, Constance, Basle, and Florence are glanced at in their bearing on the great controversy of the age—between the monarchical and the aristocratical system for governing the Church, with France on one side and Italy on the other. We presume that the general merits of Dr. Gieseler are too well known to require that we should do more than state that, as a compendium—which is all that it claims to be—it is of so much value for its clear outline, its quotations from original sources, and its reference to more copious works on each successive era, that we shall congratulate ourselves and the public on the completion of the translation.

Egypt and the Bible. Being an Inquiry into the Traces discernible in Holy Scripture of the Influence exerted on the Character of the Hebrews by their Residence in Egypt. By B. A. Irving, B.A., &c. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.

THIS essay obtained the Norrisian Prize at the University of Cambridge in 1851. Its object is to show the Egyptian influence on the religious tenets—the moral laws and institutions—the civil and political arrangements—the general habits and customs, domestic institutions, literature, &c. of the Hebrew nation. 'One thing,' the author says, 'we must be permitted once for all to premise, that though a resemblance of the Hebrew to the Egyptian institutions, much greater than has yet been imagined could be discovered, still whoever found it would not justly come under such a censure as that of Witsius' (as dis-

honourable to our most holy religion). 'For we hold that the Pentateuch and the whole Mosaic dispensation would not be affected in its divine character, even if we imagine that in the grossest system of idolatry, there might still be some remains of a holier and purer faith, which identical reliques of true religion an Omniscient Being chose out, to the marked neglect of all that was false; that these he combined with other materials which obviously *have not an Egyptian origin*, and that He delivered to Moses a religion in its *precepts* and *morality* exactly suited to the nature of man, and consequently, as we conclude, composed by one who either formed our nature, or, to take the lowest position, knew our feelings as never man has yet known them. We affirm that it touches not the claim of the Pentateuch to a divine origin, whether we suppose this to be the case, or whether we imagine (an opinion by no means authorized by the Bible itself) that God, when he brought Israel from Egypt, formed for them *de novo*, a system of religion and a political constitution which had no connexion whatever with those of Egypt or of any other country; but that those points which were common, were derived either by the Egyptians from the Israelites, or were points of sound morality on which they had happened to stumble, as having their foundation in affections and motives common to mankind in general.'—pp. 5, 6.

The Bible: our Stumbling Block and our Strength. A Tract of the Times. London: Chapman. 1852.

A SUPERFICIAL and supercilious treatment of a profoundly grave theme, condensing within a few pages the fanciful objections to the Bible which occur in the writings of modern disbelievers. The leading idea of the writer is—that the Bible is a collection of *myths*, and that myths are a natural and necessary mode of presenting truth 'implanted by God in the soul of man for a divine purpose.' Whatever the intention of the author, we cannot speak of his production otherwise than as an ingenious attempt to mystify what is plain, in order to get rid of the Bible in its obvious and practical character as 'given by inspiration of God.'

Sunshine of Greystone. A Story for Girls. By E. J. May, Author of 'Louis' School Days.' London: Binns and Goodwin.

WE like this book very much. The story is bright, the characters are varied and natural, and we believe it will be much liked, and do not a little good. The author has done well to write a companion to 'Louis' School Days,' which is, in several respects, an improvement on that admirable book for boys. This is a department of literature that deserves, as we believe it receives, the encouragement of those who are most wisely interested in the entertainment of the young, by means which do them lasting good.

The Mystery Unveiled; or Popery as its Dogmas and Pretensions appear in the Light of Reason, the Bible, and History. By the Rev. James Bell. pp. vi.—603. Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie.

MR. BELL's object in this treatise is to bring to the tests mentioned in his title the theory and natural history of Popery, which he resolves into the two elements of *Idolatry* and *Formalism*. The usual heads of Worship—Papal Supremacy—Rule of Faith—Sacraments—Confession—Purgatory—Indulgences—Good Works—Celibacy—Convents—Jesuits—and the Moral Tendencies of Popery, as intolerant and persecuting, inimical to the spread of Christianity and general knowledge and virtue, and tending to social and political degradation and vassalage—are discussed clearly and conclusively, while charity towards the dupes of this portentous compound of mischiefs is earnestly inculcated.

On the Lessons in Proverbs. Five Lectures. Being the Substance of Lectures delivered to Young Men's Societies at Portsmouth and elsewhere. By Richard Chenevix Trench, B.D., &c. &c. London: J. W. Parker and Son.

MR. TRENCH has here opened ground which will be found worthy of large culture, both by himself and by other labourers. The learning, good sense, and healthful feeling of these lectures make them admirable models for this new order of public instruction. The book, like a proverb, has 'a sting, and honey, and a body small.' We very warmly recommend it as worthy of universal circulation.

The Hiding-place. By Dr. John Macfarlane, Author of the 'Night Lamp,' &c. London: James Nisbet and Co.

WE have read this volume with much pleasure. It has long been our impression that works of this order are a desideratum. We have volume after volume of history, and many of them most admirable—we have works on the Millennium; works on popery; works on infidelity; but very few heart-stirring, devout, experimental, and practical works in divinity. Who that has read the writings of Flavell and Baxter but feels that their works abound with a peculiar unction and pungency, strikingly adapted to awaken strong desires of exalted piety, and to exhibit the security and peace of its possession. This is the feeling which now requires to be cherished amongst professors of religion. The level of spirituality, in our day, is a very low one. Dr. Macfarlane's work reminds us greatly of the works both of Flavell and of Baxter; and well will it be for the churches when such efforts are duly appreciated, and such works extensively read. The aim of the author obviously is, to awaken conscience, strengthen faith, and animate divine love by exhibiting the fulness, safety, and glory of the gospel-refuge to the sinner, and by setting forth Christ as 'the hiding-place' in every form of Bible attraction and heavenly excellence. We cordially rejoice to learn that a second edition is already called for, and sincerely wish that a volume so remarkably adapted to usefulness, may speedily pass through many more editions.

The Book of Nature. An Elementary Introduction to the Sciences of Physics, Astronomy, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, Botany, Zoology and Physiology. By Friedrich Schoedler, Ph.D. Second edition. Translated from the sixth German edition, by Henry Medlock, F.C.S. London and Glasgow: R. Griffin and Co. pp. 617.

WE have in this volume a striking feature of the times. Formerly one who wished to commence scientific studies, found few works calculated to lighten the difficulties occurring in the outset. In the present instance, however, the student is led on by easy and gradual advances, and the main object kept in view is to show the intimate relation of the different departments of natural science.

In our observations of nature we first comprehend objects, and then the phenomena they manifest.

Thus our author gives two grand divisions. 1. The Science of Objects. 2. The Science of Phenomena. These are again subdivided.

The Science of Objects treats of: 1. Objects which are similar in mass, or Mineralogy. 2. Objects which are dissimilar in mass, and *without* voluntary motion, or Botany. 3. Objects which are dissimilar in mass, and endowed *with* voluntary motion, or Zoology.

The Science of Phenomena treats of: 1. Phenomena *without* change in the objects, or Physics. 2. Phenomena *with* change in the objects, or Chemistry. 3. Phenomena in animated objects, or Physiology.

We agree with the author that, for such as are of riper years, it is best to commence with the science of phenomena, which will give the fundamental knowledge required for a thorough comprehension of animal and vegetable life. But with the young, who more easily comprehend forms than phenomena, we should commence with the science of objects. A great deal depends upon the teacher, and the conclusion of the introductory remarks is quite true:—‘All ways, then, tend to the same end; but he who would reach the end, must not avoid the way.’

The illustrations are excellent; and, altogether, the volume is one which is specially adapted for the purposes of tuition.

An Epitome of the Civil and Literary Chronology of Rome and Constantinople, from the death of Augustus to the death of Heraclius. By Henry Fynes Clinton, Esq., M.A., late Student of Christ Church. Edited by the Rev. C. J. Fynes Clinton, M.A. Oxford University Press.

MR. CLINTON has worthily completed his labours by this ‘Epitome’ of his ‘Fasti Romani.’ Scholars and historical students will welcome it as the latest and indeed posthumous gift of one of the most helpful of the original inquirers in their departments of human learning, which this country has produced. And general readers and the extensive class of those who ‘pursue knowledge under difficulties,’ will rejoice to receive in this single, well printed, and cheap volume, the quintessence of two thick and costly quartos, just as in the ‘Epitome’ of the ‘Fasti Hellenici,’ they had the substance of the three quartos upon the chronology of Greece. The pious hand of a brother has put the finishing

touch—and no more was left undone—to this concluding work of Mr. Clinton's series. In it, as in the earlier compendium, we observe that not only are the larger volumes condensed, but there are also additional facts and references, with disquisitions that present the author's latest views upon those knotty points on which, in all probability, there must always be differences of opinion amongst the learned.

The section entitled 'Scripture Chronology' has, in this respect, as well as intrinsically, great value; and in relation to one of the questions of the day the same may be said of that headed 'Testimonia Patrum.' The method pursued, too, is so unpretending, so completely Baconian, that the *study* of the book will reward those to whom the matters treated of are in themselves indifferent. And if further commendation to our readers be required, it may be found in the fact that Mr. Clinton's researches are the basis of all recent treatises upon the chronology of Greece and Rome, both in Europe and the United States. We heartily wish that many others would follow the example of Clinton, Layard, and Wilkinson, and themselves epitomize their great works: not only because the age calls for portable books, but because nothing beside can supply the desire for authentic instruction which actuates the 'poor scholars,' whose number is the natural result of the prodigious diffusion of literature and knowledge that characterizes the times in which we live.

Robert Hall: his Genius and his Writings. By J. P. Mursell.
London: Arthur Hall and Co. 1854.

It is now more than twenty years since Mr. Hall was removed from this world, and the generation that knew him in the full efflorescence of his powers is fast passing away. It is not, therefore, a little delightful to be led back by his highly qualified successor in the pastorate at Leicester to a fresh contemplation of that magnificent character in all those phases which seem in hopeless contest for our preference—the intellectual, the literary, the moral, the spiritual, the man of genius, the companion, the Christian, and the preacher. Mr. Mursell is not the man who would be likely in accepting the duty to which he was called—that of delivering a lecture on the Genius and Writings of Hall—to waste the occasion in mere panegyric; and yet his performance must of necessity rather wear that aspect, just as there are some individuals whom nature has so richly endowed with personal charms that the painter cannot produce an accurate delineation of them without indulging the beholder with the enjoyment of beauty, as much as if that had been his only purpose. Mr. Mursell begins with an exposition of his view of genius generally, which, while it avoids the perhaps hopeless difficulty of rigid definition, appears to us equally felicitous and just. He describes it as an intensification of the mental faculties in general, but especially of the inventive and the æsthetical; and while he by no means denies to his subject the possession of the former in a high degree, he shows, as we think, his correct appreciation of Mr. Hall's structure of mind by ascribing to it the latter as its predominant

characteristic. An absolute equipoise of all the faculties would be inconsistent with the necessary limitations and imperfections of the human mind. And this distinction indicates perhaps the principal point at which the mind of that great man escaped that glorious but unnatural condition. Mr. Mursell's performance is a most worthy tribute to the genius of his illustrious predecessor. It is impregnated throughout with a spirit of genuine sympathy and almost absorbing homage. It abounds with nice distinction, and with bold, but correct, delineation, and sparkles throughout with passages of singular eloquence and beauty. To transcribe some of these would be a pleasure which we are reluctantly compelled to deny ourselves; but many of our readers will doubtless relieve themselves from disappointment by perusing the lecture: and those who were privileged to be occasionally hearers of Mr. Hall, and especially those who were honoured by his friendship, while being guided back by these pages to the choicest reminiscences of their lives, will be pleasingly reminded that stateliness of intellect and glowing eloquence have neither died with Mr. Hall nor even deserted that denomination of which he was the greatest ornament since the days of the Commonwealth. Having been so happy as to belong to at least one of the classes last indicated, it is with no common feelings that we thank Mr. Mursell for his masterly performance.

Political Economy Illustrated by Sacred History. By James Taylor, Author of 'The Money System of England from the Conquest,' &c. Seeleys. London: 1852.

THIS is a neatly printed little book, written by a person of piety and philanthropy. His intention, however, in publishing his lucubrations is probably clearer to himself than it will be to the majority of his readers. We do not wish to disparage the little volume; but we seriously ask the author if he is enthusiast enough to suppose that our political economists will search the Sacred Scriptures for instruction in forming wholesome monetary systems, due legal restrictions on banking, and in investing capital in the best manner? and if he thinks that they who thus seek it will obtain the information they desire? The Jews thought their Scriptures contained the *semina rerum* for all the sciences. Mr. Taylor is the first English writer with whom we are acquainted who finds in the Bible the occult principles of political economy. The book will be useful, however, to those persons who are ignorant of the rudiments of that science. The worthy author has occasional divergences from the subject properly in hand, one of which we subjoin, and in the latter clause of the sentence we agree perfectly with the writer:—

‘For my own part, if a large body of Christian people think their real interests are likely to be better watched over by a Jew than by a Christian, I have no wish to dictate to them—nay, I should rather be disposed to unite with them in electing a sincere Jew in preference to an insincere Christian; but surely common decency requires that, before the British constitution is altered for the sake of admitting a rich Jew

into the House of Commons, some provision should be made to prevent the doors of that august assembly being shut against a poor Christian, for no other reason than for his want of wealth.'—p. 26.

1. *What is Conscience?* By Rev. W. Mason. London: Hodson.

THE author of this little volume is evidently an admirer and follower of 'the illustrious Swedenborg.' We have neither time nor space to discuss the merits or otherwise of the doctrines propounded by that superb mystic; and were both of these at our command, we should still refrain—reluctant to 'rush in where angels fear to tread.' Mr. Mason is evidently an earnest disciple of his faith—eager to promote the best interests of mankind—well acquainted with the dogmatical literature of the past age; and the volume is shrewdly and ably written.

2. *What is the Human Soul?* By Rev. W. Mason. London: Hodson.

'THE illustrious Swedenborg' is the grand referee in this book also, which its author regards as a hand-book on the particular subjects treated of. He has endeavoured to dissect the soul, to show the soul's free-will when in the body and when separated from it, to harmonize the divine foreknowledge with the soul's free-will, and to explain the state and condition of the soul in the life to come, of which, by the way, St. Paul wrote that 'we know only in part.' Possibly, Mr. Mason might extinguish us by rejoining that much has been learned since the days of that great apostle. If so, St. Paul has much to learn from the philosopher of Stockholm.

The Priest and the Huguenot; or, Persecution in the Age of Louis XV. From the French of Louis Felix Bungener. Published with the author's sanction. London: T. Nelson and Sons. Another and cheaper edition of a work which we recently introduced to the favorable notice of our readers. The type is too small for our eyes, but will better suit the young, while the diminished cost of the edition will render it acceptable to a large class.—*The Field and the Fold; or, a Popular Exposition of the Science of Agriculture.* By the Rev. Edwin Sydney, A.M. London: Religious Tract Society. A little volume, well answering to its title, and full of information both pleasing and instructive. It belongs to the *Monthly Series* of the Tract Society, and it well merits a place amongst its many excellent predecessors.—*Letters of the Madiai, and Visits to their Prison.* By the Misses Senhouse. London: James Nisbet and Co. A deeply interesting little volume, exhibiting a picture of papal persecution and of calm Christian endurance not frequently seen in our day. 'Amid the many conflicting statements that have been published respecting the prison treatment of the Madiai, it is well that we should have such a full and exact account from an authority which none can question.' The profits of the publication are to be devoted to the sufferers, and we hope it will have a very wide circulation.—*The Charities of*

London in 1852-3 : presenting a Report of the Operations, Resources, and General Condition of Charitable and Religious Institutions of London. With an Introductory Analysis. By Sampson Low, jun. London: Sampson Low, and Son. An immense amount of information is condensed within the limits of this small volume, and we shall be glad to find that the editor is encouraged to continue his labors. As a first attempt the execution of the volume is highly creditable to Mr. Low.—*Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay.* Edited by her Niece. A New Edition. The second volume of a reprint which we announced in March, and in which much entertaining reading will be found, at a small cost.—*Whitaker's Educational Register, 1854, containing a list of the Universities in the United Kingdom, with various particulars concerning them; the Colleges connected with the Church of England, the Roman Catholics, and various Dissenting bodies; together with a complete list of the Foundation and Grammar Schools in England and Wales, with an account of the Scholarships and Exhibitions attached to them, &c. &c.* London: Joseph Whitaker. This is the fourth year of the publication of this *Register*, the general character of which is accurately expressed in the title page. It is a very useful book of reference, and as such we cordially recommend it.—*Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D.* By his Son-in-law, the Rev. William Hanna, LL.D. Third Quarterly Part. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Co. The former *parts* of this cheap reprint were duly noticed at the time of their publication. We are glad to report the steady progress of the edition, which is admirably suited to the pecuniary capabilities of a large class.—*Working Women of the Last Half Century; the Lesson of their Lives.* By Clara Lucas Balfour. London: W. and F. G. Cash. A brief and instructive sketch of the labors of several eminent women who have devoted themselves to the social and religious improvement of their species. The increase of such laborers is amongst the most hopeful signs of our day.

Review of the Month.

THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE NEW REFORM BILL, of which we indicated in our last Number our confident anticipation, was made a *fait accompli* on the 11th ult. The decision of the Cabinet was announced by Lord Aberdeen in the House of Lords, and by Lord John Russell as leader of the House of Commons. We are firmly convinced that this result is not attributable to the apathy of ministers; and as little do we believe that the decisions of the Cabinet have been determined by the comparative silence of the country. The truth is that any ministry would now have enough to do to manage the foreign

relations and interests of the British empire. In addition to this they must of necessity take into their consideration the position, the conduct, and the relative strength of the various sections—for we can hardly designate them as parties—in the Legislature. The conservatives would of course oppose the measure. The members for those constituencies which the bill proposed to disfranchise, would naturally vote for its postponement, while all would feel the importance of unanimity at a time when the whole resources of the empire are required for the prosecution of a war, the proximate events of which are certain, while its issues are hidden in the future. The policy of the government has, we think, been frank and wise; they have not signified the abatement of one iota of their interest in the success of the bill or in their confidence of the wisdom of any of its provisions. They are simply coerced by circumstances. The position of Lord John Russell has been peculiarly painful. If, as a statesman, he has a *prestige*, it is derived from his unequalled acquaintance with the philosophy of the British Constitution and his advocacy of parliamentary reform. To forfeit this *prestige* would be to fall through into public oblivion, and even to incur universal derision as the obsequies of his political decease. We are not, therefore, surprised at the insuppressible emotion by which he was affected even to tears when, in withdrawing the Reform Bill, he contemplated the possibility of imputations not against his consistency in a particular instance, but against the whole tenour of his political career. His withdrawal of the measure and his exposition of the motives by which he was compelled to it, drew upon him the warmest plaudits and the highest expressions of respect from all parts of the house. Lord John for once stooped to conquer; but he is bound deeply to feel the reasons which actuated his supporters in converting a humiliation into a triumph. The sympathetic support of the liberal party burdens him with a new and weightier obligation, and, in the case both of himself and Lord Aberdeen, invests an ordinary political promise with the sacredness of a vow.

THE PROVISIONS OF THE SCOTCH EDUCATIONAL BILL are now before the public. Its general tendency is favorable to the free church of Scotland. But it is poisoned, as all such measures are, by the vacillating principle of our State-church system, so that it will be unacceptable to all parties. It will offend the kirk, the free church, and the dissenter; the kirk by taking from the presbytery the examination of the candidates for the office of schoolmaster and the supervision of the religious instruction; the free church by making grants to Roman Catholic and Unitarian schools, just as freely as to Presbyterian; and the Dissenters, by insisting upon and providing for the teaching of religion by Act of Parliament, and at the public expense. As a summary of the objections which may be urged on political grounds against the bill, we avail ourselves of the remarks of the '*Leeds Mercury*,' in which we recognise the hand of a man who, perhaps, of all others of the present day, is most profoundly conversant with the subject of popular education.

'This bill is intended to bring *the whole of the popular education of*

Scotland directly under the pay, inspection, and control of a Government Board. It does not, indeed, prohibit either public or private schools on an independent basis; but it gives such overpowering advantages to the schools connected with the government, that its practical operation would be to extinguish nearly all others. Now this cannot be done without a very great and undesirable *increase of government influence and patronage.* Most of the members of the Educational Board will be appointed by the government. All the inspectors will be appointed by the government. Every schoolmaster must receive his license to teach from government inspectors and a government Board; and on the same authorities he will be dependent for his annual salary, for the continuance of his employment, and for his retiring pension. Every school committee will have upon it several nominees of the government. The schools will be dependent upon government authorities, not indeed for their whole income, but for so large a part of it as will give those authorities the real control. At every stage of originating, establishing, and conducting schools, government officers must give their sanction to the plans and proceedings, the rules and regulations. No one can reflect on the powers and duties devolved upon the inspectors and the Board, without perceiving that *the paramount authority and effective rule are given to those government authorities,* and that neither schoolmasters nor school committees could stir a step without official sanction, or being liable to official check. Add to these things the influence of the Committee of Council on Education, through the means of the inspectors, over the pupil teachers and stipendary monitors, and over the candidates for normal schools and for Queen's scholarships: and it will be seen that *the entire machinery of popular education in all the towns and parishes of Scotland, will be moved by Government money and Government functionaries.'*)

A DAY OF GENERAL FAST AND HUMILIATION has been observed as appointed by an Order in Council, in consequence of the state of war in which the nation is unhappily involved. On the innumerable evils of such a condition of things, political, commercial, social, and moral, it is unnecessary to descant. How far it might have been prevented by a different diplomatic course it is equally unnecessary to conjecture. The British empire is now committed to it, and it becomes us calmly and seriously to look in the face all the multiform evils it entails. The sacrifice of human life it is of course impossible to compute; instead of a relief of public burdens we must now expect their continuation and their increase; and should the arms of the allied powers be visited with defeat the consequences are too fearful to contemplate. In such an alarming conjuncture nothing can be more suitable than for this whole nation to humble itself under the mighty hand of God. We have great national sins to confess and deplore, and the entire church of Christ in these realms may most wisely seize this opportunity for a special humiliation and intercession. But without desiring to discourage a national observance which has the semblance of originating in a pious motive, we must express a deliberate opinion that it should have been originated from the Church, and not from the

State. The edict which bears the name of the Queen virtually emanates from the Privy Council, and, *de facto*, from the Prime Minister, and the Cabinet. What propriety there is in such a body of men ordaining a strictly religious observance it is difficult to conceive, inasmuch as, even on the supposition that they are all devout men, it would be hard to discover their right, under the charter of the Christian dispensation, to enact any special religious observance, and to initiate and stereotype the prayers of the church of Christ. This, we think, of itself, a conclusive objection against the Orders in Council, and we are not disposed to prosecute further the inquiry, whether those who signed those orders can be recognised by the Christian church as consistent disciples of the GREAT MASTER. One principle only we hold as indisputable: namely, that any such observances should originate with that Church which consists of faithful men, and not with a secular body, who, in part, or in whole, may be alien from that which alone deserves the name of the church; and all of whom, whether this be or be not the fact, are destitute of any legitimate title to legislate for its observances and its concerns. Even if Christians had no surer guide, the '*Proci! este profani*,' of classic heathenism, might teach them the lesson at least of an ostensible religious purity.

THE WAR WITH RUSSIA has now been prosecuted to such a stage that some serious collision between the hostile forces will probably have occurred before these sheets are in the hands of our readers. Both French and English troops are concentrating on the southern seat of war, where, notwithstanding the vastly superior numerical force of the Russians, the Turkish arms have hitherto been victorious. In the Baltic, the combined fleets are sweeping the sea in numbers which threaten some momentous event so soon as the advancing season shall allow of their unimpeded operations. Already they have captured several prizes, which they have borne off to the harbour of Memel; and one taken nearer home, and brought into Portsmouth, has re-awakened in the inhabitants of that town, feelings which have slept since the days of Nelson. The Russian fleet is still sheltering beneath the guns of Cronstadt, but it is expected that Sir Charles Napier will not long leave them unmolested, take refuge where they may. The '*Moniteur*' states that the French navy has now embarked on different seas 56,000 sailors, and England has an equal force. In describing the departure of the French fleet for the Baltic from the port of Brest, the correspondent of the '*Moniteur*' says, '*Nothing can give you a just idea of the ardour and enthusiasm of the sailors and soldiers. Our crews are excellent, the troops intended for landing are superb, perfectly organized, and admirably exercised. France, thanks to the activity displayed by the Minister of Marine, possesses at this moment a naval force and a body of seamen worthy of her and of her power. For a long time the navy had not exhibited so great a development. It is fully equal to the noble mission which France accomplishes at this moment, and the glorious deeds that are in preparation.*'

As far as the naval operations of the allied powers are concerned, there appears every reason for hope and confidence; but we confess we

look with some anxiety to the evidently-approaching collision between the land forces in the Turkish provinces. Here both the French and the English have been comparatively tardy in the despatch of troops, while the Russians, with greatly superior numbers, have been suffered to possess themselves of the best strategical positions. The most imperfect preparations have been made for the reception of the allied troops, and that, too, in a country occupied by a disaffected population. There seems at least reason to fear that the Russians will have achieved some important successes before the allied armies are in a condition to offer effective aid.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan; by the late John Lloyd Stephens. With Numerous Engravings. Revised from the latest American Edition. By Frederick Catherwood.

Claudius Ptolemy and the Nile; or, an Enquiry into that Geographer's Real Merits and Speculative Errors; his Knowledge of Eastern Africa, and the Authenticity of the Mountains of the Moon. By William Desborough Cooley.

The Treasury Harmony of the Four Evangelists, in the Words of the Authorized Version, according to Greswell's 'Harmonia Evangelica.' Having Scripture Illustrations, Expository Notes from the most approved Commentators, &c. &c. Compiled by Robert Mimpriss. Two volumes in one.

The Comforter; or, Thoughts on the Influence of the Holy Spirit. By Rev. John Cumming, D.D., F.R.S.E.

Signs of the Times; The Moslem and his End, the Christian and his Hope. By Rev. John Cumming, D.D., F.R.S.E.

The Chinese; a Book for the Day. By the Rev. Thomas Phillips.

The West Indies before and since Slave Emancipation; Comprising the Windward and Leeward Islands' Military Command. By John Davy, M.D., F.R.S., &c.

The Revelation of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Historically and Critically Interpreted. By the Rev. Philip Gell, M.A. Vol. I.

The Grand Contrast, God and Man, set forth in an Epitome of Holy Writ, with Reflections, and a Critical Examination of Mr. Newman's Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrines. By an Aged Layman.

Why Weepest Thou? or, The Cry from Ramah hushed by the Voice from Heaven. In Letters Memorial, Consolatory and Practical. A Manual for Bereaved Parents. By the Rev. John Macfarlane, LL.D.

John Penry, the Pilgrim Martyr, 1559-1593. By John Waddington.

Shrines of the Holy Land contested by the Russian and the Turk.

The Journal of Sacred Literature. New Series. Edited by the Rev. H. Burgess, LL.D., Ph. D. No. XI.

Statistical Tables of Population, Mortality, Food, and Clothing, &c. &c. &c. 1801 to 1851. Compiled from Parliamentary and other Authentic Documents. By J. G. Darton.

The Congregational Church at Wrentham, in Suffolk; its History and Biographies. By John Browne, B.A.

The War between Turkey and Russia. A Military Sketch. By A. Schimmelfenning.

The Ministry and Polity of the Christian Church, viewed in their Scriptural and Theological Aspects, and in Relation to Principles professed by the Wesleyan Methodists. By the Rev. Alfred Barrett.

The Theory of Grammar. By S. Griffith.

The Great Sacrifice: or, The Gospel According to Leviticus. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., F.R.S.E.

Arabic Reading Lessons, consisting of Extracts from the Koran and other Sources, Grammatically Analysed and Translated with the Elements of Arabic Grammar. By the Rev. N. Davis, F.R.S.S.A., and Mr. B. Davidson.

Jane Rutherford; or, The Miners' Strike. By a Friend of the People.

The Life and Labours of St. Augustine. A Historical Sketch. By Philip Schaff, D.D.

Nettleton and his Labours; being the Memoir of Dr. Nettleton. By Bennet Tyler, D.D. Remodelled in some parts with Occasional Notes, &c.; and an Introduction. By Rev. Andrew A. Bonar.

The Biography of Samson, Illustrated and Applied. By the Rev. John Bruce, D.D.

The Centenary Services of Bristol Tabernacle, held November 25th, 1853. Containing a Sermon by the Rev. J. A. James, &c.

Julian; or, The Close of an Era. By L. F. Bungener. Two Vols.

Voltaire and his Times. By L. F. Bungener.

Memoirs of the Court of Prussia. From the German of Dr. Edward Behsi. By Franz C. F. Demmler.

The Gauntlet of Freedom.

The French School. Part I. L'Echo de Paris. A Selection of Familiar Phrases, &c. With a Vocabulary. By Mons. Le Page.

Finishing Exercises in French Conversation: being a Key to L'Echo de Paris. By Mons. Le Page.

The First False Step. By James Cargill Guthrie.

Sermons, Chiefly Expository, Preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew, Wells. By the Rev. Edgar Huxtable, M.A.

A Portraiture of the Late Rev. William Jay, of Bath: an Outline of his Mind, Character, and Pulpit Eloquence. With Notes of his Conversations, and an Estimate of his Writings and Usefulness. By Rev. Thomas Wallace.

Bibliotheca Sacra and American Biblical Repository. April, 1854.

Gerstäcker's Travels. Translated from the German of Frederick Gerstäcker.

Marcus Warland; or, The Long Moss Spring. A Tale of the South. By Caroline Lee Henty.

Biblical and Theological Gleanings: A Collection of Comments, Criticisms, and Remarks, explanatory or Illustrative of 2700 Passages in the Old and New Testaments. By William O'Neill.

Consecrated Heights; or, Scenes of Higher Manifestation. By the Rev. Robert Ferguson, LL.D., F.S.A.

The Nunnery Question. A Report of the Great Catholic Meeting, held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, March 21, 1854. To which is added, The Catholic Declaration; with the List of Signatures.

Robert Hall: his Genius and Writings.

THE
Eclectic Review.

J U N E, 1854.

ART. I.—*Correspondence respecting the Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches in Turkey.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1854.

2. *The Despot of Eastern Europe.* By the Author of ‘Revelations of Russia,’ ‘The White Slave,’ &c. Third Edition. Three Vols. 12mo. London. 1854.

3. *Religious Liberty in Turkey.* The Speech of the Earl of Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, on Friday, March 10th, on the Manifesto of the Emperor of Russia. 8vo. pp. 30. London: John Murray.

4. *The Turkish Question.* Speeches delivered in the House of Commons, on August 16th, 1853, and February 17th, 1854. By Austin Henry Layard, Esq., M.P. 8vo. pp. 40. London: John Murray.

A LITTLE incident disclosed in Mr. Peterman’s report of Dr. Barth’s visit to Timbuctoo—the mysterious object of European travel and inquiry for centuries—is a strong proof of the importance of the events now passing in Turkey. To secure the respect of the natives and the safety of the traveller, it was judged indispensable to represent him as charged with a mission from the Sultan. When believed to bring tidings from Constantinople, remote as that chief seat of Islamism is from the banks of the Niger, the stranger became the welcome guest of the wild men, whom such service to the great chief of their faith subdued. The sympathy must be strong

which defies the remotest distances, and does not depend upon political power or interests. There is no material connexion whatever between the chiefs of Timbuctoo and the Ottoman Porte. Nevertheless, those chiefs readily accept as their friend whoever enjoys the confidence of the Sultan of Turkey. Other travellers in Africa have had experience of the prevalence of this attachment even in remoter parts; and it is the fact of its existence throughout the Mohammedan world that gives peculiar importance to the present crisis.

Great Britain is deeply interested in this matter. More than fourteen millions of Mohammedans in India feel exactly as the chiefs and people of Timbuctoo. To outrage them will injure us, and disincline them to the gradual adoption of good European usages, which they are disposed to appreciate according as they find us not less just than powerful; and the recommendation of which good usages is the best end and justification of our victorious career in the East. There is convincing evidence of progress being already made in India to give a high-minded, humane character to that career, much as may still remain to be accomplished. Not long ago, at a public meeting in Calcutta of the native inhabitants of India, at which strong remonstrances were made respecting their want of a larger share in the administration of the country, one of the speakers said, that 'so long as the East India Company could keep together a consolidated government, and confer upon half-civilized people the blessings of civilization, they would pray that her empire may continue to be extended, and that those privileges which a certain class of Her Majesty's British subjects enjoy as to emoluments and official dignities, may be equally shared by Her Majesty's loyal native subjects.'*

In regard to education, 'they did not object to the establishment of English schools; let them be multiplied as much as possible. All that they want is, that an endowment should be exclusively applied for the encouragement of oriental literature and science.' (p. 228.)

Another said,

'Here are assembled the representatives of thirty or forty millions of the subjects of the British crown. Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Parsees, forgetting the differences of their creed, have joined in the common cause of pleading for their rights and privileges before the Imperial Parliament of Britain. Around me I see the elders and the *élite* of the land, many a head silvered by time, and many a man, the best and brightest portions of whose lives have been spent in labouring for the welfare of his country and his species. * * *

* See Report of the Proceedings in Buckingham's 'Coming Era,' No. 11., p. 226.

‘We have waited patiently much too long. Bengal, it is true, is in a better condition than many an American slave colony. True it is, that the Bengalee is never sold by public auction, nor made over to a creditor in repayment of a loan, as poor Uncle Tom was, nor hunted down from place to place by a hard master, like the fugitive George Harris, but still, of what use are his talents to him? In official employment, the Anglo-Saxon keeps up the same distinctions of caste, against which, as an institution of Hinduism, he declaims so violently. That the Bengalee is equal to all kinds of civil duties, and that his integrity has been subjected to all kinds of tests, has been weighed in the balance and not found wanting, has been tried in the furnace and found true, can hardly now be denied even by our enemies. It is, therefore, quite unnecessary to discuss, in a public meeting like this, whether any particular officer has given satisfaction to the public or not. Were it necessary, we could produce irrefragable arguments and testimony to prove that the educated Bengalee is not very much inferior to the ordinary run of educated gentlemen in England, and that native agency in every department of public business is not only useful, but absolutely necessary.’—pp. 233, 234.

Another, when moving the resolution against ‘the absence of a provision in the new India Bill for admitting natives into the legislative council, and against their virtual exclusion from the civil service,’ urged that

‘The Mohammedan rulers of India, with all their faults, pursued a more liberal imperial policy. Elphinstone says of Akbar, that “his employment of them (Hindus) equally with Mohammedans, began with his assumption of the government.” The historian of India can cite the names of Man Sing, Todur Mull, Hemu, Beerbul, as holding high offices under Mohammedan emperors; but not a single native name is reserved to him to record as holding *similar* offices under the auspices of Britannia. It is to be hoped that Christian Britain will not allow herself to be outdone in this respect by the followers of Mohammed.’—p. 245.

With Mohammedans and Hindoos, who give such proofs of their capacity to take part in the legislation of the country, nothing but the need of reform can prevent their sharing it at no distant day.

The Mohammedan statesmen of Turkey, under circumstances in many respects less favourable than those which perplex our Indian administration, are making substantial progress in conciliating all the races subject to them, and in improving their own. Their predecessors were not only ruthless conquerors from Jerusalem to the walls of Vienna, but at one period, in the wild excess of their triumphs, they deliberated in solemn council, after the heat of victory had subsided, whether duty and the general good of Islamism did not call for the utter extermination of the Christian race!

The more humane judgment prevailed ; and now it is a point of equally anxious inquiry, how the equality of all the subjects of the Ottoman Porte, of whatever creed and origin, shall be suitably and safely realized in practice,—as that equality is actually proclaimed by the letter of the law. The Turkish government has during many years been preparing this immense change.

It is not, surely, in such a condition of things that extraneous difficulties should be opposed to the success of these honourable efforts. Still less is it to be borne that a state like Russia, abusing its power and unscrupulously resorting to every form of fraud and corruption to secure success, should step in and aggravate these difficulties, in order to profit by the embarrassments of a neighbouring state. Well then is it, that the crisis produced throughout Europe by the Czar's ambitious designs against Turkey has roused the attention of the whole civilized world to questions of the deepest interest, which have heretofore failed sufficiently to attract general notice. These questions are the following :—

Whether the progress of civilization is to be steadily quickened by means of the peaceful intercourse of powerful with weaker states, so as to put a stop to conquests and to extinguish for ever the old delusion of an Universal Empire ; whether charity in its best sense cannot be so exercised as to make Christians more and more truly Christian, and to conciliate the most prejudiced of other faiths ; whether we Christians cannot ourselves follow out genuine Christian principles, and, at the same time, profit by all that is good in men of other creeds ; whether, in that case, the Moslem and Hindoo, the Chinese and Pagan, will not view the general superiority of our social system with favour and adopt it with zeal ; finally, whether a cosmopolitan spirit will not spring up vigorously wherever once spread, so as to foster all reforms and promote every wholesome change ? Such are the great points to be now discussed amid the din of arms, and which will demand satisfactory settlement at the close of a war which threatens half the world.

The history of Mohammedanism is not wanting in circumstances to encourage the expectation of a good issue to the vast reforms, social, political, and military, which the present Turkish government is pursuing even more zealously than its predecessors. Whilst the delusion of centuries is being dispelled, and the fatal glory of a race of conquerors is abandoned without reluctance and without weakness, that history may be appealed to with confidence to prove that friendship with the Christians was cultivated by the most illustrious of the Mohammedan princes. A few examples may be cited in illustration of this point.

The early conquest of Palestine by the successors of Mohammed

was complete, and the use they made of their conquest cruel. Still the Christians of the East were not exterminated ; and pilgrimages prevailed from all quarters of Christendom to the cradle of their faith. Constantinople, too, the bulwark of the West as much as the glory of the East, effectually resisted the attacks of the Mohammedans for many hundred years. But the deadly hostilities of the two religions, which have much in common as distinguished from paganism, did not then seem to threaten the peace of the world.

During the reign of the greatest of the caliphs, Haroun-al-Raschid, familiar to the readers of the 'Arabian Nights;' and of one of the greatest of Western monarchs, Charlemagne ; the Christians enjoyed much indulgence throughout Asia, and Mohammedan ambassadors were received with distinction at Aix-la-Chapelle. Haroun treated the Christians as his subjects, and his sons imitated his moderation. The Caliph Almamom, says an Arabian historian, was not ignorant that they who labour for the advancement of reason are the elect of God. Intelligence then polished the manners of the chiefs of Islamism, and inspired them with a toleration till that time unknown to Mohammedans ; and the servants of Christ prayed in peace within the walls of Jerusalem. With this encouragement, Charlemagne built a monastery there for the reception of pilgrims, and attached to it a public library,* in the spirit which led that enlightened man to spread educational institutions throughout the West. Trade, and travel for religious objects, long continued to lead numerous visitors from the shores of the Atlantic and the Northern Ocean to the Holy Land. Our own great king, Alfred, extended the designs of Charlemagne, and warmly encouraged intercourse with the Mohammedans ; and Christian missions to the East, in defiance of the monstrous spirit which, in after ages, disgraced Christianity by producing the crusades. A longer life would have enabled Alfred to do more than he accomplished towards moderating the baneful passions with which, as he himself declares, 'the citizens of all the earth so miserably struggle.'†

The stupendous task of annihilating those baneful passions, which Alfred attempted to discharge with his pen, it was equally his merit to undertake by policy. The true solution of the difficulty of his designs may fairly be inferred from his well-known humane principles, from his geographical studies, from the intercourse he kept up with Rome, Venice, and Jerusalem, for purposes of religion and commerce, from his inquiries into northern

* Michaud's Crusaders, vol. i. p. 10. Translated by Robson.

† Alfred's Paraphrase of Boetius.—Turner, vol. ii. p. 118.

voyages, from his Indian mission, and even from the long-continued perplexity of his relations with pagans at home.

A representation has been made of the results of these wise views of the Christian and Mohammedan monarchs, which in few words shows how successful they were, and how fitting to regulate the policy of mankind :—

‘Greek and Syrian Christians,’ says the historian of the Crusades, Michaud, ‘were established even in the city of Bagdad, where they devoted themselves to trade, exercised the art of medicine, and cultivated the sciences. They attained by their learning the most considerable employments, and sometimes even had the command of cities and the government of provinces. One of the caliphs of the race of Abbas, Mohamed, declared that the disciples of Christ were the most worthy to be trusted with the administration of Persia. In short, the Christians of Palestine and the Mussulman provinces, the pilgrims and travellers who returned from the East, seemed no longer to have persecution to dread.’—Vol. i. p. 12.

Civil wars among the Mohammedan princes put an end to these good prospects, and two centuries of violence followed, during which the Christians of the East, aided from the West, sought, with varying success, to possess themselves again of the Holy Land. But even in those gloomy times, the old toleration of the two faiths seemed to have influence. One caliph, Hakim, pitiless persecutor as he sometimes was, wavered between them, being actually disposed to adopt Christianity; and his successor was its steady protector.

Subsequently, the Crusades for three hundred years offer fearful scenes of carnage along the whole frontiers of Islamism and Christianity, from Constantinople to Tunis. But even in that dismal period, incidents arose which encourage the opinion that the triumph of ‘peace and good-will’ between the hostile races is not a vain dream. The feelings of our common humanity broke through every prejudice. St. Thomas A’Becket was the son of a crusader of London, who married a Mohammedan wife; and the sister of Richard Cœur de Lion was wooed by the heroic brother of Saladin. To the same tenor may be cited the report of an embassy sent by King John to a Mohammedan prince, offering to hold England as a feudal dependency upon his suzerainty, provided he would send a Mussulman army to put down the barons, at that time contending for Magna Charta. This extraordinary incident is told by the chronicler in language which gives it strong probability; and soon afterwards it was made a charge by the Pope against the Emperor of Germany, that when in Palestine he solemnly agreed to assist the Sultan of the Saracens against the Christians.

At this period the profoundest philosopher of the middle ages, and perhaps the most original thinker Britain ever produced, Roger Bacon, embodied the most enlightened views respecting this subject in his counsel to get knowledge, founded on a clear demonstration of the evils springing from ignorance of the geography and manners of the East and its people. Soon after his time, however, a last appeal was made to arms in aid of a cause which he would have promoted by intelligence.

In 1336, Barlaam, a Calabrian monk, visiting the monasteries of Mount Athos, entered with great zeal into the disputes between the Greek and Latin churches. He excited the zeal of the Emperor Andronicus to endeavour to put an end to such scandals. The Turks were then making alarming advances into the Asiatic provinces of the Eastern empire ; and it was become urgent to settle the differences between the two churches, in order to unite their strength against the Mohammedans. Barlaam was accordingly commissioned to engage the Pope and the Western powers of Europe to send an army to aid the Emperor in driving away the Turks. The mission failed ; and the Emperor's successor, *John Cantacuzene*, gave his daughter in marriage to the Sultan of the Turks.

Towards the close of the Crusades, the enthusiastic Raymond Lulli successfully preached the doctrine of philanthropy in reference to the peaceful conversion of the Infidels ; and prevailed upon the Pope to found, all over Europe, schools of the Oriental languages, as one of the best means to facilitate the attainment of that object.

Crusades fell into disrepute ; even Luther failed to revive them, in aid of his better cause when Germany was threatened by Turkish invaders ; and Lord Bacon, when discussing the question of a new Holy War, seems to have doubted the wisdom of that mode of diffusing the truth.

Constantinople, which had been taken by the Turks in 1453, was now hopelessly in their possession ; and the protection they afforded to our trade was sufficiently important to favour peaceful intercourse with them. The question, however, of their adopting the civilization of Europe, and so treating their Christian subjects with humanity, was merged in the ambitious designs of universal conquest, and of the enforcement of Mohammedan conquest by the sword. But these designs signally failed ; and as the victorious progress of the lieutenants of the Caliphs was arrested on the west of Europe by the bravery of Charles Martel, so the Sultans of Turkey were stopped in the east of Europe by John Sobieski and his Polish legions.

Soon after Lord Bacon's decease, the Levant was visited by an

acute traveller, Henry Blunt, in whose journal the Mohammedan character and capability of Christian civilization are expressly discussed. He does not spare his censures of the extortion and cruelty with which the Christians were treated. But he declares strongly in favour of the Turks becoming one day familiar with letters and intellectual pursuits. They might long retain their fierceness, yet mixture with the people they had conquered, he thought, would 'gentilize' them. He had seen their verses and their mathematical writings much applauded. Once at a festival, the author of a song, sung at the table, was munificently rewarded in his presence. Statues and pictures were prohibited by them, from religious scruples, as indicative of idolatry; but he thought that other pursuits of taste and intelligence would 'insinuate themselves by degrees,' notwithstanding the jealousy of the Ulemas at all philosophical investigations. An academy was once founded in Bagdad, and, although it was suppressed in compliance with this jealousy, Mr. Blunt was very confident that philosophy would still find its way among the people of the East, who are really more contemplative than Europeans. He concludes somewhat quaintly, that 'civilities and sciences having come from India into Egypt, and thence into Greece, Italy, and over the Alps, into our cold north-west parts of the world, whence, if the Inquisition hinder not, they may perhaps pass into the new plantations westward; they will then return into their own circle among the Levantines.'*

The same subject is discussed by Sir Henry Wotton†—a man pre-eminent in diplomacy and in all science—whose work was first published at this time, although written in the reign of Elizabeth. His advice was to attack the Turks by fostering dissensions among the Christians in Turkey, and he thought that if vigorously assailed, Constantinople might be taken; but he held that 'league and amity with Turkish infidels were more to be esteemed than the friendship of "the Leaguers" of France.'

Richard Baxter, however, gave better advice upon this subject than the great diplomatist, reproving the policy of *conquests*. Baxter earnestly advocated missions of peace to pave the way to the spread of pure Christianity in the East, where Pococke, at that time a resident in Aleppo, had long exhibited other qualities than those which have given his name celebrity as a scholar. 'He there so demeaned himself,' says a contemporary 'Guide for Travellers into Foreign Parts,' 'that he was very much respected

* A Voyage into the Levant. By Mr. Henry Blunt, from England. 4th edition. 12mo. London, 1650. p. 154,

† The State of Christendom. By Sir Henry Wotton. Folio. London, 1651. pp. 72 and 140.

by the natives, and chosen for umpire among them to compromise such disputes as fell out.*

By this time the bad spirit, which, mainly under the instigation of the pope, had made perpetual enmity between Christians and Mohammedans, was giving way; and the share of the English in promoting the change had its reward. When, at the revolution of 1688, the French ambassador at Constantinople, by command of Louis XIV., urged the Porte to take part in the war against William III., in support of James, the Grand Vizier replied, that the Turks rather sympathized with the English for exercising their free judgment in such a case, as it was not uncommon in Turkish annals, that a bad sovereign should be dethroned. About this period, those internal reforms commenced in Turkey, which have, after one hundred and fifty years of struggle and various fortunes, brought on the present crisis. Near the same time, too, the power of Russia began to be developed; and Peter the Great, among other maxims for the aggrandisement of his people, bequeathed to them the counsel 'to draw as near as possible to Constantinople and the Indies, as whoever should possess them, would rule the world. All of the Greek church were to be gained by favours, for it was expedient to win them to Russia; and a generally preponderating influence was to be acquired by joining the principle of autocracy to spiritual supremacy.'

This was the foundation laid by Peter's *Will*, if genuine, or the spirit that forged it, for the superstructure of which we now see the dimensions, not boundless, nor, be it fervently hoped, so fearful as to turn the world from its due course of independent action and rational improvement.

The Mohammedans in Turkey and elsewhere very slowly adopted the social and mechanical means of progress, which have so much increased the power of Christian states in the last two centuries, and of which some penetrating minds among themselves saw the value.

The Mohammedan faith does not necessarily extinguish intellectual culture, whatever tendency the despotism of the great Mohammedan governments may have, in common with Christian despotisms of all degrees, to destroy the means of popular intelligence, as their most dangerous opponent. Sir William Jones, in his time, exposed the common error as to the Koran being adverse to knowledge; and when printing, now long established in many Mohammedan countries, and popular education, already extensively begun there among both sexes,

* Three Diatribes or Discourses. By Edward Leigh, Esq. 12mo. London, 1671. Preface, p. 4.

shall be duly spread, there is reason to expect great changes throughout the social life of the Mohammedans. In the last century this expectation was stated from the pulpit at Oxford, in a celebrated sermon by Dr. White, in the year 1784, upon 'the duty of attempting the propagation of the Gospel among our Mohammedan and Gentoo subjects in India.'

'Among the Mahometans,' says Dr. White, 'we have not to contend with the boisterous tempers and stubborn habits which characterize the human species in a state of barbarism; we should find them already a race of men and citizens, who, by an easy transition, might pass to a full belief of the doctrines of Christianity.'

'For the propagation of the Gospel in the East many inducements and advantages are held out to us, which the savage condition of the Indians of America does not afford. The Mahometans are an immense body of men, natives of populous and mighty empires, greatly exceeding in population the kingdoms of Christendom, and almost entirely occupying one quarter of the habitable globe. They are the subjects of regulated states; they are the observers of established laws; civilized by the intercourse of agriculture and commerce, and polished by the use of letters and of arts. They are neither involved in the impiety of atheism nor the darkness of idolatry; and their religion, false as it is, has many articles of belief in common with our own; which will facilitate our labours in diffusing the true faith, and dispose them to receive it. They believe in one God, creator and lord of all; to whom they attribute infinite power, justice, and mercy. They hold the immortality of the soul, and expect a future judgment, a heaven and a hell; they acknowledge an universal deluge; they honour the patriarch Abraham as the first author of their religion; they acknowledge Moses and Christ to have been great prophets, and allow the Pentateuch and the Gospel to be sacred books.'

Upon the foundation thus judiciously laid open, experience has since proved that a safe superstructure may be erected; and grievous indeed will it be to the hopes of humanity, if, at an auspicious moment like the present, a repetition of vulgar ambition, with all its old frauds, and relying upon the ancient demon, *force*, shall be permitted long to disturb the peace of mankind. The rule of the Turks, with all its imperfections, which no wise man will seek to extenuate, is vastly superior to that of Russia in reference more especially to the progress of civilization, and of the happiness of the people subject to both.

A measure of that superiority is furnished by the energetic pen of the author of the 'Despot of the East.' After a careful survey of the results of the four despotisms—Russian, Prussian, Austrian, and Turkish, which have too long oppressed so large a portion of Europe, he deliberately pronounces the Turkish government to be by far the least cruel and the least mischievous of them all. It is, then, with high satisfaction, that the British people have seen

the step taken by France and England, in the present grave conjuncture, to rescue Turkey from an invasion so long meditated by a corrupt Christian power. The decision is a good sign.

The improved civilization of the times, compared with the condition of Europe four hundred years ago, was never shown more conspicuously than in the different receptions of the appeals from Constantinople to Western Europe against invaders in the two periods—1422 and 1853. Printing has enlightened men; and the Reformation has made them tolerant and sympathizing to some purpose. In 1422, the last Greek emperor called upon every court in Europe in vain to save him from a *Mohammedan* conqueror. In 1853, our Mohammedan ally finds zealous support among us in his good cause. The great struggle cannot be contemplated without anxiety; it will have one wide-spread echo of sympathy from Tartary to Timbuctoo, and wherever the Christian is engaged in commerce, in religious missions, in scientific research, or in political action, among Mohammedans throughout the East, or in the farthest region of Africa, the cause of humanity will be advanced by our resolution to uphold the right.

The speeches of the Earl of Shaftesbury and of Mr. Layard, the titles of which are prefixed, bring down the history of this question to a recent period. They are full of information, and are deeply interesting. As an exposition of the facts of the case they are invaluable, and should be carefully pondered by all who are concerned to understand the policy of Russia, and rightly to discriminate between her pretensions and the claims of Turkey. For many years past the statesmen of St. Petersburg have been looking towards Constantinople. One generation has received from another the charge of moving stealthily towards the ancient capital of the Eastern Empire, and the trust has been discharged with a fidelity and zeal of which history furnishes few examples. Every agency has been employed which promised to divide the subjects of the Sultan, to distract his counsels, to embarrass his ministers, or to weaken his authority. Vast accessions to the empire of Russia have in consequence been made, and the most selfish and unintelligent have been compelled to admit the serious danger which threatened the independence of Turkey, and the probable necessity which would arise of fighting the battle of European freedom in the principalities of the Moslem. The *Private Correspondence* recently published, has set the nefarious policy of the Czar beyond the possibility of question. To doubt the criminality of his design is to dispute the most obvious facts. England was first attempted to be bribed. France was then resorted to, and in despair of the neutrality of either, the desperate resolution has been formed of seizing with a

strong hand the territory of what was said to be an effete and dying empire. The Czar probably deemed the cordial union of France and England impossible; Austria was known to be spell-bound; Prussia was thought to be safe under the fluctuating sway of his brother-in-law; the English premier was spoken of as a friend, and—we regret to add—Mr. Cobden's speeches were read in the palace of St. Petersburg as proofs that the people of England would not allow their rulers to take part with the Sultan in opposing Russia. Misled by these suppositions, Nicholas has rushed into a fearful conflict, and his manifestoes have insulted the common sense of Europe by the grossest mis-statements and the most palpable breaches of logic. England and France have been proclaimed as siding 'with the enemies of Christianity against Russia combating for the orthodox faith.'

Such an averment gravely propounded in a *state document* has aroused the indignation of all honest men, and the Earl of Shaftesbury has undertaken its refutation. No man was better fitted to do so. His personal character gives weight to his statements, while his practical acquaintance and deep sympathy with the religious operations of the age, render him more qualified than any other man to pronounce authoritatively on such a point. His lordship does not speak as a partisan. 'I have no particular sympathies or antipathies,' he says, 'for either of the parties engaged in this struggle. I wish that we were well rid of them both—that the Russians were driven to the north of Archangel, the Turks to the east of the Euphrates.' In this spirit, he undertakes to prove—and what he undertakes he accomplishes—'that Turkey has of late done everything to advance and Russia everything to retard the progress of Christianity amongst the nations of mankind.' We cannot dwell on his lordship's speech, much as we should like to do so, and shall therefore dismiss it with one brief extract, in which he contrasts the ecclesiastical policy of the two empires. Having adverted to the fact that there are more than sixty-five Protestant teachers in Turkey, and fourteen Protestant schools in Constantinople alone, he proceeds:—

'Now to what is it all ascribable? I affirm, to the singular and unprecedented liberality of the Turkish system: free scope is there permitted to every religious movement; no hindrance is ever experienced except from the Greek or the Armenian superior clergy. Not only in Constantinople, but in all the provinces, associations for religious purposes are openly recognised and permitted. Printing-presses exist at Constantinople, at Bucharest, and other great towns, where we print the Scriptures in every Oriental tongue, including the Turkish, for circulation among the Turkish people. There are forty depots for the sale of the Bible in Turkey; and at this moment we have a host of colporteurs and native agents perambulating the provinces, reading

the Word, and distributing the Scriptures, "no man forbidding them."

'Now contrast this with what is permitted or prohibited in Russia, and draw your inference as to what we have to expect should these awakening provinces fall under the dark and drowsy rule of the Czar. No associations for religious purposes are tolerated in Russia;—no printing-presses are permitted for printing the Bible in modern Russ, the only language understood of the people!—no versions of the Scriptures are allowed to cross the frontier except the German, French, Italian, and English. Not a single copy, I repeat, of the Bible in the modern Russ, in the vernacular tongue, can gain access into that vast empire; and it is believed, on the best evidence, that not a single copy has been printed, even in Russia, since 1823, in the tongue spoken by the people! No colporteurs, of course, nor native agents to enlighten the gloomy provinces; no depots for the sale of the Scriptures; no possible access to the Word of God!

'But here is a restriction which seems incomprehensible. The Emperor has within his dominions a concentrated population of Hebrews, amounting to nearly two millions:—not a single copy of the Scriptures in the Hebrew tongue is allowed to enter Poland for the benefit of this people. I am told that this is refused with even greater severity than the importation of the modern Russ. I called it incomprehensible, but on reflection it is not so; it springs from his fear of the smallest particle of light and life on the feelings and faculties of men, and especially this energetic and wonderful race.—But if this be so; if this be the spirit that governs the Emperor in his own dominions, do you think that he will manifest a different spirit should he once, by right of conquest, get possession of these regions, in which he discerns the dawn of liberty and the rights of conscience? I cannot doubt, and no one can doubt, that so far as lies in man, the rising provinces of Turkey would be crushed to the level of the internal provinces of Russia!

'But Russia and this "orthodox faith" are not more favourable to missions,—not missions, be it remarked, to disturb the Greek Church,—but missions to the wild and ignorant heathen of her own dominions, the outskirting provinces of her own empire, where the people are sunk in idolatry and the grossest darkness. Even thither no missionary is permitted to go; and to this hour we believe that no mission has been sent from the Greek Church to supply the places of the expelled foreigners.'—*Religious Liberty*, pp. 9-12.

Of Mr. Layard's speeches we have not left ourselves room to speak. They have excited our admiration, and we commend them strongly to the immediate perusal of our readers. Intimately acquainted with the state of Turkey he does justice to its political improvement and commercial value, at the same time that he admits it is possible to take a too sanguine view of its condition. His examination of the *blue* books is searching, and, in truth, we must say, absolutely conclusive, as against the government. That something has been gained by the reluctance with

which Her Majesty's advisers have proceeded to the last extremity we admit, but much has also been lost, and it must now be our solicitude by redoubled efforts, and unflagging zeal, to make amends for past remissness. As between Turkey and her assailant, Mr. Layard's views are unmistakable. 'Talk of Russia,' he says, 'why, she has been endeavouring to advance ever since the time of Peter the Great, and yet is far behind Turkey in many respects, although the government has far better materials to work upon, in a compact people, without any great difference of religion, and looking upon their emperor as a god upon earth, who has only to order to be obeyed.'

'The Nestorian massacre,' says Mr. Layard, referring to some of the incidents of Turkish rule, 'it must be remembered, was not committed by the Turks, but by rebel Kurdish tribes; and the Porte waged a costly war against their chief, Beder Khan Bey, to punish him for this very massacre. The three wars in which the Porte has been engaged of late years have been in defence of the Christians. The war in Albania was undertaken because the inhabitants had committed atrocities on Christians. The war in Bosnia was entered into for the purpose of compelling the Mussulmans of that province to admit Christians to the rights granted to the other Christian subjects of the Sultan, but which had not before been enforced in Bosnia owing to the peculiar nature of the tenure of land and the opposition of the feudal landowners. After a severe struggle the campaign was brought to a successful issue by Omar Pacha.

'No doubt-barbarous acts of oppression are committed in Turkey. I have unfortunately too often witnessed them myself. No man regrets them more than I do, and no man has endeavoured to do more to prevent their recurrence. But one thing I will say, that whenever such cases have been brought to the notice of the Sultan or of his Ministers, immediate redress has been afforded; and no one who has had communications with the Sultan, or with many of those men who have of late years been his advisers, can be ignorant of his humane and enlightened character, and his desire to place all his subjects on the same footing of equality.'—The Turkish Question, pp. 35, 36.

·ART. II.—*History of the French Protestant Refugees, from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to the Present Time.* By Charles Weiss, Professor of History at the Lycée Bonaparte. Translated, with the assistance of the Author, by Frederick Hardman. W. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 8vo. pp. 595. 1854.

IT was well said by M. Voltaire, ‘Jamais la nature humaine n’est si avilie que quand l’ignorance est armée du pouvoir.’ Had that philosophical historian substituted *superstition* for *ignorance*, the sentiment might be appropriately applied in recording the disasters which befel a considerable portion of the French people, during the persecution of his Protestant subjects by Louis XIV. That monarch—to whom the epithet ‘Great’ is due, if the victories which were won and the artistic and literary excellences which obtained during his reign, promote the grandeur of a sovereign—did much to confirm the fact, that a king cannot commit mistakes more injurious than when he attempts to regulate the religion of his people; and that direct interference in ecclesiastical matters, by the civil powers of a state, inevitably produces sanguinary results in a rude, and inextricable confusion in a civilized, community. The obtrusive zeal of the Grand Monarque for the conversion of his Calvinistic subjects to popery, produced sad consequences in France, not only during the reign of his successor, in the subversion of morals and in the violation of social and domestic proprieties; but, admitting that compensation is one of the great principles of the divine government of this world, whether communities or individuals be regarded, the horrors of the first French revolution may be justly considered to be the retributive issue of the atrocious cruelties perpetrated by Louis XIV. on his Protestant subjects. The long and desolating wars which had drenched France with blood, during a large portion of the sixteenth century—the animosities of the League and the Huguenots—the cruelties of the Guises—the tyranny of the Sixteen—the incessant plotting of the pontiff in French affairs—and the intrusion of Spanish forces even into the metropolis—all these evils were terminated, if not by the conversion of Henry IV., at least by the Edict of Nantes, which, shortly before the peace of Vervins, that king promulgated for adjusting the position of the rival religious parties in the state. Notwithstanding the long and stubborn resistance of the parliament, the Edict was at length registered by that body; and no act was ever more needed than

this. The civil wars, continued during forty years, had produced frightful crimes and miseries among all classes of the people. The distinction between good and evil was almost obliterated from the mind of the nation. Robberies, rapes, and massacres occurred every day. The delicate taste of the artisans was destroyed, their manufactures were at an end. Jurisdiction was venal and cruel. Agriculture had been so neglected that the high roads, overgrown with weeds and thorns, were with difficulty distinguishable from the plains they traversed. The whole kingdom was a chaos of confusion and horror, a Babel of murmurs. Three-fourths of the taxes wrung from the people were appropriated by the collectors of the revenues, and the public debt amounted to more than a million sterling,—an enormous burden for that age, when specie was scarce, and a national debt a rare incumbrance upon the national energies and labours. The vigorous administration of Sully in some measure effected a reform. Commerce began again feebly to pulsate, and civilization to struggle into day through the Cimmerian darkness which had enveloped her; but the injury to the mind and morals of the nation, by the atrocious wars of religion, was not removed. The evil fire smouldered in the heart of the state, to burst out at last in the lurid glare and volcanic destructiveness of the revolution.

The Edict of Nantes was a large and equitable measure. It confirmed the treaties formerly made between the belligerent parties, gave liberty of conscience to the Huguenots, and re-established the Romish religion throughout the entire kingdom; but, while it compelled the Protestants to pay tithes to the popish Church, it forbade them to speak, write, or act contemptuously against the ceremonies of that Church, allowed them the exercise of family-worship, and opened to their sick and poor the national hospitals and institutions. This memorable Edict not only put an end to the civil wars, but it commenced a new era for France by elevating the power of the state over that of the Church. After the assassination of Henry IV., the Edict remained in force, confirmed not only by the regent, Mary of Medicis, but both by Louis XIII. and by Louis XIV. The Protestants formed no inconsiderable portion of the French people. In the year 1606, there were as many as 806 of their churches in France, composed not merely of the lower and trading classes but of many of the aristocracy of the kingdom, who, admiring the philosophical dogmata of the Geneva reformer, had given a hearty adhesion to the Huguenot cause. These were persons who, to use a modern phrase, were attached to *the liberal side* in politics. The constitution of their Churches was democratic and representative; and the subsequent action of the French court against them proceeded probably as much from fear of

their supposed revolutionary tendencies, as from hatred of Protestantism. On the publication of the edict of pardon, in 1629, the most industrious and flourishing communities in France were Protestants. The manufactures and trade of the state were for the most part in their hands. In some of the departments they alone had held the monopolies of salt and wine; and the commerce with foreign states was carried on chiefly by their vessels. So that, even so late as 1699, Bâville wrote: 'If the merchants are still bad Catholics, at any rate they have not ceased to be very good traders.' Had they been permitted to continue in France, in the free exercise of their religion—a religion too which so happily guided their social and commercial life—they would, without doubt, have completely changed the character and, probably, the fortunes of the kingdom. In their hands the maritime trade of France was being rapidly developed, and on a scale which was surpassed only by the wealthy Netherland burghers. The French Protestant merchants were acknowledged, by the whole commercial world, to be men of the strictest morals, and of unimpeachable mercantile integrity, on whose word perfect reliance might be placed in every transaction. 'By the avowal even of their enemies,' it is remarked, 'they combined the qualities of the citizen—that is to say, respect for the law, application to their work, attachment to their duties, and the old parsimony and frugality of the burgher classes—with those of the Christian; namely, a strong love of their religion, a manifest desire to conform their conduct to their conscience, a constant fear of the judgments of God.' The Protestants were more industrious and persistent than their Romish fellow-countrymen—a fact patent in almost all countries wherein the two religions obtain, and which Mr. Macaulay has shown to demonstration in the contrast of the Protestant and Catholic states of Germany. Perhaps, Ireland exhibits, more clearly than any other country, the industrious and commercial superiority which its reformed inhabitants have over those who adhere to the papacy. M. Weiss endeavours to account for the commercial superiority of the Huguenots from the fact, that their industrial year was one-sixth longer than that of their Romish fellow-countrymen. The Catholic year, deducting the saints' days, consisted, including the Sundays, of only 260 days; whereas the Protestants, who did not observe these saints' days, allowed themselves to labour 310 days in the year. But we infer that the real cause of difference exists, in the superior influence which the Protestant credenda necessarily exercise upon the mental faculties and individual habitudes.

So long as the Protestant reformed population of France were permitted to remain in that country, their manufactural skill

and industry continued to be a source of considerable revenue to the state, and of many indirect advantages to its inhabitants; so that the great Colbert, who encouraged so laudably the system of united manufactures, used to say, that 'the fashions were to France what the American mines were to Spain.' The cloth-fabrics, wrought chiefly in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, were unsurpassed. The hats, manufactured chiefly at Caudebec, had a sale throughout the civilized world. At Ambert, Thiers, and Chamalières, was made that beautiful paper, a source of vast wealth, purchased chiefly by the English and Dutch, which we still admire in the larger volumes which issued from the presses of Amsterdam. The Coutance linen-cloths had a European celebrity; and the British and Netherland dockyards were furnished with the sail-cloth of Nantes and Vitré. The costly silk-manufactures of Lyons and Tours, developed under the fostering care of Richelieu, and which were almost entirely in the hands of Protestants; the taffetas and gold and silver tissue-work; the beautiful designs invented by the Lyonnese workmen, were esteemed and purchased by all the wealthier cities of Europe. The French Protestants excelled as much in science and in literature as in the productive arts. It is distinctive of the doctrines of the Reformation, that they attract to themselves the greater number of men profoundly versed in the abstract sciences and endowed with the nobler mental faculties. Great names like those of Shakespeare, Milton, Newton, Locke, Boyle, and Herschel are not found, or but rarely, in the communion of the Church of Rome. Protestantism, which frees the religious faculties, enlarges and guides the intellect. Steam navigation and locomotion, and its happy appliance to the aid of human industry, had not their origination in countries wherein the Romish religion was dominant—that system which has a benumbing influence wherever it obtains. The Italian Church, which fosters always the sensuous element in religion, has necessarily produced the grand mediæval works of painting and fresco—works which mankind 'would not willingly let die'—but, admitting the great ability of the French philosophers, mathematicians, and physicists, it is beyond dispute, that the loftiest flights of the human mind have been attained by men born and educated under Protestant influences. In the full belief of this fact, it is not surprising that Protestant lawyers, physicians, and philosophers contributed much to the intellectual glory of Louis XIV.'s reign; that, from the stern and holy Huguenot-nurture, France received Henry Bastage, Lémery, and Valentine Conrart, the founder of the French Academy—that man who, 'whenever he wrote,' as Balzac said, 'dipped his pen in good sense.' Catherine of Medicis, the arrogant and cruel, used to say scornfully of the

sorrowing Huguenots, 'they ask only their fill of preaching.' With the Huguenots, as indeed with all the Protestant Churches, preaching was an essential part of worship, and, as M. Weiss gracefully states, their pulpit-orators, reacting on the Romish divines, produced that grand and world-enduring eloquence of the French Church, the glory of the land amid the cruelty, intrigue, and debauchery of the Great Monarch's reign, and in which Bossuet, Massillon, Fléchier, and Bourdaloue have found no rivals, and can never be surpassed. At one little spot, in the neighbourhood of Paris, the Huguenots had a long and brilliant succession of orators, who explained the great truths, and enforced the precepts of the Christian religion, in a style which the chasteness of Cicero had not condemned, and in which the fastidiousness of Quintilian had found no fault. There, Daillé, with learned and polished eloquence, adorned the doctrines he taught; there, Drelincourt penetrated the hearts of the thronging citizens by the simple language in which he spoke, familiar to them 'as household words;' there, Allix and Mestrezat reasoned with honied tongue; and there, Claude, the greatest of them all, at once the philosopher and the orator, nobly defended the principles of the Reformation, and won the bloodless victory of Truth for the LORD he adored and loved. Amid the many distinguished men whom the great French nation may glory in, among the illustrious in their Pantheon, none are higher ranked, as none are more deserving to be held in everlasting remembrance, than the divines of Charenton! Yet these were the men whom it fretted Louis XIV. to retain in the land he ruled!

But it was not only in commerce, and in religion, that the merits of the Huguenots were conspicuous. In the camp, in the most delicate and difficult operations both by sea and land, many of the reformed nobility acted a worthy part. Indeed, to the Huguenot admirals and generals were attributable some of the greatest victories which shed a glory upon the annals of the kingdom.

During the reigns of Louis XIV., and of his successor, many of the Protestant nobility returned to the Romish communion. Their adherents had not been faultless: many of them had a manifest democratic leaning; some of the pastors, probably, were men of ascetic principles and rigid life, and many of the nobles, ambitious of the distinctions and honours of the court, soured by the errors and narrowness of some of the Huguenots, and induced by the hope of royal favour, one by one passed over to the popish church. Their example was not without its influence upon the commercial and labouring classes of the Protestant community. A few of the pastors also, who had their type in Jurieu, began to publish the doctrine, that salvation was attain-

able by good men in both churches, which did much to lessen the horror with which the reformed party had always regarded the doctrines and policy of their opponents. The want of union among the Huguenots gave favourable opportunity for the emissaries of the Italian Church to attempt their conversion, and the labours of Bossuet and Arnault, at once eloquent and dignified, gained converts in masses to their Church. The court regarded these conversions with unmixed satisfaction. Already the authorities were jealous of the commercial activity and power of the reformers, and fearful of their necessarily liberal tendencies. The ancient, inextinguishable hatred of the papacy against Protestantism still lived in France, and wanted only opportunity for its malicious manifestation. The opportunity was not long wanting; for that which is ardently desired is seldom slow of realization.

In the early part of his reign, Louis XIV. had continued the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin, moderate and prudent in all respects, but, in 1622, he entered upon a course of conduct towards his Protestant subjects, which characterizes him as one of the most perfidious and cruel of the tyrants who have scourged mankind by their follies and their crimes. He began to withdraw, one by one, the privileges which the Huguenots had hitherto enjoyed; restricting them in the exercise of their worship, and reviving many of the penal enactments which the Edict of Nantes had, for a season, suspended. Stealthily and surely he proceeded with his plan of restriction and persecution, in the hope that severe treatment would induce the Protestants to abjure their opinions, and seek reconciliation with the Romish Church: but disgusted and irritated that the conversions were few and slow—for it is always easier to abolish than to limit religious liberties—he determined to act upon the atrocious sentiment of Machiavel, ‘Il ne faut pas faire le crime à demi.’ Presenting to Europe the anomalous spectacle of a king conspiring against his own subjects—in sad imitation of Charles IX.—he resolved to root out the Protestant heresy entirely from his dominions. With this intention, he devoted the private fund of the crown—the *droit de régale*—to purchase the conversion of the Huguenots. These moneys he entrusted to Pélisson, himself a renegade, whose duty it was to instruct the several bishops of the kingdom to remit to him the list of the converts, and of the prices paid to them. Many of the reformed were wretchedly poor; and, in those who abandoned their faith, their poverty, not their will, induced them to abjure the doctrines of their Church. As interest has generally a more direct influence on human conduct than conscience, Pélisson was marvellously successful. At court, it was said that his golden eloquence was less learned than

that of Bossuet, but far more efficacious. The conversions, however, were not rapid enough for the fiery zeal of the king; and as continuance in crime facilitates its performance, the cruel monarch readily acquiesced in the suggestion of Louvois—'*d'y mêler du militaire*'—to mix up the army with it. The horrible means of conversion, 'dragoonings'—'dragonnades'—were immediately adopted. Large bodies of troops were marched to the Protestant districts, in order that the officers and troopers might be quartered in the houses of the unhappy reformers; and the king published an ordinance, that all of them, who became converts, should be exempt for two years from lodging men-at-arms. The military ruffians—the privates taken from the lowest of the people, and their officers obscene debauchees, who abhorred their victims most of all for their purity of life—were urged on, by the popish priests, to crimes which were equalled, as they were avenged, a little more than a century afterwards, in the horrors of the revolution; the priests themselves marching with the columns, and adding the flame of religious zeal to the brutal fury of the soldiery, to whom every violence was permitted, excepting rape and murder. The 'dragonnades' began in 1681. So long as the inmates of a house could appease the intruders quartered on them by money and wine, they suffered but little personal injury; but when these were exhausted, the furniture was seized, the ornaments were torn from the hair and dresses of the Protestant ladies, and their houses stripped of the contents, which were then either appropriated by the officers, or publicly sold. If, after such losses, the sufferers refused to conform to the Romish Church, they were cruelly tortured and dishonoured. The dragoons dragged the women by the hair to the nearest churches, scorched their feet and hands before slow fires, seized them by the lips with red-hot pincers, and inflicted upon them that horrible punishment of compulsory wakefulness, the origination of which is attributable to the Chinese,—bands of men relieving one another, to prevent their victims from sleeping. The officers vied with their men in the perpetration of these atrocious cruelties, and proved themselves to be worthy predecessors of the monsters Danton, Marat, and Robespierre. Such savage methods of conversion, continued in use for several years, could not be ultimately unsuccessful. Many of the Huguenots yielded, and abjured their faith.

'Ill-fated race! the softening arts of Peace,
Whate'er the humanizing muses teach;

* * * * *

Kind equal rule, the government of laws,
And all-protecting Freedom, which alone
Sustains the name and dignity of Man:
These were not theirs.'

But few men have courage to be heroes in spite of losses and sufferings; fewer still, to be constant even unto death: for the 'army of martyrs' is after all but a small battalion. Human nature prefers an undisturbed apostacy to a dangerous fidelity, and it is rare, except in the first ages of Christianity,—rare in the history of the world, that an entire sect has maintained its faith for a lengthened period, against energetic persecution. Louis XIV. was all but completely successful in his dragonnades. The Protestant communities were driven abroad or annihilated. Huguenots, robbed, beaten, imprisoned, and, in many instances dreadfully maimed, were converted by terror; so that, Madame de Sévigné wrote to her cousin, 'Father Bourdaloue is going by the king's order, to preach at Montpellier, and in those provinces where so many persons have become converts without knowing why. Father Bourdaloue will teach them why, and will convert the good Catholics of them. Hitherto, the dragroons have been good missionaries; it is for the teachers now to make them perfect.' Popish fury all but quenched the light of protestantism in the south of France; but, from that period to the present hour, true religion, either individually or socially, has scarcely existed in the kingdom.

The king, believing that protestantism was almost extinct, proceeded to complete its destruction by revoking, in 1685, the Edict of Nantes. The chief provisions of this act of revocation were, that Protestant temples were to be demolished; their worship to cease; their ministers, who refused to conform, were to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, or be sent to the galleys; and other Huguenots forbidden to leave France; and their schools to be closed throughout the kingdom. After this proclamation nothing remained to the surviving Protestants but to seek protection from the fury of their king in foreign lands; although the severest penalties were incurred even by the attempt to escape. Marshal Schomberg and De Ruvigny obtained permission to quit France. Louis XIV. sent for the Huguenot admiral, Duquesne, then eighty years of age, the conqueror of the gallant Ruyter, and the Nelson of the French navy, and requested him to become a convert to the Romish church. Pointing to his white hair, the admiral said, 'For sixty years, sire, I have rendered unto Cæsar that which I owe to Cæsar; suffer me still to render unto God what I owe to God.' The veteran was permitted to remain in the country to which his victories had given great glory. M. Baudin, the brave and accomplished maritime prefect at Toulon, published, during the last year, an affecting narrative of the sufferings of the Protestants who were punished at the galleys for attempting to leave their native land—a narrative which, for evident truth

ness, is greatly to the honour of that distinguished officer, presenting a just idea of the endurance of the unfortunate prisoners, the subjects of that detested monarch whose reign has been unhappily regarded as the Augustan age of France. But neither threats nor inflictions could stay the tide of French emigration, which was directed to Prussia, England, America, Switzerland, and Holland, wherever, in fact, the Protestants could find a refuge from the cruel zeal of their king. It is difficult, at the present day, to ascertain the exact number of persons whom the revocation of the Edict of Nantes compelled to quit the French territory. Probably, the estimate of M. Sismondi is not far from the truth, that 400,000 citizens were exiled from the kingdom. When it was too late, Louis XIV. perceived, to some extent, the evil he had done. The calamities he had produced, the wrongs and sorrows, he could never in this world fully know. His cruel revocation lost to France her best blood—the ablest designers and manufacturers—the purest and most industrious of her citizens—and that mercantile energy which, if it had been unimpeded, would have made her navy powerful and respected on every sea. Since these relentless persecutions, originated and completed by its king, France has never possessed assured and enduring tranquillity, and its crown has been, more or less, a crown of thorns. So justly has the Great Ruler, who presides over this world's affairs, ordained that the wickedness of a king should react upon his children who succeed him. Retribution may be delayed, but it arrives at last even to monarchs.

The church of Rome, true to her character of a thousand years, is ever unscrupulous as to the means, so that her policy be successful; and, in her zeal to destroy protestantism, cared not what evils were inflicted upon the kingdom, so that the reformers' communities were destroyed. Even Bossuet, blinded by the system to which he belonged, exclaimed, 'Let us expand our hearts in praises of the piety of Louis. Let us say . . . thanks to you, heresy is no more. God alone could have worked this marvel. King of Heaven, preserve the king of earth: it is the prayer of the church; it is the prayer of the bishops.' This was an unhappy repetition of the language of the council of Chalcedon; but Bossuet, probably, was as much influenced by the hope of the material favours of the court as by zeal for his own party. In the ruins of temples, the plunder of the Huguenots, the unutterable sorrows of the refugees, Massillon, Fléchier, and the most eloquent of the French ecclesiastics, one and all, blasphemously announced that they beheld the hand of God. At Rome, 'with service high and anthem clear,' Innocent XI. offered public thanks for the victory of the church, in that gorgeous fane where, a few years before, his predecessor had thanked heaven that

thousands of the best men in France were murdered on the dread Bartholomew night, and medals were struck in honour of the French monarch, whose perfidy and cruelty the pontiff delighted to acknowledge, and whose bloody hand had quenched in his dominions the light of truth. Thus, the Romish church has ever been consistent in her policy, and in the means she has adopted for its success; and there she still exists, incessantly intriguing, sanctioning murder, fomenting discord, a ruinous and shameful anomaly in the civilized world.

Multitudes of the unfortunate refugees hastened to establish themselves in Prussia,—soldiers, gentlemen, literary men, artists, and many of the pastors. Among the latter, Abbadie, of whose ‘Treatise on the Truth of the Christian Religion,’ Madame de Sévigné said, ‘It is the most divine of all books.’ To all classes of the emigrants, the ablest and worthiest of French citizens, Prussia gave a hearty welcome. At the end of the 17th century, in Berlin alone, there were 10,000 of the refugees, nobles, military men, and artisans. The desolation of one country has sometimes led to the improvement of another; and the infusion, into the rude population of Prussia, of French ideas, handicrafts, refinement, and fashions, tended more directly to strengthen and refine that rising commonwealth, than its military successes, or the government of its patriotic rulers; so that, Berlin became to northern Germany what Paris had long been to western Europe—the place where the arts were happily cultivated, and where civilization was in perfection. The refugees, many of them of the highest literary culture, improved the quality of the German mind. The Huguenot, La Fleur, had founded the French Institute at Halle, and Frederick of Brandenburg transformed it into an electoral university. One of the results of the French immigration undoubtedly was the establishment of the Academy of Sciences and Literature in Berlin, in 1700, and of which the illustrious Leibnitz was the first president. The descendants of the French refugees have exercised, and are still exercising, great influence upon the literature and politics of Prussia. Chamisso, author of the well-known book, ‘Peter Schlemihl;’ Dubois-Reymond, the physical philosopher; Ancillon, the late secretary of state; the admirable jurist, Savigny; La Motte-Fouqué, the author of the graceful and popular romance of ‘Undine;’ Michelet, the celebrated Berlin professor; the painters, Jordan and Pascal, whose works are so highly esteemed on the continent—these and many more, the descendants of the Protestant refugees, are the strength and glory of Prussia. It had been happy for France, if the root of scions so good and fair, had remained in the French fatherland; but, as an eminent historian of France wrote, in the last

century,—‘It is a matter for humiliation that might has always prevailed over wisdom.’

Multitudes of the refugees found an asylum in England. From the period of the reformation, this country had always been favourable to the cause of the French Protestants. Elizabeth had sent her forces to aid them in their struggle; and her assistance of Henry IV., endeavouring to make head against the League and the king of Spain, was of considerable service to that monarch. James I. had promised to help the Huguenots; and his son and successor encouraged the unhappy Rochellose by promises of protection and support, which, however, the intrigues and follies of the English court prevented him from rendering. The failure of that promise, and the subsequent surrender of Rochelle increased the bitterness of feeling which was beginning to manifest itself between the king and his parliament, who regarded the Huguenots as persecuted brethren, to whom every possible assistance should be rendered in their tremendous struggle. But when that conflict terminated, and French Protestantism was stricken down by the perfidious cruelty of Louis, it was natural that the exiles should repair to England, the country in which their principles were supreme, and whose forces had assisted them, however feebly, both by land and sea. Thousands who had fled from the horrors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew had sought shelter in this kingdom, whose insular position and maritime power rendered them safe from pursuit, and among whose citizens the exiles could cultivate the arts of industry, and exercise their religious rites undisturbed. So early as the year 1550, a French church had been founded in London, in the brief but happy reign of Edward VI. Shortly afterwards, the French residents in that city obtained the chapel of St. Anthony, in Threadneedle-street. During the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign, the French Protestants in London amounted to 422 persons; but the persecutions of Charles IX. produced so many accessions to their number, that additional places of worship became necessary. The refugees observed their own method of service, which was that which obtained, more or less, among all the reformed churches, with the exception of the Anglican establishment. This freedom was offensive to the harsh and malignant zealot, Laud, who, jealous of the liberty and nonconformity of the exiles, proceeded to harass them on their refusal to use the Anglican ritual. Already, there were French churches at Canterbury, Norwich, Southampton, Rye, Winchelsea, &c.; and, at their synod in London, resolutely refusing to yield to a tyranny, in resistance to which in their fatherland they had ‘suffered the loss of all things,’ many of them were dissolved by

the sanguinary prelate's command. Cromwell, Charles II., and his successor, protected the refugee churches in England, which the cruelties of Louis XIV. so rapidly augmented, that, during the ten years which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, there were in England not less than 80,000 exiles. New churches were formed in various parts of London, to which twenty-six were afterwards added, in one of which, that of Leicester-fields, Saurin ministered. Two-thirds of the refugees settled in the English counties, forming trading and ecclesiastical communities which long flourished, introducing to the country scholars, artists, manufacturers, and much of that taste and refinement which appear to be all but innate in the French citizen.

When Louis XIV. became sensible of the great loss which had accrued to his kingdom from the flight of so many of his ablest and best subjects, he made great efforts to recal them. To England, shrewd and politic emissaries were dispatched, to lure back the exiles by the most specious promises, which, however, the king had no intention of fulfilling, when the refugees should have returned. Twenty-seven thousand of the fugitives were dependent, for support, upon the charity of the people among whom they had settled; and the promise of pardon, and restoration to their rights as citizens, could not but influence some of them. A few only returned to their native land, perhaps not more than five hundred in all, although Bonrepaus and Barrillon, the agents of Louis in this country, exerted every influence to lead back the refugees. The conduct of the reigning king, James II., was consistent with his general character. A weak-minded man, the slave of superstition, in the hands of agents so shrewd and unscrupulous as the emissaries of Louis, would be a fitting instrument to assist in the accomplishment of their designs. James, although he had unwillingly protected them, began to withhold from the refugees many advantages which he had promised them. The exiled minister, Claude, had published a book narrating the cruelties which the Protestants had endured in France. The French ambassador demanded the suppression of the work in England. James eagerly assented, but found it necessary to convoke his council in reference to so important a matter. The chancellor opposed the king's demand, that Claude's book should be burnt by the hangman. Bursting out into a rage, the monarch said,—‘I have made up my mind. Dogs defend each other when attacked; why should not kings do as much?’ Shortly after, the book of the renowned Charenton pastor was burned by the executioner, at the Royal Exchange.

We cannot conclude this article without expressing our admiration of this noble history of the French Protestant Refugees. Since the publication of the two volumes of Mr. Macaulay's

'History of England,' no work has appeared in Europe at once so able and so valuable as the present. It were not only ungrateful, but irrational, in us not to revere the three hundred thousand exiles, who gave up both country and property to maintain their religious integrity and freedom; and it were inconsistent with ourselves not to welcome this admirable history of their fidelity and sufferings. It has been well for England, and for the general interests of liberty and of good government, 'that such as these have lived and died.' M. Weiss, the accomplished French professor, needs no commendation from us. He, with M. Guizot, is highly ranked among the illustrious historians of France, as profound and elegant as Voltaire, without the contamination of his infidelity. This work will be as much admired in London as in Paris, where its appearance is most seasonable; and we earnestly hope that the emperor, now allied with us in opposing a barbarous despotism in the East, will hasten to remove the remaining disabilities of the Protestants in France, who, still holding the truths of the Reformation, justly glory in their grand ancestry. The French government placed every means at the disposal of M. Weiss, for obtaining information of the subsequent history of the refugees. The French ministers for foreign affairs directed the various diplomatic agents to assist him to the extent of their power,—at first, General La Hitte, and, subsequently, the accomplished M. Drouyn de Lhuys, whose state papers on the Eastern question are not the least able of modern times. The English government has much to learn from the French, in the prompt and efficient service rendered to literary men in their foreign investigations.

The present work is admirably translated by Mr. Frederick Hardman, who has meritoriously placed one of the clearest and most elegant narratives of modern times within the reach of those who have the misfortune to be unacquainted with the French language, so rich in noble histories. M. Weiss's volume will be gratefully read by all intelligent persons, who value good principles heroically maintained.

ART. III.—*The Coal Mines : their Dangers and Means of Safety.*

By James Mather. 8vo. pp. 102. Longman, Brown and Co. 1853.

2. *The City of London Corporation Inquiry.* By Alexander Pulling, Esq., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 8vo. pp. 48. London : Hatchard.
3. *Report of the Investigation into the Affairs of the Municipal Corporation of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, before His Majesty's Commissioners, at the Guildhall, Newcastle, 1833.* 8vo. pp. 146. Published at the Journal Office, Newcastle.
4. *Admiralty Inquiry under the Preliminary Inquiries Act.* Tyne Navigation Bill. Parliamentary Blue Book, pp. 571. 1853.
5. *North and South Shields Gazette.* 1853.
6. *An Account of the Gross Income and Expenditure of the Corporation of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,* as published annually for the last Forty Years. South Shields : published by Hugh McColl 1849.

MANY reasons conspire at the present time to induce us to request the attention of our readers to the following questions :—
Why are coals so scarce and dear? How are they to be made cheaper and more abundant?

Among the temporary reasons for entering on the inquiry now, we may mention, 1st, that the extraordinary price of coals in London during the late severe winter has drawn general attention to the subject. The fact that coals, usually sold in London river at 14s. or 15s. per ton, were sold for 35s. (the thermometer being at zero), and that, when the collier fleet arrived in the Thames on the 9th and 12th of January last, the metropolis was at the starving-point for fuel, and the manufacturers of gas were thinking of closing their works, these facts have awakened the most lively and general interest in the subject, and given rise to many attempts to prevent such a catastrophe for the future. Associations have been formed; deputations have been dispatched to government; corporation commission inquiries have been pressed home; memorials on the oppressive taxes on coal, both in the Tyne and the Thames, have been prepared; and altogether much wholesome heat and light have been evolved out of the freezing and darkness which threatened London last January.

2nd. Very soon, perhaps before this paper sees the light, the Report of the "Shipping Dues Commission," on the subject of the local dues which harass our commerce (among the very worst of which are the various imposts on coal), will be presented to

Parliament, and public feeling will be required to second the efforts of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Board of Trade in their efforts to abolish these antiquated imposts, and to carry out in our commercial intercourse with each other at home the free-trade principles already established in our commerce with the rest of the world.

3rd. Not a sabre has fallen nor a shot been fired, yet the income-tax is doubled to begin with. Indirect taxation is out of favour (we fear not for long), and every one, from Mr. Hume to Mr. Gladstone, talks of paying as well as fighting our way through this war. We suspect the Czar will change all this ;—but what principally concerns us at present is to show how necessary it is for the nation—how much it is the interest of government—to relieve the commerce of the country from all unjust *local* dues, all imposts, of whatsoever nature they may be, from which the commerce does not derive an equivalent benefit, and, by permitting no indirect taxation but that of the State, to enable trade to gain the elasticity which is the result of freedom, and so qualify it to bear, without injury, a fuller share of the national burdens than its present trammelled condition will permit. To no one article of consumption or commerce in Great Britain is this last remark so applicable as to coal.

Such are some of the temporary reasons for our wish to attract the reader's attention to a subject which is, however, one of perennial interest and importance. Every one is aware that, as an article of domestic and foreign commerce, coal is one of the most important to Great Britain. As the raw material of warmth, light, and comfort, it stands—along with the 'staff of life,' and the light of Heaven—in the very first rank of the necessities of life. As essential to the existence of the poorest man as the bread he eats and the air he breathes, it ought to be as free from taxation as either of these. As the means of producing other necessities of life, from the humble cookery of the peasant to the power which impels the steam-fleet through the Baltic ; as the material which cooks and clothes, which rends the rocks asunder, and tears through the ice-fields, and speeds swiftly over the motionless molten silver of the Line, past the helpless fleet, whose sails hang idly in the still sultry air ; as the power which thus, bursting through all obstructions, links together the nations of the world ; which prints and diffuses the ideas that move the world,—as *that* power, and far more, COAL is not only absolutely essential to the existence of modern civilization, but with its brother iron, in the hands of enlightened England, it is the true reformer, regenerator, and protestantiser of the world ! Let the reader reflect, and he will find this to be no flight of fancy, but a clear and simple truth.

∴ To make an article so essential to the comfort of the poor unnecessarily scarce and dear, surely savours of cruelty and impiety; to weaken the power by which Britain is enabled to keep her place in the van of civilization, nay, on which her very existence as one of the great nations, if not as a nation at all, depends,—surely nothing but the last and most pressing state necessity can justify such a course. No state necessity, however, exists here,—such as poor Charles I. had or thought he had for demanding the gifts he received from Newcastle, and other large towns, in exchange for his royal charters to burden the coal trade and many other honest trades in England;—no such ‘state necessity’ as induced him to say to that most memorable and honourable parliament to whom we owe the Petition of Right, ‘as for tonnage and poundage, it is a thing I cannot want’—no such ‘state necessity’ now stands in the way of the reply *then* given, by that second Magna Charta of the liberties of Britons, to all mere monarch-given charter law; but which reply, involving as it does the marrow of all constitutional law, that no one shall be taxed against his consent given by his representative, nor without receiving some benefit for the taxation, is unfortunately only now, in these latter days, beginning to reach the coal trade, and the corporations of Newcastle and London, by which that trade has been so long wronged and oppressed.

It is only in these latter days, we say, that the force and truth of the glorious principles of that great parliament, which won for us the Petition of Right, are beginning to be duly felt, and that the echo of the words of Sidney, Vane, Harrington, Cromwell, and (as his mouthpiece and secretary) Milton, is beginning to return to us with a power greater than that of their first utterance. It is very sad to discover, that the vaunted wisdom of modern times is but an echo from ‘the dark ages’ of our forefathers; that Richard II. enacted a freer trade far than Sir Robert Peel and the Aberdeen ministry conjoined have yet effected;* and that by the mere accident of a day, a Tynesian

* ‘Be it enacted that all merchants, *aliens*, and denisons, and all other and every of them, of what estate or condition they be, which will buy or sell corn, wine, avoirdupois, flesh, fish, and all other victual, or other merchandises, and all other things vendible, *from whencesoever they come, in whatever place they please*, be it city, borough, town, port of the sea, fair, market, or other place within this realm, *within franchise or without*, may freely, or without disturbance, sell the same to whom they please, *as well to foreigners as to denisons*, except to enemies of the king and his realms.’—Stat. 11th Richard II., 7, and the 14th Richard II., 9.

This statute, in consequence of a petition from the Lords and Commons, was corroborated in Richard III.’s time; it was the result of the ‘engrossing’ of merchandise into private hands which prevented all just—i. e., free trade. We are not so far advanced now as then.

reformer, and friend of cheap and free fuel, missed, two hundred years ago, the abolition of the taxes on coal, which the metropolis is now so loudly clamouring for, and the government seems at last resolved to effect.* We have, too, an illustration of the truth of Shakspeare's word,

‘The evil that men do lives after them,’

in the fact that the mind of the greedy tyrant John (the first author, it is said, of charters *for gain*), and the ‘divine right’ of the Stuarts, who were, in soul as in time, the true successors of the monopolist apostle King John, are still lingering among us. Over all the chartered privileges given to small sections of their subjects by the long roll of feudal sovereigns, the spirit of monopoly broods like an obscene bird of plunder over her yelling young; but, while other birds and beasts of prey have disappeared before the advance of civilization, this vulture of monopoly, cherished and defended by the old corporations, has gone on rearing her ravenous brood, and sending them forth to prey on the weak and defenceless. For it is the poor artizan, the pinched widow and orphan, the straitened sons of toil, who suffer most, eventually, from such vulture monopolies as this of coal, just as the weakest lambs of a flock fall before the birds of prey.

The London City Commission Report has been presented to parliament, and it recommends, amongst many other things, an abolition of the heavy and disgraceful taxes on coal, which the London corporation has been long accustomed to levy.

On the Tyne, too, various changes have been going on during the last few years, the tendency of all which is to bring about free-trade in fuel; and the Report of the commission appointed to inquire into local dues on shipping, which will also soon be presented to parliament, will help to clear the way for a complete abolition of taxation on this prime necessary of life.

There are other causes, besides the taxes of the corporations, of the enhancement of the price of coal, to which we shall briefly allude, so that the reader may have a tolerably full view of all the burdens which press upon it, and be enabled to aid, as opportunity arises, in getting them removed. For, as this is not at all a local question, but one affecting all to whom light and

* An able, patriotic, and most determined reformer on the Tyne, in the days of the Commonwealth, Ralph Gardner by name, opposed from North Shields, the monopoly of Newcastle in the sale of coal. He suffered much in the cause—imprisonment and spoiling of his goods—but very nearly succeeded in freeing the coal-trade from the heavy Newcastle taxation. On the very day (12th December, 1653) on which Cromwell dismissed his parliament, the case of the Tyne was to have been settled, and coal-dues abolished.

warmth are necessary, the whole nation is interested, and should exert itself through its representatives and the press in abolishing the injustice.

In order to bring the subject within moderate bounds, we shall confine our inquiries to the rivers Tyne and Thames, and to the various imposts which press on the coal trade in these the great coal-producing and coal-consuming districts of England.

The burdens on coal, which a wiser legislation might remove, and a better conservancy of our mines and rivers might prevent, may be classed under the following heads:—

1st. The expense caused by the unnecessary loss of life in the coal mines, and the waste which results from want of education among the miners, and from the ignorance or recklessness of many of the superintendents.

2nd. The heavy burdens on, and great obstructions to, the passage of the coal from the pit-mouth to the place of shipment caused by WAYLEAVES, and various feudal imposts known in the north by barbarous names, the tendency of all of which is to hamper the trade, to foster the monopoly which pervades it, and consequently to enhance the price of coal.

3rd. The oppressive duties on shipping coals and unshipping ballast in the river Tyne. The borough of Newcastle-on-Tyne—or, to speak more correctly, the landlords of Newcastle-on-Tyne—have taken to pay their borough rates, during the last fifty-four years, at least *a million of pounds sterling*, from the river fund,—almost the whole of which sum has acted as a tax on coal.

4th. The unnecessary danger and destruction to shipping property, and to the lives of seamen, caused by the bad conservancy of the Tyne, and by its most dangerous entrance and bar; all of which dangers might, according to the opinion of the most eminent engineers, have been removed, and the Tyne converted into a harbour of refuge, for half the sum thus taken from the commerce to pay the rates of the landlords of Newcastle.

5th. The oppressive duties paid by coal-laden vessels for lights they do not use, and for harbours of refuge into which they never enter.

6th. The bad conservancy of the Thames, and the enormous duties levied on all coal entering the metropolis by the London corporation.

7th. The system of the coal factors and coal merchants in London, the natural termination of such a serpent's coil of monopoly; the last portion indeed, like the tail of a rattlesnake, being the most alarming part about it.

It is very sad to think that this unjust taxation, this whole system of monopoly, is the work of corporations established to

defend public rights. Most thinking men are agreed that our municipal institutions are among the best bulwarks of our national liberties. Many of our readers will remember Kossuth's glowing eulogium on these institutions, and how he traced to *them* the critical sagacity and independence with which a Briton is accustomed to view the acts of his central government. By training the whole mass of the people, who have any turn for public affairs, to habits of business; familiarizing them with the machinery and necessities of government; curbing that 'ignorant impatience of taxation' which accompanies ignorance of the utility, or otherwise of the objects to which taxation is applied; causing them to scan with an enlightened jealousy any undue assumption of power by their rulers, and rendering them willing to submit to personal sacrifices for the general good, there can be no doubt that free, pure, openly conducted municipal governments are the best of all schools for teaching a people the lessons of liberty, and enabling them to submit to the restraints which true freedom requires. Endowed with this important educational function, in addition to those of local legislation and finance, how desirable is it that the lessons inculcated by corporations should be those of truth, liberality, and honour, not of corruption, selfishness, and fraud! Originating, however, as they did in the interest of public rights and liberties, corporate communities were early led, partly by natural human selfishness, partly by the necessities of a barbarous age, to link themselves with the oppressors of the public liberties, and to purchase from PREROGATIVE those immunities which a more enlightened age pronounces to be the inalienable rights of man.

Advancing a step further, and not content with securing their own freedom, they won by force or fraud the power of interfering with the freedom of others, and thus converted institutions established for the public good into instruments of public oppression, the mere delegated trusts of feudal tyrannies.

As civilization has advanced, municipal institutions have gradually become purified from their grosser vices of government—the gallows—the gluttony and drunkenness—the shameless bribery and sale of justice—the exclusive right of supplying meats, drinks, and merchandises to neighbouring communities—the usurpation of public lands and lucrative public offices by private persons—the shameless waste of the corporate funds, only equalled by the shameless neglect of the duties for which the funds were provided—many of these corrupt practices have been of late years abolished, some have been ameliorated, and all are likely soon to disappear. In our own day, the legislation of the Municipal Reform Bill—by inquiring into the charters, remodelling the governments, and shaking the old monopolies

of corporations, helped largely to strip off from these noble institutions the foul encumbrances by which the strength and beauty of their proportions had been for centuries concealed; and we trust that the next Reform Bill will sweep away most, if not all, of the cobwebs and rubbish that remain.

For that purpose, however, it will become those who more especially and immediately suffer from the wrongs inflicted by ancient chartered communities on the public, to exert themselves, and by petition and remonstrance to protest against the continuance of the injustice, so as to strengthen the government in their present resolution to abolish all "chartered and prescriptive" superiority—in affairs of taxation—of one British subject over another. For all monopoly is legalized public injustice between man and man. The inhabitants of the metropolis of Liverpool, and all those interested in the trade of the Tyne, are among those more especially and immediately interested persons to whom we allude. The London corporation receives, from all sources, £1,107,154, levied in a way which miserably hampers trade, and expended in a way rather belonging to the days of King John than to those of Queen Victoria. Liverpool spends above £100,000 per annum, drawn from the commerce of the Mersey, upon the purposes of the town; and during this present nineteenth century, as before stated, Newcastle has taken from the river Tyne at least a million of money to relieve the rates of the landlords and otherwise to aggrandize herself!

But having now applied the principles of free trade and free navigation to our general intercourse with foreign nations, and admitted our 'natural enemies' to all the advantages and privileges of Britons, the time, we may hope, has arrived for introducing these salutary principles into our own home relations to each other, for putting an end to the 'protective' duties of corporations and preventing infractions of the constitution by them, such as neither the queen nor the government would dare to commit—those, we mean, by which a certain privileged set of Englishmen called *freemen* are enabled to tax all the rest against their consent. So long as the latter submit to the tyranny, what are they but slaves at heart? The time for the final abolition of charter law—for the extinction of the myth 'Prescription,' in the name of which, as a sort of trade doctrine of purgatory or Mumbo-Jumbo, heavy tolls and tithes are still levied on the commerce of this country—the time for the immediate abolition and extinction of these unjust dues, without any of the 'compensation' which the corporations are so insolently and loudly demanding, has surely now arrived; and the nation will establish on the Thames, the Mersey, and the Tyne the same freedom of trade and exemption from unfair

imposts between one Briton and another which the wisdom of parliament has established between Britons and all the rest of the world.

Of late years, there have been many vigorous assaults against various corrupt corporations, lay and ecclesiastical, more or less successful: and if such a measure of reform as has been achieved in them has resulted from a parliament elected by a £10 franchise, we believe that the corruptions will go down and vanish altogether before such a parliament as Lord John Russell's new reform bill would convoke.

The deans and canons—great and small—of our cathedral cities have made good their claim to 'compensation,' for yielding up their ancient privilege of absorbing the revenues of the honest working clergy; under the shadow of the ecclesiastical commissioners they are, for the present, safe; and now the town-clerks, recorders, and other well-feed functionaries of corporations, are also demanding 'compensation;' while (worse than the dumb deans and chapters, who will in the course of a good Providence die out, and so come to an end), the corporations are demanding full 'compensation' for yielding up the privilege of unjustly taxing their fellow citizens; or, in other words, are aiming to capitalize the roguery whose annual income they have so long enjoyed! The corporations of Newcastle, London, and Liverpool, and no doubt many others, are, we repeat, at this moment, demanding 'compensation' for giving up various local dues which have hitherto been levied on the commerce, and applied by way of lessening the rates of the landlords; that is to say, dues levied from the merchant and the shipowner, native and foreign, to pay for the sewers, police, and lighting of the houseowners of the several towns. The common sense of the country is rising up against these absurd and infamous extortions, and various commissions, which have during the last few years sat to consider the monopoly of the corporation of Newcastle, as well as the late inquiry respecting the corporation of London, indicate the near approach of the period when these chartered and prescriptive wrongs, which have come to us from the feudal ages, by divine right of kings to rob their people, shall for ever disappear. The corporations themselves perceive that the whole system is rapidly breaking down;—stranded like a Muscovite pirate on the deadly mouth of the Tyne, it will soon go to pieces *there*;—settling, as one of the same cruizers of the Czar may do, on the Goodwin Sands during the next summer, it seems likely speedily to sink out of the sight of civilized men, even on the Thames. Thirty years ago, what seemed more firm than the old corporations, planted deep in their rich corruptions, and spreading wide in rank luxuriance over the morals and the trade of their separate

neighbourhood? Who so autocratic as town-clerks and recorders, strong in the power of the monopoly they represented? *Nous avons changé tout cela!* The lawyers, doubtless, battle till the last, but of late they are looking ever and anon over their left shoulder to the monopoly in their rear, and retreating, as it is skulking crestfallen away.

When one looks at the cowed forms of town-clerks and recorders, as in the inquiries into the London and Newcastle corporations, holding up their hired shields over these retreating monopolies; when one listens and hears their former proud blasts of defiance echoing feebly, and dying away like 'the horns of Elfland faintly blowing;' above all, when we see respectable men, like the London recorder and Serjeant Merewether on the Thames, and Mr. John Clayton, the hereditary town-clerk of Newcastle on the Tyne, standing forth to defend a political principle,—that, viz., of the *right* of one Englishman to make another pay his taxes, and to maintain a custom which they cannot but feel to be an injustice,—their pretence of title to it a lie,—their compensation a mere common public swindle; when we see all this going forward, we mourn to think how very easily men of private integrity can lend themselves to a system of public wrong.

These reflections have been called up by a consideration of the influence which the monopolies of the corporations of London and Newcastle exercise in enhancing the price of coal, one of those prime necessities of life which instead of being, as it is, from the pit to the parlour grate, persecuted in every stage of its progress by some form of monopoly or extortion, should, as we began by saying, be free as the warmth and light of the blessed Sun himself, whose in-door substitute and representative it is.

ART. IV.—*A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians.* By John Eadie, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature to the United Presbyterian Church. pp. 466. London and Glasgow: Griffin and Co. 1854.

THE value of a good work of the kind which Dr. Eadie has produced can scarcely be overrated. The same reasons which make it so important to have a faithful version of the original, render it desirable that those who have to explain and enforce the truth which any portion of Holy Writ contains should be able to enter fully and accurately into the meaning of the inspired writer. To

the great task of laying a good foundation of this kind Dr. Eadie has devoted the work before us. He does not interfere with the excellent and useful, and some of them very learned, Introductions to the several books of the New Testament which have recently come to the aid of the biblical student. Nor does he give a summary of each chapter, or a statement of the doctrines and reflections which may be formed on it. All that he leaves to be furnished by commentaries of which we possess abundance. But he takes the Epistle sentence by sentence, and by a rigid process of analysis he seeks to ascertain the whole mind of the Spirit—nothing less and nothing more—as far as it can be learned from the language employed and from the natural and obvious connexions of the thoughts.

Of this Epistle, as of the Pauline epistles generally, it may be affirmed that the multitude of commentaries and expositions tends to distract the most careful student. The conflict of theories on every conceivable point connected with the authorship, the design, the phraseology, the idioms and allusions, is exceedingly puzzling to one who searches only for truth. It is a service involving no ordinary labour to have subjected the vast accumulation of materials on this subject to a thorough sifting, to have separated the pure ore from the rubbish, and to have employed all the lights supplied by modern erudition and criticism to elucidate the exact meaning of every part. This service Dr. Eadie has very ably rendered. The mere amount of reading required for this purpose is wide and varied. The Greek and Latin fathers who have written on this Epistle, the mediæval doctors, the reformers who did so much to illustrate every portion of Scripture, the theologians of England and America, and the German commentators, who of themselves constitute a formidable host, and whole clouds of critics and grammarians, are laid under contribution, and assist in furnishing a solid basis for the interpretation and understanding of the Epistle. But while Dr. Eadie exhibits in every page proofs of the most painstaking and conscientious industry, so as to omit nothing which may throw light on his subject, we are glad to say that we have not discovered symptoms of his mental faculties being overlaid by the multifariousness of his reading. He holds steadily in his hands the clue which guides him safely out of the labyrinth of assertions, arguments, and theories that lay in his path. He pays no undue deference to the authority of names, but holds the balance of opinions with an even hand, and hesitates not to reject the interpretation of Chrysostom with regard to the meaning of a Greek expression, when he can adduce satisfactory reasons for doing so. Through his whole work he shows a sound judgment, as well by the absence of rash and startling interpretations as by the clear and steady light in which he has placed

the meaning of the writer. His desire for truth shrinks from no difficulty in its pursuit, inspiring the reader with confidence in the candour and trustworthiness of the guide. For the successful interpretation of any portion of the Bible higher and rarer qualities are requisite than great scholarship and profound critical skill. It is possible, as not a few of the German commentators have shown, to know the idioms, phrases, and genius of the language in which the New Testament is written, to explain all the allusions to laws, customs, and events, and yet to remain totally insensible to the spirit which it breathes, to all the wonderful elements which fit it beyond any other book to enlighten man on his highest interests and relations, to melt, elevate, and purify the heart, to awaken faith and hope, and to kindle gratitude, and to stimulate all the active energies of our nature to a course of cheerful obedience to the divine will. These nobler qualities give unspeakable value to the commentaries of Henry, Scott, Doddridge, and others, over those of Germany, which are generally merely critical, and too often sceptical and cold. It is a pleasing feature of Dr. Eadie's work that, from the beginning to the end, he never forgets that he is dealing with the manifestation of God's Infinite Love and that he can sympathize with the loftiest range of thought to which the subject leads him. To give our readers the means of judging for themselves, we select a few specimens, and they can be but few:—

‘Ephes. i. 3. “In heavenly places.” The translation “in heavenly things” is supported by Chrysostom, Theodoret, Ecumenius, Luther, Castalio, Calovius, Clarius, Vorstius, Casaubon, Schoettgen, Homberg, Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Zachariæ, Morus, Flatt, Baumgarten, Crusius, Holzhausen, Jaspis, Bretschneider, Matthias, Scholz, Meier, Barrington, Barnes, and Bloomfield. This view makes the phrase a more definite characterization of the spiritual blessings. But the construction is against it, for the insertion of the article “the” seems to show that it is not a mere prolonged specification, nor, as in Homberg's view, a mere parallel definition to “with all spiritual blessings.” The sentence with such an acceptation appears confused and weakened with somewhat of tautology. Nor can we suppose, with Van Til, that there is simply a designed contrast to the terrestrial blessings of the Old Testament. The other supplement, “places,” appears preferable, and such is the opinion of the Syriac translator, who renders it simply “in heaven,” of Jerome, &c. The phrase occurs other four times in this Epistle, i. 20, ii. 6, iii. 10, vi. 13. In all these places in the one Epistle the idea of locality is expressly implied, and there is no reason why this clause should be an exception.’—p. 15. . . . Vatablus, Calvin, Grotius, and Koppe argue that the term points out the special designation of the spiritual blessings: they are to be enjoyed in heaven. Grotius says these spiritual blessings place us in heaven, in hope and right.’—p. 16. . . . We have seen that the idea of locality is dis-

tinctly implied in the phrase "in the heavenly places." Now God blesses us: if the question be, With what sort of gifts? the ready answer is, "With all spiritual blessings;" and if it be asked, Where are they enjoyed? the response is, "In the heavenly places in Christ." Olshausen is in error when he says that heavenly places in Paul's writings signify heaven absolutely, for the phrase sometimes refers to a lower and nearer spiritual sphere of it. "He hath raised up and made us sit together with Christ in heavenly places." Our session with Christ is surely a present elevation—an honour and happiness even now enjoyed. "We wrestle against principalities and powers,—against spiritual wickedness in heavenly places." These dark spirits are not in heaven, for they are exiles from it, and our struggle with them is in the present life. There are, therefore, beyond a doubt, heavenly places on earth. Now, the Gospel, or the mediatorial reign, is "the kingdom of heaven." That kingdom or reign of God is "in us," or among us. Heaven is brought near to man through Christ Jesus. Those spiritual blessings conferred on us create heaven within us, and the scenes of divine benefaction are "heavenly places;" for wherever the light and love of God's presence are so enjoyed, there is heaven. If such blessings are the one Spirit's inworking—that Spirit who in God's name takes of the things that are Christ's, and shows them unto us, then his influence diffuses the atmosphere of heaven around us. "Our citizenship is in heaven," and we enjoy its immunities and prerogatives on earth. We would not vaguely say with Ernesti, Zeller, and Schütze, that the expression simply means the church. True, in the church men are blessed, but the scenes of blessings here depicted represent the church in a special and glorious aspect, as a spot so like heaven, and so replete with the Spirit in the possession and enjoyment of his gifts—so filled with Christ and united to him—so much of his love pervading it, and so much of his glory resting upon it, that it may be called "heavenly places."—pp. 16, 17.

But what, then, is the meaning of that remarkable expression in the 6th chapter, v. 13?—'We wrestle against spiritual wickedness in heavenly places,' which our translators have shrunk from rendering literally, and which they have softened into 'high places.' We turn to the 444th page, and there read 'We understand these words to describe the scene of combat.' . . . 'The heavenly places are the celestial spots occupied by the Church (i. 3, ii. 6), and in them this combat is to be maintained. Those evil spirits have invaded the Church, are attempting to pollute, divide, secularize, and overthrow it; are continually tempting its members to sin and apostacy; are ever warring against goodness and obstructing its progress; and therefore believers must encounter them and fight them 'in the heavenly places.' Such appears to us to be the plain allusion of the apostle, and the exegesis is not beset either with grammatical or theological difficulty.' (p. 445.) Who can fail to recognise in this interpretation a faithful description of the spiritual influence, against which

Christians have to contend, in the midst of the privileges with which their Divine Master has distinguished him? Then follow a series of interpretations which show the curious plunges which learned ingenuity can make, in order to escape or solve a difficulty. Thus the version of Luther is 'under the heaven;' the Syriac gives the same rendering.

'The perplexity was felt to be so great that no less a scholar than Daniel Heinsius actually proposes the desperate shift of transposing the words to the beginning of the verse, and making out this sense, "in heavenly things our contest is not with flesh and blood." Neither of the readings of Storr can be sustained, "who were in heaven and who are heavenly in their origin." The opinions of Locke and Doddridge are opposed to philology. The former renders "the spiritual managers of the opposition to the kingdom of God," and the latter, "spirits who became authors and abettors of wickedness even while they abode in heavenly places." Not much different from the view of Doddridge is that of Cocceius and Calovius, who join wickedness closely with the phrase "spirits who do evil in the heavenlies." The exegesis of Peile is as arbitrary as any of these—"wickedness exhibited in spiritual beings who kept not their first estate, their righteous principality in the centre of heaven." It needs scarcely be remarked that the exegesis which makes the phrase signify "heavenly things," cannot be borne out, is wholly against the idiom of the Epistle. Yet this false meaning is adhered to in this place by Chrysostom, and a catalogue of others, whom our author enumerates, ending with 'Tyndale, who renders "against spiritual wickedness for heavenly things," giving "in" an unsustainable signification. We need not stay to refute the notion of those who, like Schœttgen, &c., and the editors of the 'Improved Version,' think the Apostle means, in whole or in part, to describe bad men of station and influence, like the Jewish rabbinical doctors or provincial Gentile governors.'—pp. 446, 447.

Recurring again to the first chapter, we take the very next verse as a fair specimen of Dr. Eadie's powers of analysis and exposition. It has been thus explained by Bloomfield, 'hath selected us or shown us marks of peculiar favour by and through him, to the end we should be holy without blame before him in the exercise of Christian charity,' and closes his remarks by saying, 'Indeed, even learned Calvinistic commentators admit that the Apostle has here no reference to the election of individuals, but to the election of whole communities and nations, even all the Gentiles whom God was pleased to admit to the benefits of the Gospel.' Let us compare with this the analysis of the passage by Dr. Eadie:—

"According as he hath chosen us in him." The adverb "according as" defines the connexion of this verse with the preceding. That connexion is modal not causal.' . . . 'These spiritual blessings are conferred on us, not merely *because* God has chosen us, but they are

given to us in perfect harmony with his eternal purpose. Their number, variety, adaptation, and fulness, with the shape and mode of their bestowment, are all in exact unison with God's prætemporal and gracious resolution; they are given after the model of that pure and eternal Archetype which was formed in the divine mind. "Hath chosen us." The idea involved in this word lay at the basis of the old theocracy, and it also pervades the New Testament. The Greek term corresponds to the Hebrew "bachar" of the Old Testament, which is applied so often to God's selection of Abraham's seed to be his peculiar people (Deut. iv. 37; vii. 6; Is. xli. 8; xlv. 1). The verb before us, with its cognate forms, is used frequently to indicate the origin of that peculiar relation which believers sustain to God, and it also assigns the reason of that distinction which subsists between them and the world around them. Whatever the precise nature of this choice may be, the general doctrine is, that the change of relation is not of man's achievement, but of God's accomplishment; that man does not unite himself to God, but God unites man to himself, for there is no attractive power in man's heart to collect and gather in upon it those spiritual blessings. But there is not merely this palpable right of initiation on the part of God: there is also the prerogative of sovereign bestowment, as indicated by the following pronoun, "us," we have, others want. The Apostle speaks of himself and his fellow-saints at Ephesus. If God had not chosen them, they would never have chosen God.

"In him," for such is the genuine reading, not "in himself," as the Vulgate has it, and some commentators take it; nor "to himself," as the Ethiopic renders it. The reference is to Christ, but the nature of that reference has been disputed. Chrysostom says, "He by whom he has blessed us is the same as he by whom he has chosen us;" but afterwards he interprets the words before us thus, "by faith in him," and he capriciously ascribes the elective act to Christ. Many, as a-Lapide, Estius, Bullinger, and Flatt, translate virtually "on account of Christ." But the apostolical idea is more definite and peculiar. The "in him" seems to point out the position of the "us." Believers were looked upon as being in Christ when they were elected, as the Jewish nation was chosen in Abraham. To the prescient eye of God the entire church was embodied in Jesus—was looked upon as in him. The church that was to be appeared to the mind of Him who fills eternity as already in being, and that ideal being was in Christ. It is true that God himself was in Christ, and in Christ purposes and performs all that pertains to man's redemption; but the thought here is, not that God in Christ has chosen us, but that we were regarded as existing in Christ when he elected us.

"Before the foundation of the world." Similar phraseology occurs in Matt. xiii. 35; John xvii. 24; 1 Peter i. 20. The word is also used in the same sense in the classics and by Philo. Chrysostom, alluding to the composition of the noun, says fancifully, "Beautiful is that word, as if he were pointing to the world cast down from a great height—yes, vast and indescribable is the height of God, so wide the distance between Creator and creature." The phrase itself declares

that this election is no act of time, for time dates from the creation. Prior to the commencement of time were we chosen in Christ. The generic idea, therefore, is what Olshausen calls "*Zeitlosigkeit*," *timelessness*, implying, of course, absolute eternity. The choice is eternal, and it realizes itself or takes effect in that actual separation by which the elect are brought out of the world into the church, and so become called saints and believers. Before that world which was to be lost in sin and misery was founded, its guilt and helplessness were present to the mind of God, and his gracious purposes towards it were formed. The prospect of its fall coexisted eternally with the design of its recovery by Christ.

"In order that we should be holy and without blame before him." The two adjectives express the same idea, with a slight shade of variation. The first is inner consecration to God's holy principle; the latter refers to its result, the life governed by such a power must be blameless and without reprehension. The pulsation of a holy heart leads to a stainless life. This is the avowed purpose of our election. That the words describe a moral condition is affirmed rightly by Chrysostom, Theophylact, Calvin, &c. Some, however, as Koppe, Meyer, von Gerlach, and Harless, refer the phrase to that perfect justifying righteousness of believers to which the apostle alludes in Rom. iii. 21, &c. But the terms found here are different from those used by the apostle in the places quoted, where men are said to be justified, or fully acquitted from guilt, by their interest in the righteousness of Christ. On the other hand, the eternal purpose not only pardons, but also sanctifies, absolves in order to renew, and purifies in order to bestow perfection. It is the uniform teaching of Paul that holiness is the end of our election, our calling, our pardon, and acceptance. The phrase holy and without blame is never once applied to our complete justification before God. Nor could it. Men are not regarded by God as innocent or sinless: the fact of their sin remains unaltered; but they are treated as righteous—they are absolved from the penal consequences of their apostacy. It is no objection to our interpretation which gives the words a moral and not a legal or forensic signification, that men are not perfect in the present state. We would not say apologetically with Calixtus, "As much as it may be, through the grace of God and the infirmity of our flesh." We can admit no modification; for, though the purpose takes effect here, it is not fully wrought out here, and we would not identify incipient operation with final success. The proper view then is, that perfection is secured for us; that complete restoration to our first purity is provided for us; that he who chose us before time began, and when we were not, saw in us the full and final accomplishment of his gracious purpose. When he elected us, he beheld in us his own ideal of restored and redeemed humanity. Men are chosen in Christ in order to be holy and without blame. Jerome says, that is, "that we, who were not so before, might afterwards live holy and spotless." The father vindicates this view, and refutes such objections as Porphyry was wont to advance, by putting the plain question, "Why, if there be no sovereignty, have Britain and the Irish tribes not known Moses and the prophets?" These facts as are appal-

ling as any doctrine, and the fact must be overturned ere the doctrine can be impugned. The last lesson deduced by Jerome is, "Concede to God power over what belongs to himself." . . .

' "Before him." No good end is gained by reading "himself" with Harless and Scholz; the meaning is, indeed, before himself—that is, before God. Still, there is no necessity that the word should be changed. The reference to God is undoubted, and the phrase denotes the reality or genuineness of the holy and blameless state. God accounts it so. The elect are not esteemed righteous merely "before men," as Theophylact explains. Their piety is not a brilliant hypocrisy. It is regarded as genuine "before him" whose glance at once detects and frowns upon the spurious, however plausible the disguise in which it may wrap itself.'—pp. 17-21.

For the illustrations which are added respecting the divine sovereignty we must refer to the work itself, merely observing how well the quotation from the martyr Ridley marks the frame of mind with which this, as well as every attribute of deity, should be contemplated. 'In these matters I am so fearful, that I dare not speak further; yea, almost tremble to speak otherwise than the text does, as it were, lead me by the hand.' We can afford room only for one instance more of the many advantages which are to be derived from a close analysis of the original:—

' "That ye may be able to comprehend with all saints." The conjunction expresses the design which these previous petitions had in view. Their being strengthened, their being inhabited by Christ, and their being therefore rooted and grounded in love, not only prepared them for this special study, but had made it their grand object. By a prior invigoration, they were disciplined to it, and braced up for it, "that ye may be fully able," fully matched to the enterprise.

' "What is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height." To what do these terms of measurement apply? Many endeavours have been made to supplement the clause with a genitive, and it is certain that "many wits run riot in their geometrical and moral discourse upon these dimensions." '

After enumerating and disposing of nine different interpretations, Dr. Eadie comes to what appears to him to be by far the most probable exegesis. After mentioning the names of twelve eminent commentators who suppose the allusion to be to the Christian temple, he continues:—

' We have seen how the previous language of the prayer is moulded by such an allusion; that the invigoration of the inner man, the indwelling of Christ, and the substructure in love, have all distinct reference to the glorious spiritual edifice. This idea was present, and so present to the apostle's imagination, that he feels no need to make formal mention of it. Besides, these architectural terms lead us to the same conclusion, as they are so applicable to a building. The magnificent fabric is described in the end of the second chapter, and

the intervening verses which precede the prayer are, as already stated and proved, a parenthesis. That figure of a temple still loomed before the writer's fancy, and naturally supplied the distinctive imagery of the prayer. For this reason, too, he does not insert a genitive, as the substantive is so remote, nor did he reckon it necessary to repeat the noun itself. Yet, to sustain the point and emphasis, he repeats the article before each of the substantives. In explaining these terms of mensuration we would not say with an old commentator quoted by Wolf—"The church has length, that is, it stretches from east to west; and it has breadth, that is, it reaches from the equator to the poles. In its depth it descends to Christ, its corner-stone and basis, and in its height it is exalted to heaven." There is a measurement of *area*—breadth and length, and a measurement of *altitude*—height and depth. May not the former refer to its size and growing vastness, embracing, as it will do, so many myriads of so many nations, and spanning the globe? And may not the latter depict its glory, for the plan, structure, and materials alike illustrate the fame and character of its Divine Builder and Occupant, while its lofty turrets are bathed and hidden from view in the radiant splendour of heaven? And with what need shall we measure this stately building? How shall we grasp its breadth, compute its length, explore its depth, and scan its height? Only by the discipline described in the previous context,—by being strengthened by the Spirit, by having Christ within us, and by being thus "rooted and grounded in love." This ability to measure the church needs the assistance of the Divine Spirit—of Him who forms this "habitation of God," so that we may understand its nature, feel its self-expansion, and believe the "glorious things spoken" of it. It requires also the indwelling of Jesus—of Him in whom the whole building groweth unto a holy temple, in order to appreciate its connexion with Him as its chief Corner-stone, the source of its stability and symmetry. And they who feel themselves "rooted and grounded in love" need no incitement to this survey and measurement, for He whom they love is its foundation, while his Father dwells in it, and his Spirit builds it up with generation after generation of believers. None have either the disposition or the skill to comprehend the vastness and glory of the spiritual temple, save they who are in it themselves, and who, being individual and separate shrines, can reason from their own enjoyment to the dignity and splendour of the universal edifice. And not only so, but the apostle also prayed for ability.

"And to know the knowledge-surpassing love of Christ." "To know" is not dependent on "to comprehend," but in unison with it: a similar exercise of mind. The particle translated "and" does not couple; it rather annexes or adds a clause which is not necessarily dependent on the preceding.' (Kühner, § 722; Hartung, i. p. 103.) 'Winer (§ 57) remarks, that in the clause adjoined by "and" the more prominent idea of the sentence may be formed. In the phrase "the love of Christ," Christ is the genitive of possession or subject. It is the love of Christ to us which the Apostle introduces. The genitive "of knowledge" is governed by the participle "surpassing," and not by the substantive "love"—the last a misconception which may have originated the reading of Codex A and of Jerome, "the love

of knowledge," a reading adopted also by Grotius and Homberg. The Greek participle, from its comparative sense, governs the genitive.' (Kühner, § 539.)—pp. 240-242.

We think we have extracted enough to enable our readers to form their own judgment on the commentator's thorough mastery of his work. It is a most acceptable boon to those who are preparing biblical students for the Christian ministry; and, judging from observations which have been made to us by Christian ministers, it will be used by them with pleasure and profit. We should think that a translation of it into the French, and especially into the German language, would be eminently beneficial. Our brethren in the land of Luther and Melancthon would find that the weapons of critical erudition and of exhaustive reading, for which they are so celebrated, are here wielded by one who can meet them at all points on their own ground, and that they are guided by feelings and applied to uses and ends to which many of them unhappily are too much strangers. If the Greek words, which are necessarily often introduced, as well as those from all foreign tongues, ancient and modern, were generally translated, as they might easily be, a very numerous class of biblical students, including many Sabbath-school teachers, might be induced to avail themselves of the treat which this luminous exposition furnishes. We are sure that ministers of all denominations will thank us for having directed their attention to so valuable a contribution to the cause of biblical exposition. All that is needed to make it popular is to do it well; and for a good practical help in acquiring such a habit, we strongly recommend the study of this admirable commentary. It is one of the means most likely to be accompanied with a divine blessing, to make a wise and diligent, a more extensive, use of the vast resources and new veins of thought which it opens up for pulpit instruction.

ART. V.—*The Castilian: an Historical Tragedy.* In Five Acts. By T. N. Talfourd. London: Edward Moxon.

It is difficult to approach any work of the late Mr. Justice Talfourd in the spirit of a judicial and impartial criticism. Of such a work, especially if it be posthumous, the merits glow in the hues, and the defects are shaded in the twilight of a sunset so unexpected as rather to resemble an eclipse. It is indeed difficult to realize the fact, that we are already gazing at the genius of Talfourd through the shadows of the grave; and yet if his most ardent admirer could have chosen the moment of his

decease—the moment in which that change should least partake of the humiliation of death—he could not have fixed on one more suitable than that which witnessed the departure of Sir Thomas Talfourd. But a few short weeks ago, when charging a grand jury, the *élite* of the gentry of Staffordshire, his generous spirit was vexed into unwonted emotion by the review of the appalling amount of vice and crime existing among our provincial and rural population. As his heart kindled with the exposition of his subject, he arraigned his aristocratic audience at the bar of his benevolence, denounced the selfish seclusion which springs out of our national institutions, and while with vivid eloquence he branded as the flagrant vice of our higher classes the want of social sympathy, the tones of his eloquence trembled for a moment on his lips, and bequeathing his pathetic words to his country, he closed his eyes in death. The occasion revived the touching memory of the mortal attack of Lord Chatham in the House of Lords. The body of the judge, wrapped in his robes of scarlet and ermine, was borne across the street to the residence of the judges, on the shoulders of six noblemen and gentlemen, in whose ears his dying words were still lingering, and the business of the Court was immediately suspended for a day which had been consecrated to sorrow by the decease of one of the brightest ornaments of the British bench. The blow by which the bar and the inhabitants of Stafford had been panic-stricken vibrated through the collective heart of the empire, and rarely has any public personage been followed to the tomb with emotions and tears of more heartfelt regret than this generous and accomplished man. His friends, as is natural, have been desirous to honour his name by some suitable memorial, and the choice has lain between the ordinary tribute of a monument, and some testimony at once more utilitarian and more consonant with the known sentiments of the deceased. The lot has fallen upon university scholarships, from which the University of London has been omitted, in strange contrariety, as we are convinced, to the feelings of Mr. Justice Talfourd. In another respect, however—the decision against a monument—his feelings have either been accidentally acquiesced in or most felicitously consulted. We have none but ecclesiastical edifices assigned to the location of these posthumous memorials; and against this practice the late judge has recorded a sentimental protest in his ‘*Supplement to Vacation Rambles*,’* just issued from the press, in language so entirely characteristic, and so singularly eloquent, that, led to the passage, as we find

* A ‘Brief Notice’ of this volume will be found at a subsequent page of this Number.

ourselves, we cannot resist the temptation to insert it. In describing the bank of St. George, at Genoa, as associated with the commerce of that ancient city, he thus comments on the devotion of its hall to the memorial statues of the mighty Genoese of all times. 'These are ranged round the area in two ranks, those of the upper standing, of the lower sitting, "in their habits as they lived," and in attitudes of meditation or speech, suggesting at once the functions of life and the repose of the grave. Inscriptions, some strikingly simple, some setting forth in detail the acts and qualities of the honoured dead, give to this vast monumental room the highest interest of life in death. How much wiser is the devotion of such a place to the unmingled contemplation of human excellence, where fame is made palpable, to the introduction of scattered monuments in temples dedicated, not to the glory of man, but to the worship of God! Placed in cathedrals and churches the memorials of "the noblest men who ever lived in the tide of time"—however just and suggestive—must interfere with the tenour of those humble and holy thoughts which affect alike the loftiest and the meanest intellects, and relate to common sin, and sorrow, and hope. The church is the place for the comfort of "the poor in spirit"—not for the perpetuation of heroic memories, still less for the attempts of affection to preserve the personal traits of ordinary persons for a little while from oblivion. It is true that the images of the great and good, who have been taken from the world, may sometimes fitly blend with adoration of the spirit that inspired and led them; or that the idea of a shadowy duration prolonged in accumulated fame beyond death and the grave, may present a symbol, and add a confirmation of the immortal destiny of the species; but these feelings may be justly excited in places to which they may impart a lower kind of sanctity than that which pervades the House of God. They ennoble a hall like this, but the introduction of statues and inscriptions in places dedicated to the Eternal must, at the best, disturb the singleness of heart with which we should love, confess, and adore; and the monuments of wealth, and the tablets which make walls biographical, and bring the parish register before the eye, not only disturb the sentiment of devotion, but nurture the love of personal detail which belongs to the basest part of our nature, and is at direct enmity with its limitless desires.' ('Supplement to Vacation Rambles,' pp. 94-96.)

The scene of the drama before us is Toledo, and the time is the year 1522, and the occasion is the hated regency of the Cardinal Adrian, to whom the Emperor Charles V. committed the government of his Spanish dominions during his long absence from them, in the time occupied by those visits to Germany, Eng-

land, and Flanders, which followed his acquisition of the imperial crown. The scheme of the play is the history of a conspiracy hatched at Toledo for the recovery of the freedom of Spain, of which the wife of a distinguished nobleman, Donna Maria Pacheco, is the prime mover, in conjunction with her brother, the Marquis de Mondeiar, and of which the husband, Don John de Padilla, is at once the leader and the victim.

The drama opens with a modest fête at the mansion of Padilla, in honour of the birthday of his only son, Alphonso. In the absence of the father and son, who, in fulfilment of a birthday promise, have gone to scale the summit of a mountain, Mondeiar visits his sister, and repeatedly interrupts his conversation by inquiries if she does not hear the shouts of tumult in the neighbouring city. Her negative leads to his first development of the nascent plot.

‘No sound? It may be so, for silence
In its depth speaks; of late the healthy breath
Of daily life has stopp’d; the workman casts
His tools in restless languor down, and joins
Some clustered troop of idlers in the sun,
Who seek no pastime, but seem met to gaze
With wonder on each other; each surveys
The face of each, as if he read strange thoughts;
And yet they only speak of common things,
And that in hurried whispers. Children stand,
Perplex’d amid their toys: while mothers cleave,
With arms grown rigid, to their husbands’ breasts,
And eyes upturned, as if they strove for words
To ask the meaning of the nameless fear
That creeps along their heartstrings. But that silence
Shall break; one war-cry from a leader’s lips
Will change it into thunder; but, alas!
The people want a leader.

MARIA.

You shall lead them.

MONDEIAR.

Not I, Maria. I can strike and bleed,
But own no power of sympathy which moulds
The passions of a mighty nation roused
For noblest issues. ’Tis not grace to wear
A life as lightly as a festal plume
For fortune’s breeze to trifle with, and turn
A panic-stricken legion by exploit
Of desperate valour, that endows a chief
For strife like ours: no; he who would direct
A people in its rising, must be calm
As death is, yet respond to every pulse

Of passioned millions,—as yon slender moon
 That scarce commends the modest light it sheds
 Through sunset's glory to the gazer's sense,
 In all its changes, in eclipse, in storm,
 Enthroned in azure, or enriching clouds
 That, in their wildest hurry, catch its softness,
 Will sway the impulsive ocean,—he must rule
 By strength allied to weakness, yet supreme,
 Man's heaving soul, and bid it ebb and flow
 In sorrow, passion, glory, as he mourns,
 Struggles, or triumphs.

MARIA.

You intend my husband?

MONDEJAR.

Yes. Will you urge him to his glorious work?
 Let me unfold our cause.

On the return of Padilla the plot is hinted to him by his wife, and at once condemned by the Don with the natural instinct of Castilian loyalty; but in his absence his deserved popularity has made him the chosen leader of the multitude, and his name the rallying cry of their seditious excitement, and he has scarcely entered his mansion before Gonsalvo, a courtier of the obnoxious viceroy, obtains access to him, leaving a company of soldiers in the courtyard of his mansion, demands his sword in the name of Adrian, and declares him a prisoner in his own house until further orders from the government are announced. But the lawless hospitality of Padilla's mansion had placed the soldiery in an inefficient state, and the unauthorized tyranny of the viceroy precipitated to success the ambitious designs of the wife, who was a sort of Lady Macbeth as to decision of character, though destitute of her recklessness of guilt and cruelty. Padilla, with no alternative, throws himself into the plot; but the unanimity which would have been essential to its success is marred by the jealous ambition and enmity of a rival nobleman, Don Pedro de Giron, who seeks to introduce men of his own low stamp into the councils of the nobler conspirators for freedom. Among others, one Villena, whom, as a reckless gambler, the high-minded Padilla denounces as base and unworthy. The indignant retort of Giron on Padilla's accusing his companion of baseness elicits from Padilla a burst of vituperation against the vice of gaming:—

——Yes; what meaner vice
 Crawls there than that which no affections urge,
 And no delights refine; which from the soul
 Steals mounting impulses which might inspire
 Its noblest ventures, for the arid quest
 Of wealth 'mid ruin; changes enterprise

To squalid greediness, makes heaven-born hope
 A shivering fever, and, in vile collapse
 Leaves the exhausted heart without one fibre.
 Impelled by generous passion? And your friend
 Weary of cards and dice, would make our wrongs
 The counters of his game! We'll none of him!

A Junta is formed, of which, owing to the accidental detention of Padilla, Giron is made the president. On his arrival, Padilla advocates in vain a policy of loyalty and peace, and, overborne by the voices of his associates, is thrust into the foremost military command. The latent occasion, however, of this political crisis is the temporary insanity of queen Johanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the mother of the emperor Charles V. A lucid interval of the queen's disorder, which the too sanguine loyalty of Padilla regarded as a recovery, precipitated the catastrophe of the drama. 'The incident,' says Mr. Justice Talfourd, 'which seemed to the author most capable of producing an interest less common than that of an ordinary tale of political conspiracy, is the temporary resuscitation of the melancholy Johanna, the mother of the emperor, from a state of deplorable insanity, to confer for a short time upon the revolt of the commons the grace of her title and authority—thus giving the sanction of loyal sentiments to the popular cause. This remarkable incident is glanced at by Robertson,* after stating the capture of her person at Tordesillas, where she resided in seclusion.' He records the enthusiastic joy of the Castilians at the restoration of Isabella's daughter to the throne; the use made by the insurgents of her authority, and the disappearance of this brief apparition of royalty, when, betrayed by Giron's rashness, the queen fell into the hands of the regent, and sunk again into a state of imbecility, from which she never afterwards awoke, leaving the cause of the revolted subjects of Castile destitute of the sanction given for a short time to their arms.

The news of Padilla's arrest exacerbates the feelings of the citizens, and the opposition to the government at once assumes the aspect of an armed revolt. The popular constitution of the Junta which directed it having led the base Villena to designate it as a "council rabble-chosen," its president, Giron, defends it in the following spirited lines:—

— Trust me, marquis,
 The lower that the soil lies, and the wider
 The surface it presents, the kindlier strikes
 The germ of new dominion there; the rankness

* In his third book of the History of Charles the Fifth.

Of elements that moulder round its stem
 Shall shed imperial purple through its flower
 When it shall flaunt in sunshine.—*Act ii. Scene 3.*

Several cities received the insurgent troops with open arms, and everything promises well for the cause of right and justice. But Padilla had secured for his lady the office of personal attendant, and to his youthful son, that of page to the secluded and insane queen. In the moment of martial success, the youth Alfonso seeks admission to the council, and announces the sudden revival of the queen's rational consciousness.

—— The dull sorrow
 That weighed her silken lashes down has fled,
 And eyes, which rarely caught the sunbeam, spread
 With wild intelligence. Her ashy lips
 Long sealed in sullen silence, or unclosed
 Only to murmur indistinct despair,
 Part flushed with crimson; and, in rapid change
 The broken music of her queenly life
 Breathes and commands her childhood's scenes to live
 In brightness that appals us, yet, to her
 Seen through the parted foldings of the mists
 That have o'erwhelmed her spirit, they appear
 As starting from a depth of years she thinks
 Have passed upon her lonely state.—*Act iii. Scene 2.*

This intelligence is ridiculed by Giron and his associates, whose plans of personal elevation it threatens to thwart. Padilla, however, pledges his life upon its truth, and determines to verify it by an ingenious scheme. During her sleep he has all the ensigns and accessories of royalty arranged around her couch, and orders music familiar to her childhood in Flanders to be gently played on her waking. The scheme succeeds, and the return of the queen to reason, through the gradually attenuating mist of mental delusion, is very happily portrayed. Giron, however, by virtue of the presidency of the Junta, has possession of the queen's person and direction of her policy; and practising on her scarcely confirmed rationality, induces her to appoint him commander-in-chief of the forces in arms against the regent, in place of Padilla. This usurpation is fatal. Giron's baser faction, destitute of that triple armour of a just cause, which would have ensured the success of Padilla and his followers, fled, and fell victims before the vice-regal troops. Padilla resolves upon one decisive sally, and in a touching interview with his ambitious wife devotes himself to the death to which her own schemes had conducted him. In the prospect of his destruction she indicates all the passion of remorse and grief; but the soul of the husband is calm in its resolution.

No thus, once more, I join my soul with yours
 For ever. I remember when we stood
 Before the priest to consecrate the state
 In which the holiest ecstasy of earth
 Enriches the immortal, and exchanged
 The common vow of constancy, 'till death
 Should part us,' which gay brides and bridegrooms take
 And keep without reproach till parting comes
 According to the word, and then forget
 Their loss in other contracts which they seal
 With the same brief formality, and pass
 In decent round of duty, till the grave
 Lets the survivor free to wed again,
 As if the marriage of pure hearts had bonds
 For mortal life alone; I felt your hand
 Which had been tremulous in mine, grow firm,
 And your eye flash'd a question on my soul
 Which from that soul I answer'd,—with disdain
 Of the poor limitation of a span
 For such great bargain, and a pledge that ours
 Was for both worlds. I own that bond and pray
 That I may share your doom.—*Act v. Scene 1.*

The catastrophe of the tragedy is the capture and execution of the brave and disinterested Padilla.

As a play, 'The Castilian' is marked both by the excellencies and defects which characterize the dramatic writings of this gifted author. All these appeal too much to sentiment and too little to sense to be generally attractive on the stage, and even to be very extensively appreciated in the quiet of a solitary perusal. All, however, are conceived in a pure and lofty spirit, and are adorned with passages of exquisite beauty. The drama before us perhaps partakes less richly of the author's genius than some that preceded it, but like the fabled song of the dying swan, it is invested with a romantic charm, as the last poetic utterance of a genius transplanted suddenly and too soon from the haunts of admiring men to the Pantheon which enshrines the memories of those great worthies of British literature, whose works will be as lasting as the language in which they wrote. Amidst the sacred recesses of that fancied mausoleum, a fond and candid posterity will drop the mingled tears of admiration and pity, while they record, that to whatever extent he may have inherited the infirmities of our nature, he never wrote a line which, had the solemn reflections of a death-bed been permitted him, he need have desired to bequeath to oblivion.

ART. VI.—*History of Oliver Cromwell and the English Commonwealth, from the Execution of Charles the First to the Death of Oliver Cromwell.* By M. Guizot. Translated by Andrew R. Scoble. Two Vols. 8vo. pp. 600 and 493. London: R. Bentley.

SINCE M. Guizot last appeared before the world as an historian, circumstances have transpired which can scarcely fail to attach more than ordinary interest to the work before us. Although his pen has already been employed in tracing the history of the English Revolution from the accession of Charles I. to his death, and the establishment of the Commonwealth, the history of the period immediately succeeding these events, presents circumstances and principles sufficiently analogous to those which have obtained prominence in the recent changes in France to render the consideration of it, by one who was personally connected with these, important, or at least fitted to excite curiosity. We naturally look for something more than ordinary historical narration on such a subject as the English republic, from one who has played a conspicuous part in the revolutionary history of his own country, and who has been personally interested in its changes of government. M. Guizot's position, too, as a minister of France, and consequently his command of the archives, both of that country and of Spain, will lead the students of history to expect from him many additions to the materials by which we are enabled to form an estimate of the events which transpired during the period embraced in these volumes. If, in connexion with such considerations, we take the author's reputation as an historian into account, and make allowance for the curiosity which may naturally be felt to ascertain how the men and the circumstances of a remarkable time are regarded by one who looks at them from a point of view entirely different from our own, it is to be expected that this book will be read with even greater interest than any of M. Guizot's former works. We are not so sure, however, that the expectations thus formed will be fully realized. M. Guizot has too high an idea of the province and duties of an historian to allow his estimate of the past to be affected by the things of the present, even though he has had direct connexion with the more important of the latter, nor will he permit personal experiences to interfere with his calm and philosophic deductions from the facts of history. He proceeds with this, the second part of his work on the English Revolution, as if no changes had taken place in the aspect of Europe since he penned the first, and without the slightest

regard to analogies, remote or otherwise, which may be traced between such changes and those he is engaged in considering. A large amount of hitherto unpublished matter is given, it is true, in appendices to both of the volumes before us, and there are points in the extracts taken from the correspondence of the French ambassador in England, and from the archives of Simancas, which occasionally throw light on the events of the period, yet they cannot be regarded as adding anything of great importance to the knowledge we have hitherto possessed. That M. Guizot's antecedents are of such a character as to render his views of English republicanism somewhat novel is not to be denied, but that they qualify him in any special degree to give us what is of infinitely more importance than novelty, may be very fairly doubted. Philosophic and impartial as the historian may endeavour to be, it is not to be expected that he can shake off the influences to which he has been subjected in considering any of the events of the past—especially when these had their origin in principles which have been revived, and acted upon in his own experience. While, therefore, we are free to confess that M. Guizot has displayed as much impartiality as we find in other histories of the period, we cannot but regard him as being in some degree influenced in his estimate of the English Commonwealth and the character of Oliver Cromwell by the principles which he holds as an individual. He wants, besides, that perfect knowledge of the workings of our constitutional system, and cannot be expected to have those sympathies which are of so much importance in treating of such themes. The consequence is, that while he has often, and, as it seems to us, reluctantly, to express his admiration of the chief actors in this great drama of English history, he has as often been betrayed into inconsistencies and into the expression of opinions which are not always borne out by the facts which he himself narrates.

In his first volume, M. Guizot traces with great clearness, and upon the whole with fairness, the events which followed the execution of Charles I., sketching the history of the latter days of the Long Parliament very skilfully, and of course bestowing considerable attention on the career of Cromwell. The Irish war and massacre, the troubles in Scotland, and the victory at Dunbar, the strife of parties in England, the battle of Worcester, Cromwell's 'crowning mercy,' and the dissolution of the Long Parliament, form the chief of these events, and little or nothing is added to our previous knowledge of them. Here and there peculiar opinions may be traced, and not unfrequently we see evidences of the disadvantages under which a foreigner must labour from his ignorance of the more minute features of our national character; there is moreover an obvious desire evinced

to find out the motives of Cromwell's actions, and to judge of them by subsequent occurrences rather than by attendant circumstances. But it is in his second volume that both the strength and the weakness of M. Guizot's narrative is most chiefly apparent, and we shall therefore confine our observations to it, recurring to those portions of the first which bear more directly on his consideration of Cromwell's character.

It may be necessary, however, that we refer to some of the events which paved the way for the protectorate, and we shall do so as briefly as possible.

The position in which the parliament was placed after the royalist cause had received from Cromwell its final blow at Worcester, was the natural result of the changes which it had effected. Danger from the power which it invokes seems to be inseparable from the condition of a newly-formed republic, and accordingly we find that three days after the parliament had deputed four of its members to congratulate its victorious general, it began to manifest symptoms of alarm at the probable effect of the very events which formed the subject of these congratulations. Suspicion of the army and dread of its leader could no longer be concealed, and while the latter was received, on resuming his seat in the House with every demonstration of honour, the agency by which he had accomplished the complete overthrow of the open enemies of the Commonwealth was destined to be curtailed. The reduction of the army, though dictated by a regard for the public interest, was unquestionably the first movement of antagonism on the side of the parliament, and the plea on which the measure proceeded was too plausible for Cromwell to oppose it. He even supported it with considerable warmth, and by doing so, as well as by using his influence to obtain a comprehensive act of amnesty, he secured to himself a popularity in the country, which far more than compensated for the discharge of a few battalions. It enabled him to oppose the prolongation of the parliament with greater effect, and when it was decided, after keen debates, that its sittings should continue for three years longer, he again submitted, knowing that he had the command of influences which might contribute to shorten the term of its existence. These concessions on his part had the effect of postponing open opposition, and of so far disarming those who were hostile to him. In the long, and for the most part fruitless discussions which followed, he invariably took the side which was most likely to secure the good opinion of the people at large. M. Guizot would have us believe that he had no fixed principles at all on questions of organization either civil or religious, but there is no ground for such an opinion. His unerring instincts went beyond the perception of

what merely harmonized with the popular feelings, and led him to interest himself in what was calculated to promote the public weal, especially when it took the form of a reconstruction of those things which were parts of the monarchical system. He moreover became the advocate of the regular preaching of the Gospel and of liberty of conscience, and thus succeeded in drawing towards him men of all parties. Nor was the steadily progressive character of his influence confined to such strokes of policy as these; he contrived to obtain the opinions of the men whose co-operation he was most likely to need upon all the questions likely to form the ground of his opposition to the parliament. After a succession of such advantages, he resolved upon open hostilities, and took his measures accordingly. M. Guizot adds nothing to what every intelligent reader of English history knows about these. He does not venture to question the necessity for a dissolution of the Long Parliament, but after stating clearly and with justice some of the circumstances which so far redeemed it, he thus sketches its character at the time Cromwell put an end to its existence by an exercise of his accumulated power, and with grim and questionable jokes as well as a somewhat ostentatious display of stern morality:—

‘For more than twelve years, in its entire or mutilated state, this Parliament had held the reins of power, and was responsible in the eyes of England for events, as well as for its own acts, for what it had failed to foresee, as well as for what it had decreed, for what it had not prevented, as well as for what it had done. And not only for twelve years had the Parliament governed, but it had absorbed into itself all powers; it alone treated and decided on a multitude of questions which before its time would have devolved upon the crown or its agents, the magistrates and the local authorities. . . . The journals of the House gave evidence on every page of this monstrous centralization of affairs of every kind, daily debated and decided either by the House itself or by its committees; and this was carried to such an extent, that from time to time the House was obliged to determine that for one or two weeks it would set aside all private affairs, and attend only to the public business of the country. A deplorable state of confusion, truly, in which the Parliament lost not only its time, but its virtue. Neither the good sense nor the honesty of the majority of mankind could stand against this prolonged enjoyment of power in the midst of chaos; abuses, vexations, malversations, and unlawful transactions sprang up and multiplied, as the natural fruit of such a state of things. . . . A spirit of greedy selfishness, license, and indifference, a tendency to despise or doubt the virtue of justice and probity, had made frightful progress, and given rise to disorders which had entailed universal disrespect and dislike.’—Vol. i. p. 481.

Whatever we may think about the mode in which the Long Parliament was dissolved, the measure itself was obviously a very

necessary one. Cromwell knew it to be necessary, not only for the country, but for his designs. To say, as M. Guizot does, that 'he was himself obnoxious to all the charges which he brought against it,' and that its fate, though deserved, was hastened by him simply for his own advancement, is, we submit, to give a very partial view of the matter. It is to judge of it by subsequent rather than antecedent events, and to regard these as chiefly proceeding from the dictates of personal ambition. We are free to admit that in the Long Parliament there were men whose purposes were much more disinterested than those of Cromwell. 'Men of rare talent and virtue,' our author is perfectly justified in calling them; but these were not the men who had influenced its proceedings. Cromwell saw that the repeated violation of its principles and the abortive attempts which it had made to give peace to the country had brought upon it the contempt of the people. He knew that in his *coup d'état* he would have the co-operation of the country, and that a bold act was necessary to secure for himself the reputation of staying or crushing the anarchical tendencies to which it had given birth. And the result proved that in this, as in all else, he had calculated surely, for not only in London, but throughout all England, that act awakened popular enthusiasm in his favour. M. Guizot speaks of this movement of popular admiration as that 'which daring and victorious force always inspires,' but he fails to show us that it was called forth by the motives, real or professed, it matters not here, on which that force proceeded. We shall see from subsequent events that the course which Cromwell adopted was not only a practical expression of the popular will, but a necessary step towards the establishment of a government on a firmer and broader basis.

In spite of all the bold and violent measures to which Cromwell resorted, and of all his infractions of the constitutional principle, we are firmly persuaded that the establishment of that principle was the chief aim of his life. Contact with such difficulties as always tend to develop the energies of great minds, while they render useless, or worse than useless, those of mediocre ones, had abated the ardour of his republicanism. Eminently practical, he saw that the theories of those with whom he had at first associated were utterly untenable. The attempts to realize them had produced little but absurdity, and often developed mere imbecility: had they been carried much farther, the worst disorders would have ensued. He was undeceived by being brought face to face with the exigencies of the time, and, although not a few of these were of his own creating, he saw that they could only be met and grappled with in a bold and vigorous manner. Much more had been removed in the excitement of revolution than was necessary,

and on him, as master of the situation, devolved the work of re-organization—of re-constituting, under proper conditions, a country shaken as it had never before been shaken. Those who conceive that Cromwell was led on merely by the dictates of a towering ambition, even while they admit that these were regulated by great wisdom, forget that his reaction from the extreme of republicanism was not a reaction to the opposite one of pure despotism. We believe that if he could have done so safely he would have summoned another Parliament immediately after the Rump was dismissed. He could not do so, and determined at least to have free action for himself, as well as to avoid the consequences of a return to the impractical ideas and abortive schemes which had previously prevailed, he issued writs in his own name to one hundred and thirty-nine individuals 'of probity and good name,' with the view of forming a Parliamentary Council. This assembly, which derived its name, rather opprobriously applied, from an obscure and uninfluential member, was the celebrated Barebones Parliament. It was composed of men whom Cromwell may be said to have himself selected, and many have attempted to show that they were either his mere tools or persons whom he could calculate upon influencing at his pleasure and for his own purposes. It must be admitted that they were not the men best fitted for the work they had to do, for in selecting them Cromwell had striven to avoid the elements which had proved so discordant and dangerous in the Long Parliament, and had in consequence fixed upon persons in a great measure unacquainted with and unaccustomed to the practices of political life. But they were neither obscure nor ignorant men, much less were they capable of being made the instruments of a despot. M. Guizot very properly makes this apparent when he says (vol. ii. p. 20), 'It (the Parliament) included many names illustrious by birth or achievements, and a considerable number of country gentlemen and citizens of importance in their respective towns and counties, landed proprietors, merchants, tradesmen, and artisans. Most of its members were unquestionably men of orderly lives, neither spendthrifts or in debt, not seekers after employment or adventurers, but devotedly attached to their country and their religion, and deficient neither in courage nor independence.' It is with some surprise that we find our author adding in the very next sentence that such persons as he has here described, were 'narrow and petty in their habits, their ideas, and even their virtues.' Are we to consider 'men illustrious by achievements' as being petty in their ideas, or is it possible to conceive of strong patriotism and deep religious feeling being compatible with narrow virtues? The 'Little Parliament' was an assembly composed for the most part of

earnest and vigorous men, to whom the conventionalities and causuistry of political life were unknown ; and its failure arose in a great measure from its attempting to do too much. In spite of its abrupt dissolution, M. Guizot is not justified in adopting the stigma which royalist writers have fixed upon it, and in saying (vol. ii. p. 35) that 'a ridiculous act of suicide and the ridiculous nickname which it derived are the only recollections which this assembly has left in history.' It attempted to carry out reforms for which the country was not ripe, but the sound and practical character of some of these has been amply attested by subsequent legislation, and some of them are even now regarded as the reforms demanded by enlightened advocates of social and political progress. If nothing was actually done by it, a good deal was suggested, and the opposition offered by class interests alone prevented most of its measures from being carried out.

Cromwell's first attempt at constitutional government having failed less through the weakness of the instruments, than from a want of knowledge as to the means best adapted for the attainment of desirable ends, he had at least gained time to form his plans and to shape his course. Four days after the resignation tendered by the majority of the parliament had been accepted, he was duly proclaimed Protector, and articles of government, under which the legislature was in future to act, were made public at the same time. M. Guizot is at some pains to prove that the dissolution of the Little Parliament was planned with a direct view to this important event in Cromwell's career, and even to make it appear that in its formation the attainment of this object was kept distinctly in view. It must be admitted, however, that he has been anything but successful in making the connexion of the two things apparent. He leads us to infer that Cromwell broke with his old friends only when he saw that they were not likely to be any longer serviceable to him, and yet he tells us that the dissolution of the parliament was effected by those very persons. 'To govern,' he says (vol. ii. p. 30), 'was his sole aim ; whoever stood in the way of his attainment of the reins of government, or of his continuance at the head of the state, was his enemy ; he had no friends but his agents.' Now, it seems to us, that in this passage the historian has, in a great degree, lost sight of the situation in which the country was placed at the time Cromwell obtained nominally, what for a considerable period he had really exercised—viz., the supreme power. Setting aside, for the moment, the question as to the means by which that power was acquired, we may venture briefly to state a few of the circumstances which rendered it inevitable. It is altogether absurd to suppose that the security and peace of the

country could have been maintained for any length of time by the Long Parliament. But for the measures which Cromwell took to check its tendencies, and to hold together the framework of the nation, which was threatened on all sides, the probability is, either that the restoration would have taken place much earlier, and would have been the necessary consequence of a state of things unprecedented in the history of England, or that a republic, shortlived, and feebly constituted, would have been set up. None saw this sooner or more clearly than he did. But for an exercise of the power which he felt that he possessed, there would have been no alternative, save a return to a worse despotism than that which had occasioned many years of misery, or a state of anarchy which would inevitably have ended in such a despotism. It was obvious, both from the state of feeling among the people unmistakably expressed when Cromwell assumed the office of Protector, and from the parliamentary experiment which he had made, that the country was not prepared for a republic. The national instincts were monarchical—all that was glorious in English history was associated with that idea, and it appeared, so far as human foresight went, that a limited monarchy was the only thing likely to secure the freedom and the peace of England. This was a perfectly practical alternative. It was what many of the noblest and most consistent of those who had made a stand against the tyranny of Charles would have approved of. Neither Hampden nor Falkland would, we believe, have rejected it. It would have proved in a great degree a defence against the Stuarts, who, both by their antecedents and from the known character of the survivors of the family, were no longer to be thought of. It is more than doubtful, indeed, whether it would have been wise to trust a scion of that race upon the throne again, even although his virtues had been as notable as were the crimes of the dead king or the vices of his heir. A new dynasty, governing according to the new principles which had sprung up in the commonwealth, was required for the new conditions in which the country had been placed. Cromwell knew all this, and, certainly, not without powerful motives of a personal kind—not by any means deaf to the promptings of ambition, but awake also to the call which was addressed to one occupying his position,—he was ready to accept the regal title, could he have done so as safely as he did that of Protector. It would have been well for England if he had done so. A shameful page of our national annals would never have been written, and bright as are those which contain the records of his government, they might have been brighter still.

Resolved upon remodelling the state now that he possessed the power of doing so, Cromwell felt that it was necessary to put

an end, by summary measures, to all the attempts which were being made to thwart him, both by royalists and extreme republicans. The former were accordingly dealt with in a spirit of severity, such as was fully justified by the exigencies of the times and their character as enemies of the Commonwealth; the latter were conciliated rather than intimidated. Royalist conspiracies against his own life he was content to baffle by taking means to show his knowledge of them, or by making examples of the persons most deeply implicated. M. Guizot tells us that 'he was influenced by no principles or scruples powerful enough to prevent him, when occasion required, from changing his conduct to his old friends, and seeking out new ones.' But how stands the fact on our author's own showing?—

'When he had to deal with influential men, he would request them to come and see him, and would enter with them into the terms of their old equality, shutting the door, and making them sit down, covered, beside him, to let him see how little he valued the distance, which, for form's sake, he was bound to keep up with others. At these interviews he opened his heart to his visitors as to old and true friends. "He would rather," he told them, "have taken a shepherd's staff than the protectorship, since nothing was more contrary to his genius than greatness; but he saw it was necessary at the time to keep the nation from falling into extreme disorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy, and, therefore, he only stepped in between the living and the dead, in that interval till God should direct them on what bottom they should settle; and he assured them that he would surrender the heavy load lying upon him, with a joy equal to the sorrow with which he was affected while under the show of that dignity." '—Vol. ii. p. 46.

Testimony similar to this is borne even by those who, from prejudice or self-interest, were disposed to take the most unfavourable view of Cromwell's character. It is with some surprise, then, we confess, that we find M. Guizot making assertions which even the pages of his own narrative contradict, and which no circumstances in Cromwell's career bear out. With the boldest of those who opposed him, he was often temperate, administering reproof where he might in strict justice have punished with severity, and reconciling some of the most captious of those with whom he had to deal by frank openheartedness.

Meanwhile Cromwell listened with complacency to all the rumours which were in circulation, both at home and abroad, as to his intentions to assume the regal title, and to restore the pomp and parade of royalty. He even gave consistency to these by adopting the etiquette of the court, and by reviving courtly usages and splendours. He encouraged his sons and daughters in amusements which were far from being in accordance with the

views of the more rigid puritans, and, if we are to believe M. Guizot, who has very unworthily adopted the slanders of some of the most unscrupulous and violent of the royalist writers, he even practised the immoralities which were afterwards to give a distinctive character to English regality. By insinuations, and often in broad assertions, we are told that he had contracted a criminal intimacy with more than one of the ladies whom he invited to Whitehall; and on the authority of Waller—a great authority truly on such a point—we are invited to regard his interviews with men like George Fox and Colonel Hutchinson only as displays of so much consummate hypocrisy. We merely refer to these things at present, occurring as they do in different parts of M. Guizot's narrative; we shall look at them a little more closely in connexion with his general estimate of Cromwell's character.

While the Protector was conciliating the friends of monarchy, so far as a partial revival of its forms enabled him to do so, and while he had to contend with the partisans of Charles on the one hand, and the violence of the extreme republicans on the other, no considerations of a merely personal kind affected his determination to reform or reconstruct the institutions of the country. A series of measures which the Long Parliament had again and again discussed, but which had never been accomplished, were carried out with singular rapidity and effect. The administration of the finances; the condition of prisoners for debt; the internal economy of prisons; the regulation of public amusements; and the establishment of a complete system of police, formed the subject of enactments calculated to promote the social well-being of the country. Chancery and university reform—questions handed down with their accumulated load of perplexities to our own day, were taken up with an earnestness which has seldom marked the consideration of them since. The man whom some historians have pronounced to be destitute of legislative ability, and of whom it has been said that he left no trace of his existence on the institutions of England, was thus engaged in the midst of difficulties which nothing but a genius of the highest order could have coped with, and dangers which only a brave and self-contained spirit could look at steadily, in prosecuting a course of policy which anticipated the efforts of our most resolute and advanced reformers. M. Guizot is compelled to recognise all this, and to express his admiration of the power by which it was accomplished. 'In less than nine months,' he says (vol. ii. p. 57), 'from the 24th of December, 1653, to the 2nd of December, 1654, eighty-two ordinances, bearing upon almost every part of the social organization of the country, bore witness to the intelligent activity, and to the character, at once conservative and reforma-

tory, of the government.' When were such things carried out in the same space of time either before or since? Nor were these manifestations of legislative ability confined to England. Both Ireland and Scotland claimed the aid of Cromwell to re-adjust their disjointed affairs. To the one country, Henry Cromwell, the most resolute and intelligent of his sons, was sent, and order was fully established; while in Scotland Monk succeeded in crushing the rebellious Highlanders, and in restoring peace. Almost simultaneously with Monk's prompt and intrepid measures, the Protector himself effected a reform in Scotland, the neglect of which at the Union was afterwards the source of innumerable evils to that country. He abolished that feudal jurisdiction which for many years exercised so powerful an influence in counteracting the beneficial effects of the union between England and Scotland.

Nor was it in the arrangement of internal affairs alone that Cromwell's genius was displayed. At the time he took possession of the supreme power, the foreign affairs of the country were in a state of absolute confusion. The prowess of Blake had, it is true, not only averted danger but secured renown, yet the war with Holland still continued, and the relations with other European states were unsatisfactory. In a short space of time, however, an advantageous peace was concluded with Holland, and treaties entered into with Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal. Meanwhile, both Spain and France had recognised the power which presided over England, and had already begun to bid high for an alliance with it. It is on this part of his subject, perhaps, that M. Guizot has thrown most light. His access to the Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France, and to the state papers of Spain, has enabled him to furnish many links in the negotiations which were entered into with these two countries. These we need not examine minutely. They show that in his foreign policy Cromwell was guided by two fixed ideas—viz., the procuring of universal respect for England, and an alliance of the Protestant States of Europe, for the defence of what he conceived to be the liberty of religion. It did not suit his immediate purpose to come to terms with either France or Spain, and he was therefore content with the knowledge that one part of his policy had been successful, for every country in Europe had in one way or another recognised the proud position of England. 'Confidence that we should not dare to break with him,' wrote the French ambassador to his own government, 'leads him to despise all the threats and entreaties that I could use to induce him to alter his conduct toward us.' While the negotiations with France and Spain were proceeding, and the most extraordinary endeavours were made by both powers to forward them, an incident occurred

which at once furnished a pretext for postponing a settlement with either, and for a farther manifestation of Cromwell's intrepid policy. That incident was the massacre of the Vaudois, the prominent features of which are well known. Treachery and tyranny had made these simple yet resolute dwellers among the Alpine valleys the victims of Romish hate, and a massacre scarcely surpassed by that of St. Bartholomew had taken place. Cromwell had not, however, waited for that event, in order to interfere on behalf of the oppressed people. Keeping himself acquainted with the condition of the Protestants in every country, the Vaudois had already been requested to appeal to him against the tyranny of the Duke of Savoy. The intelligence of the massacre produced a profound sensation everywhere; in England it was received with an outburst of indignation, and it impelled Cromwell to prompt and vigorous action. M. Guizot's statement of the measures he took is succinct, and in every way satisfactory. He says—

‘Milton was immediately set at work, and on the 25th of May, 1655, the Protector wrote to the Duke of Savoy himself, to Louis XIV., and to Cardinal Mazarin, to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, to the States-General of the United Provinces, and to the Swiss cantons, and finally to George Ragotzki, Prince of Transylvania, to demand for the Vaudois the justice of their own sovereign and the protection of all sovereigns who were either Protestant themselves or admitted Protestants within their dominions. Cromwell appointed the learned Samuel Morland, Under Secretary of the Council of State, his envoy extraordinary to convey to Louis XIV. and the Duke of Savoy the letters which he had addressed to them. At the same time he directed that a collection should be made throughout England for the relief of the unfortunate Vaudois, and headed the subscription with a gift of two thousand pounds from his own purse. Cromwell's letters contained nothing which could render the mission of his envoy offensive to the sovereigns to whom they were addressed or embarrassing to Morland himself. They were grave, precise, and urgent. Cromwell proclaimed in them the great principle of liberty of conscience, “which,” he said, “is an inviolable right, over which God alone had any authority;” and he declared that “the calamities of the poor people of the Piedmontese valleys lay as near or rather nearer to his heart than if it had concerned the dearest relative he had in the world.” In his letter to the Duke of Savoy, he insisted on the antiquity of the liberties which the Vaudois had enjoyed in his dominions, and on the faithful devotedness which they had always manifested to his family. In his letter to Louis XIV. he expressed his astonishment at the report which was current that French troops had taken part in the massacre of the valleys. He reminded the Protestant states, both kingdoms and republics, of the necessity of union and common action, on behalf of all the Protestants in Europe, for the maintenance of their own safety no less than in the discharge of their

duty as Christians. But no appearance of menace or bravado, no insolent provocation or seditious insinuation, was mingled with his remonstrances. His policy was decided and active, but restrained within the regular limits of diplomatic communications, and speaking in moderate though clear and energetic language.'—*Ib.* pp. 216-218.

The effect of these proceedings was almost instantaneous. France was prompted by her desire for an alliance with England to interfere at once, and the ancient privileges of the Vaudois were restored to them, not, however, without certain conditions, which, had Cromwell been in time to enter upon the negotiations, would never have been imposed. Though the activity displayed by Mazarin in this affair tended only to make the Protector more jealous of an alliance which he knew he could at any time command, the result of the expedition to St. Domingo rendered such an alliance in the highest degree expedient. We cannot but regard the course which Cromwell pursued towards Spain in this affair as in the highest degree reprehensible. While still at peace with that country, he had fitted out an armament and sent it, with secret instructions, upon what can only be considered a buccaneering expedition, alike unworthy of his position and inconsistent with all his avowed principles. Its failure must be looked at as a retribution, and the ignominy of it was scarcely redeemed by the great victories of Blake in the Mediterranean. War with Spain had been declared and a treaty with France concluded, yet England stood at the head of the European nations.

'Cromwell,' says M. Guizot, 'by that policy had achieved greatness in Europe, and his greatness was not contested on the continent as it was in England, for it rested abroad on skilful and successful power, unstained by crime or tyranny. If he had not always scrupulously respected the law of nations, he had at least done nothing to reveal a limitless and unbridled ambition; though raised to power by a revolution, he had not sought to revolutionize even those states with which he was on hostile terms. He had been by turns peaceful and warlike, and more frequently peaceful than warlike; with the exception of the defeat at St. Domingo, and that had led to a useful conquest, he had succeeded in all his undertakings. He was bound by sincere friendship to all the Protestant states, in active alliance with the most powerful of Catholic sovereigns—everywhere present, influential, respected, and feared. External testimonies of the respect which his name and powers inspired reached him from all parts; independently of the foreign ministers who habitually resided at his court, ambassadors extraordinary were sent from Sweden, Poland, Germany, and Italy, solemnly to present him with the homage or overtures of their masters. Medals, sometimes of quaintly coarse design, were struck in Holland to celebrate his glory and humble kings before him. An equestrian portrait of him was displayed in the streets of Paris, accom-

panied by some disrespectful verses regarding the princes of the continent. The Grand Duke of Tuscany sent to request his portrait for the picture gallery of his palace at Florence; and the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Sagredo, who had come to London from Paris, thus wrote on the 6th of October, 1656, in the peculiar style of his age and country: "I am now in England; the aspect of this country is very different from that of France; here we do not see ladies going to court, but gentlemen courting the chase; not elegant cavaliers, but cavalry and infantry; instead of music and ballets, they have trumpets and drums; they do not speak of love, but of Mars; they have no comedies, but tragedies; no patches on their faces, but muskets on their shoulders; they do not neglect sleep for the sake of amusement, but severe ministers keep their adversaries in incessant wakefulness."—*Ib.* pp. 243-245.

The foreign relations of England had never been in so proud a position, yet Cromwell, while thus feared, honoured, and triumphant abroad, was beset by difficulties at home. He called another parliament, designed to act with him in carrying out the constitutional principle. The writs ordained that the persons elected should not have the power to alter the government, as it had been settled in one person and a parliament. The one which had preceded it had been summoned in somewhat similar terms, and had at once begun to discuss the very question, which was declared not to be an open one. Everything had been done to thwart rather than to assist the executive, and Cromwell felt that it was now absolutely necessary to take steps to secure co-operation. The protectoral constitution gave him power to exclude from the House such as were considered to be unsuitable and refractory persons, and he now determined upon exercising this power. Upwards of a hundred representatives were prevented from taking their seats. The plea of political necessity—a very doubtful one in any case—can alone be urged in extenuation of this proceeding, but the immediate effect of it was to secure co-operation and to promote activity. The House proceeded to legislate upon the constitution, and developed a plan for two houses, in consonance with the Protector's known views. A resolution was also agreed to by which Cromwell was solicited to take the title of king, and it is impossible to doubt that in the lengthened negotiations which followed, there was a good deal of duplicity on both sides. That Cromwell would have accepted of the regal title, could he have seen his way to it, can scarcely, we think, be denied. But the spirit of the earlier days of the Commonwealth was still strong; and Lambert, with some others of the leading officers, actuated either by jealousy, or by republican sentiments, prepared and issued a remonstrance which contributed to the rejection of the offered title. The

project of the two Houses was entered upon, however, and Cromwell was named Protector for life, with the right of nominating his successor. The formation of a House of Lords was now the chief difficulty, and one naturally arising out of the changes which had taken place in English society. A new order of aristocracy, so to speak, had arisen; and although the chief civil offices remained in a great degree unaltered, the difficulty proved considerable, as Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell, 'between those who were fit and not willing to serve, and those who were willing and not fit.' When the Houses did meet, the Lower one refused to recognise the Upper as a House of Lords. Cromwell saw from this incident that his attempts to establish a permanent system of government on a basis analogous to that of a limited monarchy had not been appreciated, and he addressed the two Houses more in sorrow than in anger. These were his remarkable words, and M. Guizot rightly characterizes them as resolute, sensible, and impressive. 'Let us have one heart and soul, one mind to maintain the honest and just rights of this nation. . . . While I live, I shall be ready to stand and fall with you in this cause. I have taken my oath to govern according to the laws that are made; and I trust I shall fully answer it. I took my oath to be faithful to the interest of these nations—to be faithful to government; and I trust by the grace of God, as I have taken my oath to serve the Commonwealth upon such an account, I shall—I must! see it done according to the articles of government; that every just interest be preserved, that a godly ministry be upheld, and not affronted by seducing spirits, that all men may be preserved in their just rights, civil or spiritual—and so having declared my heart and mind to you in this, I have no more to say, but to pray God Almighty bless you.' This language failed to produce the desired effect, and after days of violence and recrimination had passed over, the Protector again addressed the parliament, but in very different terms, and at once dissolved it. Such was the end of his parliamentary experiments. He is not chargeable with their failure; for, in spite of all his dictatorial measures, he sincerely desired to govern constitutionally. Even admitting that the struggle upon which he entered when the Long Parliament became jealous of his influence was simply a struggle for power, it was by the foresight and wisdom of Cromwell, not less than by his bravery, that the country was saved from the worst horrors of a civil war. He mitigated the effects of the revolution so far as they could be mitigated, often restraining the fanaticism of the extreme republicans, by an exercise of that extraordinary power which he possessed of perceiving, as it were instinctively, what would conduce to the public good. Beyond all question, he alone had proved himself capable of reconstructing

the shattered framework of the State. He believed himself the chosen of God; and the almost unparalleled successes which marked his career, together with the very obvious fact that he always had the people on his side, led him also to believe that he was chosen by his countrymen to govern. He wished to do so on sound principles, and but for the opposition of factions, he would have done so. Often baffled, and surrounded by dangerous combinations between republicans and royalists, he persevered, again and again renewing his endeavours to obtain a settlement of the nation on the basis of constitutionalism.

That object was kept steadily in view from the moment he felt himself possessed of the power to accomplish it, and if it was not accomplished, the blame rests with those who either refused to co-operate with him, or who, under the semblance of co-operation thwarted and provoked him, when they might at once have secured their best aims and promoted the public welfare by acting as mediators between him and the military power to which he owed his elevation, but which even he had cause to dread. Opportunities the most precious for England were sacrificed to faction, and the man who was not permitted to carry out his scheme of government, was forced to preserve order and the framework of society by measures abstractly wrong and only to be defended on the plea of political necessity. These are the circumstances by which we must account for Cromwell's despotism—and to these difficulties we owe the unfortunate, though for the time secure, position in which England was placed during the last few months of his remarkable career. The dissolution of the last parliament, a hasty, but not an uncalled-for measure, alarmed even the most devoted of his friends. But he, more desirous than any of them that the government should be firmly and finally established on that principle, which he saw to be the only stable basis of settlement, had been disappointed and checked at the very time that an important advance had been made, and the system of two Houses once more set up as the constitutional order of the country; the work of parliaments, for good or for evil, was therefore, so far as he was concerned, at an end. He had again to fall back upon himself, and with the return to absolute power came the revival of selfish interests. The army was appealed to with the same success as heretofore, the people were still with him, but security—the security of his person, and, with it, of national order, required harsh measures. Persecutions of the royalists and the disaffected of all orders were accordingly revived, and through the policy of intimidation at home, as well as through his successes abroad, he attained to the plenitude of military supremacy. The keys of Dunkirk were delivered into his hands, and France almost exhausted expedients

to do him honour. His domestic prosperity had been not less remarkable than that of his public life, and peace in the family circle had often afforded him relief from the harassing cares of the State. All this, however, changed, and death entered the great Protector's household, striking first one blow, and then another, ere it laid upon him the inexorable hand. His last illness was marked by public anxiety and fear—anxiety respecting the future, fear, lest, with the strong arm that had borne it up, the fabric of social order should again give way. With his immediate friends and his family the question of a successor had now become of no ordinary moment.

‘But,’ says M. Guizot, ‘in these perplexities of those who surrounded him Cromwell took no part; worldly affairs, political questions, even the interest of those persons who were dearest to him, retreated and disappeared in proportion as he drew nearer to the grave; his soul fell back upon itself, and, as it advanced towards the mysteries of the eternal future, it came in contact with other thoughts and other perplexities than those which agitated the mourners around his bed. Cromwell's religious faith had exercised but little influence over his conduct; the necessities, combinations, and passions of this world had more generally swayed him, and he had yielded to their mastery with cynical recklessness—as he was determined to succeed to become great, and to rule at any cost. The Christian had disappeared beneath the revolutionary politician and despot, but though it had disappeared, it had not altogether perished; Christian faith had survived in his soul, though overlaid by so many falsehoods and crimes; and when the final trial arrived, it reasserted its power; and, to use the fine expression of Archbishop Tillotson, “Cromwell's religious enthusiasm gained the victory over his hypocrisy.”’—pp. 401, 402.

There is more error than truth in these sentences, but they may be said to represent the character and tone of almost the whole of M. Guizot's history. The last hours of Cromwell's life were not those of one with whom religion had been either hypocrisy or mere fanaticism. Are we to regard his efforts to secure liberty of conscience, and to disseminate the principles of an enlightened toleration, not only by legislative ordinances at home, but by the exercise of his influence and his power abroad, as dictated simply by worldly policy? We trow not. Ambition, and party strife; the magnitude and incessant anxieties of his work; the consciousness of power, and the circumstances which called for its exercise, may all have come between him and that firm faith which was his solace at the last hour, but that faith was never altogether wanting. If it ever had an abiding hold upon a human spirit, it guided and upheld the soul of Cromwell. With him fanaticism, when it was apparent, was never of the impracticable order, it never affected the

energy of his intellect, or the clearness of his perceptions. He believed that he was called upon by heaven to accomplish a great work, and few men ever possessed so many evidences of having received such a call, for never was a ruler among the sons of men more clearly destined to rule. Rising from comparative obscurity, his genius expanded with the expansion of its sphere of action. Had he yielded to the mastery of his passions with the recklessness of which M. Guizot speaks, he might have gained his ends by far other means than those which he adopted. He had the power to assume the regal title, and to give *prestige* to it by some mighty struggle with the monarchs of Europe, who were, one and all, his acknowledged inferiors both in intellect and in bravery. He might have made the extirpation of the Stuart family the condition of his alliances, and there is no reason to suppose that either France or Spain would have rejected such conditions, for by both the royalist cause was so far sacrificed. As it was, he was often arbitrary, and even relentlessly cruel, for what he conceived to be the safety of his country, but success had no intoxicating influence upon him. He sustained the temptations arising from the possession of more than ordinary kingly power with far more than kingly greatness. He was jealous of England's honour, and he won for her the respect of all the world. Every European nation was compelled to accede to his just demands, and induced to seek his friendship. He called around him men distinguished alike for intellect and for virtue; he gave to the people more liberty than they had ever before enjoyed, even while he was compelled to govern on arbitrary principles. To the literary men of his time he extended a toleration to which M. Guizot will find scarcely any parallel in the history of his own country—certainly not in its recent history. Many of these men were known royalists, yet they received signal marks of his favour. Even under his protection some of them shot their shafts of ridicule at his government. 'When he had to deal with grave and quiet men,' our historian himself informs us (vol. ii. p. 167), 'he expressed to them his esteem, seeking to live on good terms with them, but never exhibiting a despot's fatuity or pretensions. He did not always execute all that he had planned. Under the distracting influence of important affairs, the most attentive forget, and the most powerful want means, always to accomplish the benevolent designs they may have announced; but if he was not exempt from these short-comings of supreme power, Cromwell is, perhaps, of all sovereigns, the one who is least open to the charge.' Some of the greatest monuments of the English mind were the products of the age in which that man lived and ruled who is supposed to have left no trace of his

existence in the history of a country which he ennobled. Of what he did for its institutions, let M. Guizot himself speak.

‘Cromwell at the age of seventeen, had spent a year at the University of Cambridge; in 1651, he had been elected Chancellor of Oxford. His mind was great because it was just, perspicacious, and thoroughly practical; at the same time that he appreciated the social utility of these noble schools of learning, he was charmed by their intellectual beauty. He felt that their destruction would be a source of degradation to his country, and of dishonour to himself, and he therefore took them under his protection. . . . Nor did he rest satisfied with saving them from ruin; he watched carefully over their prosperity and renown. He presented the University of Oxford with a collection of valuable manuscripts, chiefly Greek, and to theological studies, particularly to the publication of the great Polyglot Bible, he granted ready and effectual encouragement. In order to secure the benefits of a learned education to the northern counties, he decreed the foundation of a great college at Durham, which he built and endowed.’—*Ib.* pp. 165, 166.

It is impossible to conceive that the man who could do all this was animated merely by personal ambition, or recklessly carried away by the violence of his passions. To say that either his religious zeal, or his zeal for the prosperity of the nation, was hypocritical, is to shake our faith in all that is noblest in human nature. With M. Guizot, in a sentence strangely inconsistent with some of the passages we have quoted, we believe, that Cromwell’s ‘soul was too great to rest satisfied with the highest fortune, if it were merely personal and ephemeral.’ And that greatness was apparent when the world had as it were faded away from him, leaving the crimes and the errors he had committed without their coverings of state expediency. That these are worthy of reprehension,—blots upon his great memory, who will deny? but that his life was one of brave, manly, earnest struggle for the public weal—less marred by these blots than the lives of men similarly circumstanced have been, is, we think, as undeniable. Looking back on his career, he had, doubtless, much to mourn over in bitterness and penitence, but there was also a grandeur in the retrospect such as seldom falls to the lot of humanity. He held England aloft among the nations, with the power of an Atlas; and when he fell, it fell into the mire of shame and moral degradation.

John Penry, the Pilgrim Martyr. 1559-1593. By John Waddington, Author of 'Emmaus,' &c. pp. 284. London: Cash. 1854.

MR. WADDINGTON deserves commendation for the diligent research with which he has gathered the materials of this volume, combining what was previously known of Penry with the result of new investigations carefully carried on at Yelverton, and in other collections, both public and private.

In the first year of Elizabeth, 1559, John Penry was born, in the Builth district, Breconshire, of an ancient though not affluent family of Owens, descended from Elyston Glodwydd, Prince of Ferlex, and supposed to have adopted, in compliment to Henry VII., the surname of *Ap Henry*, which easily glided into *Penry*. At the age of nineteen, young Penry became an under-sizar at Peterhouse, the oldest college in Cambridge. The Puritan excitement had nearly passed away by this time, which was a few years later than the expulsion of Cartwright from the University. Still, there were Puritan ministers, by whom he was introduced to their devotional meetings, was led to abandon the Church of Rome, and become the associate of Udall, Barrow, and Greenwood. His stay at Cambridge was shortened by the severe treatment of the Puritans, and before the time arrived for taking his master's degree, he removed to Oxford, which was much resorted to by students from the principality, and where Puritans enjoyed a measure of protection from Dr. Reynolds and the Earl of Leicester, the Chancellor. At that period, strenuous efforts were made to introduce into parishes under episcopal government, the forms of Presbyterian discipline, and Penry partially adopted them. Content with the licence of a university preacher, he declined to take orders. His great object was the salvation of his countrymen in Wales, who were in a state of spiritual darkness and superstition, which weighed heavily on his spirit. During his visit to his native country, he laboured quietly, and not without success, to diffuse the Gospel; and, before he left Oxford, he resolved on the publication of a treatise on the religious condition of Wales; the substance of which was embodied in a petition to parliament. This publication aroused the resentment of Archbishop Whitgift, who, as vice-president of the Marches of Wales, had opposed the schemes of eminent persons for the benefit of that country. The book was seized, and the author cast into prison, but after the examination, he was set at liberty till his conduct might call for stronger censure.

Sir Richard Knightley, of Fawsley Manor, Northamptonshire, was Penry's friend, and at the manor-house secret conclaves of

reformers were wont to meet. Penry's main objection to the Anglican prelacy was the obstruction it presented to the spread of the Gospel, especially in Wales. On this principle he wrote the several works of which Mr. Waddington gives an account. The connexion of Penry with the 'Martin Marprelate' pamphlets is briefly described by his biographer. That Penry's works were *printed at the same press* there is no doubt; but there does not appear to be any evidence that he was connected with those publications. Mr. Waddington, in p. 57, quotes a passage from Maskell's 'History of the Martin Marprelate Controversy' (referring to pp. 197-9 instead of 107, 108), to the effect that 'no evidence was found' against Penry, and that to that time, and always after, even when about to die, he denied that he had been concerned in the writing of those tracts. Mr. Waddington, in the appendix, examines the point more closely, beginning with a document in the Lansdowne MS.—'Discovery of the authors and printers of 'Martin Mar-Prelate,' and proceeding to the acknowledgments of Dr. Maskell and of Bishop Bancroft, from which he shows the entire absence of proof. He also argues from the satirical style of the tracts that they could not be Penry's. Besides, 'he was too closely occupied during the course of their publication to have leisure for writing them, and, in his connexion with the press, he had always some work of his own on hand sufficient in its importance to account for his zeal and interest.' In addition to these negative grounds, he adduces the positive declarations of Wigginton and Udall, Penry's intimate friends, that he was *not* the author of 'Martin Marprelate.' We judge that this is the truth of the matter.

The volume contains the germs of valuable information on the state of religion in England, Wales, and Scotland, during the reign of Elizabeth, while it presents a touching picture of Penry as a fervent Christian, earnest in his preaching, tender in his affections, alive to sacred principles, and constant in the pursuit of Christian freedom until he died a martyr's death. The letters and other documents which Mr. Waddington has collected, will be read with much interest. Most heartily do we join the author in saying—'Let the lessons of the past and the occurrences of the day lead to a closer yet honest alliance between the sincere friends of the truth as it is in Jesus. With mutual forbearance, mutual esteem, and mutual help, there will be mutual approximation to Him who is full of truth and grace; the church of Christ will then advance in knowledge, in purity, and in love; and the whole race of man, to the end of time, will reap the benefit.'

The value of Mr. Waddington's researches lies chiefly in the vindication of Penry's name from the charges heaped upon it by

the ecclesiastical authorities of his time, and repeated by subsequent historians ; in the production of noble documents expressed in words, which prove the writer to have been gentle as a child, yet 'bold as a lion ;' an enlightened and considerate reformer ; a faithful martyr both to the Gospel of Christ and the freedom of Britons ; a loving husband, and a tender father ;—and in showing that there are materials for a history of congregationalism, which need only to be examined, arranged, and skilfully prepared for publication. These materials have been partly used by the late Mr. Brookes ; by Mr. Hanbury, in his remarkably accurate 'Memorials' of the Independents, and by Mr. Fletcher, in his 'History of the Independents ;' but Mr. Waddington has proved that many fragments, of much value, have been either undiscovered or neglected by Strype, and by all who have followed in his steps. One of these, not previously published, is, 'A Treatise containing Motives touching Mercy and Unity, sent by a few of those people who are falsely and maliciously called Brownists,' and addressed to the magistrates in general, specially the privy council, the judges, the lord mayor of London, and the justices. It is a paper of surpassing pathos, gravity, dignity, and correct eloquence, reminding us strongly of the early apologists on behalf of the Christians persecuted by the Roman magistrates, but breathing a sweeter and holier spirit. Another paper is a 'Memorial to the Government,' in which Penry declares his loyalty to the Queen, and expounds his religious faith. From his paper we must make one extract.

'I am ready to give my life, by the aid of my God, for the truth of this testimony. Yet if any man can see, by the written Word of God, that I err in anything, I will most willingly reform my judgment, crave pardon earnestly for my oversight, yea, and be most willing to suffer due punishment for my temerity. But if, on the other side, I testify nothing but verity in these points, I am undoubtedly persuaded of, I most humbly crave that the piercing edge of that sword may not in heat be turned against me and my brethren, which was never professed by violent against the open and sworn enemies of their native prince and country.

'Death, I thank God, I fear not—in this especially,—for I know that the sting of Death is taken away, and that they are blessed which die in the Lord, for witnessing against the former corruptions. (Rev. xiv. 9, 13.) Life I desire not, if I be guilty of sedition—of defaming and disturbing the quiet state of her Majesty's peaceful government.

'Lastly, I most humbly and earnestly beseech their honours and worships in whose hands this writing of mine shall come, to consider, that it is to no purpose that her Majesty's subjects should bestow their time in learning—in study and meditation of the Word—in reading the writings and doings of learned men, and of the holy martyrs, which

have been in former ages ; especially the writings published by her Majesty's authority, if they may not, without danger, profess and hold those truths which they learn out of them ; and that in such sort as they are able to convince all the world that will stand against them, by no other weapons than by the Word of God. I beseech them also to consider what a lamentable case it is that we may hold fellowship with the Romish church in the inventions thereof without all danger, and cannot, without extreme peril, be permitted, in judgment and practice, to depart from the same where it swerveth from the true way, and as they find the things to be of especial moment in religion. I beseech them, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to be a means unto her Majesty, and their honours, that my case may be weighed in even balances. *Improvements, indictments, arraignments,—yea, death itself—are no meet weapons to convince the conscience grounded upon the Word of God, and accompanied with so many witnesses of his famous servants and churches.*—pp. 278, 279.

What a pity to let such words as these lie hidden in obscure manuscripts. We hope the writer of this volume will be encouraged to prosecute his inquiries, and to bring out, at some future time, a volume more worthy of the man whose memory he has revived. We should be glad to see such a volume, accompanied with the facsimiles to which reference is made in the preface. We understand that the Congregational Doctrinal Society of New England have proposed to publish an edition of the present work, and to send a copy gratuitously to every home missionary in the United States.

The public sentiment, not only in this country and in America, but among several leading minds on the continent of Europe, is steadily rising towards a condition in which it can sympathize with such a man as Penry. For ourselves, who have ever strenuously advocated the great truths to which he bare witness, we gladly hail as honoured fellow-labourers such writers as the present ; and shall rejoice greatly in knowing that his perseverance is rewarded with success. We believe that the principles which led Penry to martyrdom were much more hateful to Elizabeth and her bishops than those of popery, and that it is by sifting, practically carrying out, and vigorously spreading those principles, that the church will be reformed, with equal safety to all that is genuine in religion, and all that is precious in the union of strong order with perfect freedom in the political institutions of the realm. There is no native tendency of public opinion that can be left by the wise to work itself. Because such men as Penry—and such meek sufferers as his large-hearted wife—have serenely held by truth, conscience, and principle, against both the lures and the force of government, this island is now a prominent centre of all good influences to the world ; and if the spirit, to which we owe so much is to be

kept alive among us for generations yet to come, we rely greatly on the impregnation of our literature with the deliberate judgments which Penry felt to be more precious than his life.

Much closer than even Protestants and Dissenters have as yet generally perceived, is the connexion of Congregational church principles with the dignified manliness of our national character, and with the purest manifestations of evangelical belief. Not as sectaries, but as citizens guarded by the New Testament, are we solicitous that the names of Penry and Barrow, of Greenwood and Brewster, should live in the hearts of Englishmen, as stimulants to all that make men virtuous, patriotic, and Christian. They are the names of men worthily enrolled in the 'noble army of martyrs.' They cannot die. We would have them to flourish in ever youthful potency. They consecrate the memory that preserves them in the deep musings of the silent heart. They are to Englishmen what the name of Leonidas was not to Sparta only but to Greece, not to Greece only but to the world. They are words which contain the epitome of a great nation's history, in times when men must die because they cannot live with a clear conscience and a clear heart, and the crystal form of the grand thoughts in which they commune with God, and pass with the calm joy of victors through the gates of death. The Marshalsea and the Queen's Bench of Southwark, in the reign of Elizabeth, are, in our eyes, not less sacred than Smithfield in the reigns of Mary and her father; and no name is found in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' which we pronounce with more affectionate reverence than that of John Penry. Christian martyrs are not to be forgotten. If ever there was a man who deserved the name—with all its inspiring and elevating associations—it was he; while all who love Christian truth and sanctity must acknowledge, when they actually know his history, that his case 'was a very hard and wicked one.' His memory ought to be—and, we believe, will be—most tenderly and lovingly cherished by all those who follow in the same paths of simple and spiritual Christianity. As it was not for dry forms, punctilious ceremonies, or vapid speculations that Penry gave of his life, but for vital truths, interests, and rights, so, we trust, the holders of the same principles will continue to grasp them in their entirety, never suffering what men call piety to blind them to the sacredness of freedom, nor in the conflict for freedom, to abate one jot of that heavenly devoutness which is the true temper of the disciples of the Prince of Martyrs and King of Saints. We do not see why the love of truth, and of liberty to profess it according to one's own judgment, should ever be dissociated from humility, tenderness, and spirituality of mind; and it is not our belief that a clear and commanding conscience in every part of

religion is likely either to obscure or to weaken the softer graces of the Christian life. It was not so with our fathers, and we have no apprehension that it will be so with our children.

In the gravity of our present position it occurs to us to say, that it is only by cultivating alike the intellect and the moral emotions that humanity can attain the perfection to which it is destined. For this reason we would fan the martyr-spirit and the pilgrim-spirit, as conducive, in a very eminent degree, to that breadth and fulness of Christian manhood which alone can keep pace with the progress of our species, doing the work which God would have man to do in the vast work of social regeneration, in the spirit which has made all the real advances already secured, and to which alone we look for the larger and more rapid strides of generations yet to come. Calm conviction—humble love—patient labour—willing endurance—these are the elements of human progress which will replace the hoary prejudices of intervening ages by those glorious principles that broke upon the Roman empire in the mission of apostles, and which will be the conservators of the world's peace in that golden age for which devout men have prayed and martyrs have died. It is our consolation to believe that no good principle once enunciated has been ultimately lost. All good principles are as vital as the acorn, as immortal as the oak, and their real power will appear only in that eternal state to whose issues all things are tending. Blessed be the men for ever who have sowed *themselves* in the deep human soil. They are sons of God. They live always. Their fruits will be garnered in heaven. Their successors are needed in peaceful, not less than in troublous, times. In all times there is an urgent demand for men who assuredly believe the great things of God's word,—so believe them as to live for them, and, if need be, to die for them. Here lay the strength of the first Christians—the strength of all true confessors, martyrs, and reformers—they *believed*. Let the race of strong believers be perpetuated. Let the lives and sayings of the men who subdued the world by believing, be continually revived, and be ploughed into the very souls of men. For a long time, we suppose, there must be 'Separatists,'—men not following either the Puritans or the nonconformists of a later age, but protesting, by actions as well as by words, against all that they believe to be contrary to the Word of God. Holding fast their principles as witnesses for Christ as the Supreme Lord, they have a bond of union stronger than those of sects, and they will gradually draw towards their fellowship the wisest and the best of all parties; thus demonstrating that conscientious separation is the best security for solid and lasting union in the better days that are drawing nigh.

ART. VII.—*La Chasse*. Paris. 1851.

2. *The Sportsman in Canada*. By J. Tolfrey. New York. 1851.

3. *The Dog and the Sportsman*. Philadelphia. 1852.

4. *Sporting Directory*. New York. 1853.

5. *Rambles in Search of Sport, in Germany, France, Italy, and Russia*.
By the Hon. Ferdinand St. John. London: Longman, and Co.
1854.

6. *Reminiscences of a Huntsman*. By the Hon. Grantley F. Berkeley.
London: Longman and Co. 1854.

7. *Nights in the Blockhouse; or, Sketches of Border Life; embracing
Adventures among the Indians, Feats of the Well-hunters, and
Exploits of Boone, Brady, Kinton, Whetzel, and other Border
Heroes of the West*. By Henry C. Watson. New York. 1854.

HUNTING—using the word in its most common and extended sense—as standing for the destruction of wild animals, is one of those human pursuits or pastimes of a mixed character, a compound of necessity, and the innate love of excitement and adventure. We are not going to write a dissertation on the various modes of hunting, nor to point out all the numerous historical phases of the literature founded upon it. This would be an onerous and unprofitable task. To the vast majority of readers, hunting and sporting generally, is connected with much that is both foolish and vile;—much that tends to debase instead of exalting the human character. But in spite of all this, there is a deep *philosophy* in hunting, when viewed in connexion with the progress of civilization and Christianity, which is fully entitled to consideration. It is fraught with rich views of reflection to all minds that look into the movements of the great family of mankind, as it has advanced from inhospitable wastes and forests, to the intellectual and luxurious city, and the verdant and well-cultivated landscape. It is not, therefore, our intention to dive into the ‘Racing Calendar,’ or to describe the slang of Newmarket, the gibberish of the hunting studs, or the exhilarating speeches of fox-hunting squires at Melton Mowbray.

Man, it has often been remarked, comes into the world the most helpless of all creatures. Nature provides nothing for his shelter or sustenance, without his own exertions and skill. He has no physical weapons for attack or defence; he can neither conquer an enemy by his teeth or his fingers. This is substantially his natural position. It is a position which every people has occupied at some period of their social history; and it

is at this moment the precise position of the inhabitants who cover one half of the earth's surface. Angling or fishing in any way, was, in all probability, posterior to hunting, or wild-sports of every kind on land. The inhabitants of the waters are not placed in immediate contact with man; they neither excite his passions nor molest his peace. But the wild beasts of the forests, the reptiles creeping near his feet, and the insects buzzing around him, wage an incessant war against his life, security, or comfort; and nothing is left him but to raise his hand against them. There can here be no compromise—no cessation of hostilities; for the hum and the bustle, and refinements, and personal security of the crowded city are entirely incompatible with the savage denizens of the woods and the forests.

The Sacred History describes the first warriors under the name of hunters. Nimrod is designated 'as a mighty hunter before the Lord.' We gather from the main accounts that he converted his companions into soldiers. They first assisted him in hunting and destroying the savage animals that laid waste the country about Babylon, and were then employed by him in extending and establishing his conquests.

In the case of Jacob and Esau; the first is styled 'a plain man dwelling in tents;' the second, a 'cunning hunter, a man of the field.' The Land of Promise, which the Hebrews entered on leaving the Desert, appears to have been full of wild beasts; and in Exodus xxiii. 20, it is said, 'I will not drive them out in one year, lest the land become desolate, and the beasts of the field multiply against thee.' In Lev. xvii. 15, we find hunting practised, with the view of obtaining food. In Prov. xii. 27, it is declared as a settled custom for animals to be hunted for their flesh. Harmer says ('Gesta Dei,' p. 887), 'there are various sorts of creatures in the Holy Land proper for hunting; wild boars, antelopes, hares, &c., are in considerable numbers there; and one of the Christian kings of Jerusalem lost his life in pursuing a hare.' The lion and other ravenous beasts were not wanting in Palestine; and the lion was even made use of to capture other animals, Ezek. xix. 3; and Harmer, whom we have just quoted, says, that in the vicinity of Gaza, and also in Judea, leopards were trained and used for the same purpose. Lions were taken by pit-falls as well as by nets, as appears from Ezek. xix. 4-8. According to Josephus, the Hebrews likewise used packs of hounds for hunting purposes (Antiq. iv. 8, 9). The same historian tells us that King Herod was 'ever a most excellent hunter; for he in one day caught forty wild beasts.'

In Babylon and Persia, we find from ancient history that immense parks were constructed for the support and preservation of beasts of the chase. Kings themselves were placed at the

head of hunting parties, who indulged in the sport over the country generally, and were attended by nobles.*

On one of the bas-reliefs brought from Nineveh, a king is represented hunting, and in another, a king is standing over a lion; both are in the British Museum. Mr. Layard says, 'The most remarkable of the sculptures hitherto discovered was the lion-hunt; which, from the knowledge of art displayed in the treatment and composition, the correct and effective delineation of the men and animals, the spirit of the grouping, and its extraordinary preservation, is probably the finest specimen of Assyrian art in existence.'

On the walls of Khorsabad was represented a hunting scene, in which hares and partridges were introduced as objects of the chase. 'The frequent representation,' says Mr. Layard, 'of hunting scenes in the Assyrian sculptures is a proof of the high estimation in which the chase was held by the people. A conqueror and the founder of an empire was, at the same time, a great hunter. His courage, wisdom, and dexterity were as much shown in encounters with wild animals as in martial exploits; he rendered equal services to his subjects, whether he cleared the country of beasts of prey, or repulsed an enemy. The Scripture Nimrod, who laid the foundation of the Assyrian empire, was "a mighty hunter before the Lord," and the Ninus of history and tradition, the builder of Nineveh, and the greatest of the Assyrian kings, was as renowned for his encounters with the lion and leopard, as for his triumphs over warlike nations. We have seen that the Babylonians, as well as the Assyrians, ornamented the walls of their temples and palaces with pictures and sculptures representing the chase; and that similar subjects were introduced, even in the embroideries on their garments. The Assyrians were probably also the inventors of the parks or *paradises*, which were afterwards maintained with so much sumptuousness by the Persian kings, of the Achæmenian and Sassanian dynasties. In these spacious preserves, various kinds of wild animals were continually kept for the diversion of the king, and for those who were privileged to join with him in the chase. They contained lions, tigers, wild boars, antelopes, and many varieties of birds. As amongst the Persians, the Assyrian youths were probably trained to hunting at an early age.'

Hunting among the Greeks was considered an indispensable preparatory exercise for war. Xenophon is the most copious writer on the subject. In his 'Cynegeticus,' he treats of the breeding of hounds, of hare-hunting, of stag-hunting, of wild-boar hunting; and of the capture of lions, panthers, and lynxes.

* Xenophon, Cyn. viii. 1. 39.

In the two last chapters of his work he eulogizes the practice of field-sports, by maintaining that they not only afford great pleasure in themselves, but are eminently conducive to health generally; greatly strengthen the sight and hearing, and promote longevity. He moralizes on the subject, and proves that the active powers of human nature should be vigorously and regularly exercised by all who aim at being good citizens, and that it is a duty which the gods demand of us all to be as active as possible. 'Not only men,' says he, 'addicting themselves to hunting, have attained infinite praise, but even women also, by the good grace of Diana; as Atalanta, Procris, and perhaps others.' Historians mention that boars' tusks and stags' horns were appended to the doors of the temple of Diana.

'As when o'er Erymanth Diana roves,
Or wide Taygetus' resounding groves;
A sylvan train the *huntress* queen surrounds,
Her rattling quiver from her shoulder sounds.'

POPE'S *Homer*.

We have four books of the 'Cynegetica' of Oppian. In the first, he descants on the habits and special training of huntsmen and of hunting weapons, and of dogs; in the second, we have the names of distinguished sportsmen; the Centaurs, Perseus, Castor and Pollux, Meleager, Hyppolytus, Atalanta, and Orion; and then a full account of wild animals. In the third book, he enters more fully into the nature, instincts, and habits of lions, panthers, bears, wolves, tigers, horses, hares, &c. &c.; and shows the different modes of entrapping them adopted in various countries—in Africa, India, and Ethiopia.

The most copious treatment of hunting among the Latin authors is the 'Cynegeticus' of Grattius Faliscus. He treats of nets and traps of various kinds, the best of which were invented by one Dercylos, an Arcadian, who, the poet states, in consequence of his discoveries, was really entitled to be considered a sort of divine personage.

'Deus ille, in proxima Divos Mens fuit.'

The author likewise treats, at some length, of dogs, and of the mode of managing hounds, and teaching them how to pursue their game in the most effective manner.

The first portion of the fifth book of the 'Onomasticon of Julius Pollux,' addressed to the emperor Commodus, gives very copious information as to particulars connected with classical sportsmanship.

The 'Cynegeticus' of Arrian, A.D. 150, is a comprehensive treatise on hunting. He considers his work is a kind of supplement to that of Xenophon's. Arrian treats of the dog, of

kennels, of hare-hunting, stag-hunting, with a variety of other matters connected with the amusement generally. The following is a curious passage :—‘ Often and again,’ he says, ‘ have I rode up and taken the living hare in my arms, and often, coupling the hounds, let her go again ; or, if I have been too late to save her, I have flogged the hounds for not giving quarter to so deserving an enemy. In this single point do I differ from Xenophon, who considers *the death* the greatest of human pleasures. To me it is rather an unpleasant sight. But Xenophon may be forgiven, who knew nothing of the fleetness of hounds.’

We find that boar-hunting was a very favourite sport among the Romans when they had possession of England. There is a paper, bearing the date of 1748, communicated to the Royal Society, which gives an account of a very curious and perfect Roman inscription, which was found near Stanhope, in the county of Durham. It appears to be a votive offering to the God of Woods, and records that Ctesius Veturius Micianus, prefect of the Sebasian wing, more fortunate than many other huntsmen, who had all failed in their attempts, had captured a boar of the largest size.

In the fourth century of the Christian era, we have the Latin poem, of only 325 lines, the ‘Cynegeticon of Nemesian.’ He treats of dogs, the modes of breeding and rearing them, and of training them for hunting purposes. He likewise has some observations on the rearing and treatment of horses.

Among the modern Latin poets who have written on hunting, we may mention Hercules Stroza, of Florence, who addressed to Lucretia Borgia a long ‘Epicedium,’ on her brother Cæsar, in Latin hexameters. Cardinal Adrian likewise wrote on the subject. The ‘Cynegeticon’ of Petrus Angelus Bargæus consists of six books, addressed to Cosmo de Medici, and treats of every topic connected with hunting, and field-sports generally. Natalis Comes has left four books, ‘De Venatione,’ which may be perused with interest.

Hunting was an important amusement among our Saxon forefathers. Alfred was one of the most accomplished sportsmen of his day. There is a MS. of the ninth century representing in an engraving a Saxon chieftain, armed with a spear and sword, and accompanied by a follower, who likewise bears a spear, blows a horn, and is followed by a brace of dogs in couples. In the ‘Dialogues,’ composed in Latin by Alfric, Duke of Mercia, in the Cotton collection of MSS., there are some conversations on hunting, which are exceedingly interesting, as throwing a great light on the manners and customs of the times.*

* See Archæologia, x. 156; Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, i. 1; and Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons.

John of Salisbury wrote on hunting; and some time after him we have the 'Art de Venerie' of Guillaume Twicci; a translation of which, under the title of 'The Crafte of Huntynge,' is among the Cotton MSS. Then we have 'The Maistre or the Game,' by King Henry V. The book called 'Des Deduitz de la Chasse de Bestes Sauvaiges et des Oyseaux de Proye,' from the pen of Gaston Phœbus, Comte de Foix, is justly considered a very great curiosity in hunting literature. A manuscript copy of it, once belonging to the Royal Library of France, was bought in London, in 1815, by the Duke of Marlborough, for £165. It was written in Gothic characters on vellum, contained eighty-eight illustrations, and dates from the month of May, 1347. The Count had been a great enthusiast of the chase, for in one of his exhortations he says, 'Long life, health, pleasure, and salvation hereafter, are every man's desire; les veneurs ont tout cela. Donc soyez tous veneurs et vous ferez que saizes et pour ce je l'os et conseille à toutes manières de gens de quelque état qu'ils soient qu'ils aiment les chiens.'

The French work, entitled 'Le Roy Modus,' by Guillaume-le-Noir, has long been considered a curious volume relative to the early history of field sports in France. So likewise has the treatise written at the dictation of Charles IX., called 'La Chasse Royale.'

'The Book of St. Albans' is a well-known and ancient work on hunting. Dame Julyan Berners was its author. In the 'Book of Hunting,' she professes to teach 'gentyle persons the manner of huntynge for all manner of beastes, whether they be beastes of venery, or chase, or rascall.' Many of her precepts are couched in rhyme. The following extract shows the seasons at which various animals are to be hunted:—

'Marke well the seasons followyng.

Tyme of grece beginneth at Mydsomer day,
And tyll Holy Roode day lasteth as I you say,

The season of the Foxe fro Nativitie

Tyll the Annunciation of our Lady free.

Season of the Ro bucke at Easter shal begyn,

And tyll Michelmus lasteth nye or she blyn.

The season of the Ro beginneth at Michelmus,

And it shall endure tyll it be Candlemus.

At Michelmus beginneth the huntynge of the Hare,

And lasteth till Midsomer, there will no man it spare,

The season of the Wolfe is made in eche countrie,

At the season of the Foxe, and evermore shall be.

The season of the Bore is from the Nativitie

Tyll the Puryfycacion of our Lady so free:

For at the Nativitie of our Lady so sweet

He may finde where he goeth under his feet.

Bothe in woodes and fieldes, corne, and other frute,
 When he after foode maketh any sute.
 Crabbes and ake cornes, and nuttes there they grow,
 Hawcs and hepes, and other things inow ;
 Tht tyll the Puryfycacion lasteth, as ye may see,
 And maketh the Bore in season to bee ;
 For while the frute may last his time is never past.'

There is a great number of works on hunting and field-sports to be found among the literary treasures of Spain. Many of them remain in manuscript till this hour, and are likely to do so for ages to come. There are two works in the library of Madrid which treat of hunting in connexion with the civilization of the country, and in which are depicted in glowing colours the state of the chief provinces before the wild animals were completely subdued in them. In popular tales, ballads, and romances, we find constant allusions made to hunting, as an aristocratic kind of amusement.

About 1360, we have a treatise on Hunting, in three books, written under the direction of King Alfonso II. of Spain, by his chief huntsman. It treats of the kind of hounds to be used, their various diseases, and the modes of training them for different hunting exploits, and of the localities where game of all kinds was to be found. The work was published by Argote de Molina, in the time of Philip II., with an Introduction by the editor, containing several stories relative to lion-hunts and bull-fights.

There is likewise a work written by one of the kings of Castile, on Hunting, and which bears the date of 1400, still in manuscript in the library of Barcelona. It is beautifully illustrated, and treats of the subject at considerable length.

We find many curious particulars, relative to the spirit and practice of hunting, scattered up and down the accounts we have of the early voyagers and travellers in Europe in the first period of the middle ages, and especially in those belonging to Holland and Belgium. From the sixth to the tenth century many adventurers made their way to the East and to the African continent, stimulated partly by the love of gain, derived from the high prices then given for the skins of wild animals, and partly by a spirit of religious propagandism, and partly by a sheer love of excitement and adventure. Almost the sole bond of intercourse which subsisted between the then civilized wreck of the Roman empire and the savage life which surrounded it on every side was through the medium of the huntsman's sports, in the shape of skins, ivory, the feathers of birds, &c. &c. It was chiefly from the accounts given by the Dutch and Belgian travellers, joined to those given by the French adventurers, Rutillus Cladius Numentinus, of the fifth century, the Bishop of Aculfe, in the sixth, and the monk

Hetton, in the ninth, whom Charlemagne sent ambassador to Constantinople, that the singular combination, called the *Green Pirates*, took its rise at the commencement of the eleventh century. The commanders of this formidable maritime and predatory flotilla, were Siger of Bruges, Gerard of Courtrai, and Wimer of Boulogne; and one of the leading features in their projects of adventure was to open up and consolidate to themselves the entire monopoly of the trade in the East.

In one of the manuscript copies of the travels of a Belgian adventurer, in the ninth century, we find him saying, 'We have penetrated the deserts of the Eastern world, cut off the heads of lions, trampled under foot the serpents and reptiles of the desert, and put our lives often in great jeopardy; but we have succeeded in extending the knowledge of the good and true faith, and transmitted it to far-spread and distant regions. The reflection of this is our sole happiness and reward.'

We find in many of the *Chronicles of France* constant allusions to the practice of hunting among the several semi-barbarous parts of the European continent, and constant appeals made, both to popes and kings, to induce them to send such missionaries among them as might be instrumental in civilizing them through the instrumentality of their favourite wild sports and pastimes. There is a memorial still extant, which was sent to Charlemagne by a body of merchants and several ecclesiastics, praying him to enable them to establish themselves among a large section of the wandering tribes inhabiting the shores of the Caspian Sea, and the more remote banks of the Danube. The memorial, amongst other things, states, that the inhabitants in these districts are deplorably ignorant and savage,—totally unacquainted with any principles of religion, and inveterately attached to a wandering and predatory mode of life; that these several countries abound with prodigious quantities of wild animals, whose peltries are exceedingly valuable; and that if friendly relations could be once firmly established among them, for the purpose of affording a ready outlet for these valuable products of the chase, they would then soon be in such a social position as would fit them for domestic and religious instruction and improvement. And we are told that the emperor took a lively interest in furthering the object of the memorialists, and gave orders to his officers of state to attend sedulously to all the suggestions of those who were interesting themselves in such a praiseworthy undertaking.*

About a couple of centuries after this period we meet with another historical incident of the same complexion, relative to a memorial forwarded by some ecclesiastics in the south of France

* *Chronicles de France*, tom. ii. p. 36. 1601.

to the pope, praying his holiness to send some active and enterprising missionaries to the northern coasts of Africa, where there was a numerous population living entirely by hunting and rapine, and who were completely destitute of all religious knowledge. It is particularly urged by the petitioners, that persons should be appointed to this duty possessed of more or less skill in the modes of capturing wild animals, of tried courage, and indomitable perseverance, in order that they might the more successfully ingratiate themselves with the inhabitants. They should likewise make a point of teaching these savage people the more modern arts of taking animals of the chase; for this would necessarily lead to more settled habits of domesticity among them, and would induce them to pay some attention to religious knowledge.

Hunting became, for many ages, one of the standing political and social grievances of several nations of Europe. The desolation created by our own William the Conqueror's fondness for the sport, laying waste the country to the extent of thirty miles, is mentioned by many historians, and is thus alluded to by Pope in his 'Windsor Forest,'—

‘ ——— in ages past,
A dreary desert and a gloomy waste,
To savage beasts and savage lords a prey,
And things more furious and severe than they.’

Walter Mapes says, that ‘the Conqueror took away much land from God and man, converting its use to wild beasts and the sport of dogs, demolishing thirty-six mother churches, and drawing away the inhabitants of many villages and towns, measuring together fifty miles in compass.’

Strutt tells us that hunting was reduced to a regular science in the days of our Edward II. He likewise informs us that when ladies accompanied the gentlemen, it was usual to draw the game into an inclosure, that the ladies might see it from temporary stands, though they often joined in the sport, and shot at the animals with arrows and cross-bows. The killing of the stag was an honour reserved for the lady of highest rank. In fact, hunting at this period in England chiefly consisted in shooting the deer with arrows or cross-bows in the forests and parks. In one plate given by Strutt, we have ladies hunting by themselves, blowing the horn, and mounted on horses, as gentlemen are now. The hunters carried horns suspended from their necks.*

The right of the citizens of London of ‘riding on horseback, and hunting with my Lord Mayor's hounds, when the *common*

* Sports, 5-14.

hunt goes out, is a very ancient right, and is ridiculed in a popular ballad, published in D'Urfey's 'Pills to Purge Melancholy.' The following stanzas are extracted from it:—

'Next once a year into Essex a hunting they go;
To see 'em pass along, O 'tis a most pretty show;
Through *Cheapside* and *Fenchurch-street*, and so to Aldgate pump;
Each man with 's spurs in 's horse's side, and his back-sword across
his rump.

'My lord he takes a staff in hand, to beat the bushes o'er;
I must confess it was a work, he ne'er had done before;
A creature bounceth from the bush, which made them all to laugh;
My Lord, he cried, a *hare*, a *hare*, but 'a proved an Essex calf.

'And when they had done their sports, they came to London where they
dwell,
Their faces all so torn and scratch'd, their wives scarce knew them
well;
For 'twas a very great mercy, so many 'scap'd alive,
For of twenty saddles carried out, they brought home again but five.'

The strict rule of the church was against the religious orders indulging in the amusements of hunting; but in spite of this a vast number of that body indulged in them. Long before the Reformation, we find satirical attacks upon them on account of their excessive fondness for field-sports. In Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales,' he often gives them a blow in passing. His monk is thus described:—

'An outrider, that loved venery;
A manly man, as ben an abbot able,
Many a daintie horse had he in stable.
* * * *

'He gave not of the text a pullid hen,
That saith that Hunters be not holy men.
* * * *

'Therefore he was a prickasoure (a hard rider) aright;
Greiounds he had as swift of foule of flight;
Of pricking, and of hunting for the hare
Was all his lust, for no cost would he spare.'

After the discovery of America, the establishment of the art of printing, and the general promulgation of more enlightened principles of social and political philosophy, both the theory and practice of wild-sports became considerably modified and changed. This result, however, was more observable in the States of the Old, than in those of the New World—the name now given to the entire American continent. In European kingdoms, the laws relative to hunting underwent many important alterations;

and the general notion became prevalent, after the revival of letters, among legislators, that such laws ought to be framed more in consonance with the civil and political privileges of communities, than had hitherto been done. It became clearly seen, by speculative lawgivers, that the hunting life *per se* was not susceptible of any great range of improvement; that where it was tenaciously and exclusively followed, as a settled means of subsistence, in preference to other occupations, such as agriculture, commerce, &c., no advance in the arts and civilization of life could be made. In fact, man in the Old World had now outlived the necessity and utility of the chase; and more varied scenes of enterprise were opened out to his daily increasing knowledge, refinement, and improved habits of life.

The hunting literature which sprung out of this fresh and powerful impetus to capture wild animals, in unknown countries, was not of a studied character to amuse, but was adapted to stimulate the commercial and trading spirit, by the love of gain and the hope of conquest. As one solitary adventurer after another came back to Europe from the Far West, he published some brief notice of the results of his discoveries; and dwelt chiefly upon the surprisingly extensive field there was now opened up for the practice of the chase, with a view to personal aggrandizement and wealth. Many of these hunting recitals have now perished, or are mouldering in the large libraries of the Continent, unknown and unheeded; but they were influential in their day, and the real forerunners of modern civilization and discovery. And at the present moment, when everything belonging to the New World is attracting intense interest in the minds of all reflecting men of Europe; and when the United States, in particular, have now become the second in point of wealth, liberty, and improvement, in the scale of civilized nations, it is interesting to reflect upon the apparently insignificant causes of this rapid advancement, and to trace back those early epochs of the modern republic's history, when its now fertile fields were known only to the cunning and adroit Indian and European hunter, and its cities and towns, only as the marked outposts for the exchange of their spoils, for gewgaws and ornaments for themselves and their families.

Many of these hunting publications made their appearance in France and Spain. Though fugitive in their character, they yet excited local and often general interest for the day. They commonly gave a most romantic and glowing account of the great abundance of sport; the modes and devices which the natives of this new world took for the capturing of animals; of the nature of the rivers, and of the singular facilities they

frequently offered, from the character of their shores, for making excursions into the adjoining country; and above all, these writers depicted the lucrative business that might be established by pursuing the art of hunting upon a systematic and extended plan, so that large quantities of various sorts of skins might be obtained, and transported to European markets, where they invariably brought high prices. These were the ordinary topics of which such productions consisted; and they assumed all kinds of forms; sometimes letters, sometimes voyages, sometimes travels, and sometimes simple narratives descriptive of the capture of particular animals, such as the beaver, otter, &c., with which these newly discovered regions abounded.

But leaving these more prominent and public results of hunting and sports, let us cast a retrospective eye on the mere literature springing out of the exciting pursuits of the chase. In our own country, we have Tuberville's work, in 1575, entitled 'The Booke of Faulconrie,' written in verse; and appended to it is, 'The Noble Art of Venerie.' And perhaps at a prior date to this, we have the celebrated ballad of 'Chevy Chase,' a compound of sporting and warlike sentiments. There has been so much written, however, on this piece, by antiquarian critics, that we refrain from enlarging on the subject.

'The Book of Hunting,' under the name of Gascoigne, is a curious and rare production. He says, in reference to the cutting up of the deer, after being killed, 'We are not to take away the brisket bone, as far as ever I could see, but cleave the sides one from the other directly from the place of *assay* unto the throat. There is a little gristle which is upon the spoone of the brisket, which we call the Raven's bone, because it is cast up to the crowes or ravens which attend hunters. And I have seen in some places a raven so woont and accustomed to it, that she would never fayle to croake and cry for it all the while you were breaking up the deere, and would not depart till she had had it.' There is a beautiful allusion made by Ben Jonson to this passage, in his drama of 'The Sad Shepherd,' but our space does not permit us to insert it.

The following works have an earlier date than those we have just named. Joseph Haselwood wrote his 'Treatises of Hawking, Hunting, &c.,' in 1486; 'The Shepherd's Hunt' was given to the world in 1517; Wynkyn de Worde, in 1544, printed 'A Carroll of Hunting'; 'The Book of Hawkyng, Hunting, &c.,' printed by William Powell, dates in 1570; Christopher Barker published in London, in 1582, 'The Noble Arte of Venerie'; we have William Gryndall's 'Hawking, Hunting, Fowling, and Fishing,' in 1596; Richard Surfleet wrote 'A Collection of Pieces on the

Hunting of the Hart, Wild-Boar, &c., in 1700; and about the same time, William Copland, a well-known printer, published 'The Booke of Hawking, Huntynge, &c. ;' Gervase Markham wrote his 'Gentleman's Academie, in 1595, which is chiefly based on 'The Book of St. Albans.' Markham recommends that strict attention should be paid to certain astrological appearances in all hunting excursions and field-sports; and particularly in the breeding of dogs for the purposes of the chase. On this topic, he says, 'that the breeding of these animals should be commenced when the moon is in the sign *Aquarius* or *Gemini*, 'for it is held among the best sportsmen of the land, that the whelpes which are engendered under these two signs will never go mad, and, for the most part, the litter will have at least double so many dogge whelpes as the opposite sexes.' In the author's 'Countrey Contentment' he says, 'Hunting is there a curious search or conquest of one beast over another, pursued by a natural instinct of enmitie, and accomplished by the diversities and distinctions of smells onlie, whereas nature, equalie deviding her cunning, giveth both to the offender and offended stranger knowledge both of offence and safety.'

'The Gentleman's Recreation' was published in London, in 1677; and, in 1691, Sir Thomas Cackaine wrote his 'Short Treatise on Hunting.' He tells us that he had been a zealous and practical sportsman for upwards of fifty-two years; and that his book was the result of long experience.

In France the literature of hunting and field-sports was cultivated with great zeal and taste. The 'De Canibus et Venatione Libellus,' of Michel Angelo Blondus, was published at Paris in 1544, and dedicated to Francis I. About ten years after this, we have two works on the Chase published at Paris, with numerous plates, but without any name to either. They both treat of hunting in the ordinary style of the sport as followed in France; but enter more into details as to field-sports in Brittany and Normandy. Both works deal in astrological predictions, and give several examples of hunting *omens*, observed among the rural population in many districts of France.

The pathetic poem of 'La Complainte du Cerf,' by William Bouchet, was written about the same period, and has enjoyed a high reputation among French critics. The work entitled 'Errores Venerei,' appeared at Paris in 1589.

Several years afterwards, we have the work of Jacques de Fouilloux on 'Fauconnerie,' published at Paris in 1580. It has always maintained a high character among French sportsmen. Francis Pomey, a Jesuit, published at Lyons, 'Traité de la Venerie, et de la Fauconnerie,' in 1694. This is considered an able work of the kind. That of Signor du Salnove, entitled 'La Venerie

Royale,' was published at Paris in 1700, and treats of all the various modes of hunting followed in France.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were several works on hunting published in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Hungary, and Poland. Most of these treatises are in Latin, and are partly historical, and partly descriptive of the various modes of pursuing wild animals, such as the boar, the wolf, and the bear, known among European nations. We have not fallen in with any productions of a light and humorous character, relative to the chase, but we have little doubt that there are several such, only our limited acquaintance with the literature of these sections of the continent prevents access to them. We have seen a few Swedish songs on hunting, but cannot speak as to their merit.

Works of a legal character on hunting and field-sports are very numerous, both in our own country and on the continent. The work published at Spiers, in 1605, is a curious one. Among several other questions, it has the two following:—*Quid sit venatio et quotuplex? Utrum venatio liceat clericis?* In answer to the second of these questions, it argues that clergymen ought not to be allowed to breed dogs; they may fish, because angling is a more tranquil amusement than hunting; that hunting is too expensive for them; that venison is a too luxurious and heating a diet for their use; and that the cruelty and danger of hunting sports are, on the whole, unbecoming the sacred functions of the clergy. The work called 'Corpus Juris Venatorio Forestalis Romano-Germanici,' was published at Leipsic, in 1702, and contains a vast body of lore on the entire subject of hunting.

There were many works published on sporting subjects during the eighteenth century in England. Mr. Beckford wrote his 'Thoughts on Hunting,' in 1781. He likewise, in the same year, published his 'Essays on Hunting.' About the same time, William Blane, a member of the Royal Society, sent his 'Essays on Hunting' from the press, in which he dwells at considerable length on the pleasures derived from sporting exercises. He likewise wrote a treatise on the mode of hunting in the Mogul empire. In addition to these works, we may mention Dr. Samuel Pegge's book, 'On the Hunting of the Britons and Saxons' (1797). A short time after this, we have 'The Hare; or, Hunting Incompatible with Humanity; written as a stimulus to youth towards a proper treatment of animals.' The Rev. Mr. Daniel's work, 'On Hunting and Field-sports,' was published in two large volumes, quarto; and contained a vast body of information on the subject, both historical and practical.

On the Continent, also, we have several sporting works in

the eighteenth century. Antoine Gaffet published his '*Nouveau Traité de Venerie*,' at Paris, in 1742; and we have at the same place, in 1771, La Bruyère's '*Les Ruses du Braconage mises à Découvert; ou, Mémoires et Instructions sur la Chasse et le Braconage*.' Moratin, a Spanish Jesuit, wrote a work, called '*Diana*,' a short didactic poem, in six books, on the Chase, in 1755. Grätius Faliscus wrote, at Amsterdam, his '*Cynegeticon*,' in 1728; which was translated into English, by Charles Wyse, in 1754; and Elinrich published, at St. Petersburg, in 1797, his '*Origin and Progress of Russian Hunting Music*;' a curious and original work.

In the middle of the last century, Somerville published his well-known poem on the '*Chase*;' one of the very best productions on the subject in any language. It is written from the life, and contains many vivid descriptions of the actual pursuit of wild animals:—

'The CHASE I sing, hounds, and their various breed,
And no less various use. O, thou Great Prince!
Whom Cambria's tow'ring hills proclaim their lord,
Deign thou to hear my bold, instructive song.
While grateful citizens, with pompous shew,
Rear the triumphal arch, rich with the exploits
Of thy illustrious house; while virgins pave
Thy way with flowers, and, as the Royal Youth
Passing they view, admire, and sigh in vain;
While crowded theatres, too fondly proud
Of their exotic minstrels, and shrill pipes,
The price of manhood, hail thee with a song,
And airs soft-warbling; my hoarse-sounding horn
Invites thee to the chase,—the sport of kings;
Image of war, without its guilt.'

The following lines are descriptive of the feelings of a genuine huntsman, on starting with his hounds in the morning:—

'Hail gentle dawn! mild, blushing goddess, hail;
Rejoic'd I see thy purple mantle spread
O'er half the skies; gems pave thy radiant way,
And orient pearls from every shrub depend.
Farewell, Cleora! here, deep sunk in down,
Slumber secure, with happy dreams amused,
————— me other joys invite;
The horn sonorous calls, the pack awak'd
Their matins chaunt, nor brook thy long delay;
My courser hears their voice;—see there! with ears
And tail erect, neighing, he paws the ground;
Fierce rapture kindles in his redd'ning eyes,
And boils in every vein.'

About the same period, we have the author of the '*Seasons*,'

Thomson, describing the last moments of the stag, after a long chase:—

‘————— He stands at bay,
And puts his last weak refuge in despair.
The big round tears run down his dappled face;
He groans in anguish; whilst the growling pack,
Blood-happy, hang at his fair jutting chest,
And mark his beauteous chequer'd sides with gore.’

In more recent times, we have the same subject treated of by Sir Walter Scott, in his ‘Lady of the Lake:’—

‘The antlered monarch of the waste
Sprang from his heathery couch in haste;
But ere his fleet career he took,
The dew drops from his flanks he shook;
Like crested leader proud and high,
Tossed his beamed frontlet to the sky;
A moment gazed adown the dale,
A moment snuffed the tainted gale;
A moment listen'd to the cry,
That thicken'd as the chase drew nigh;
Then, as the headmost foes appear'd
With one brave bound the copse he clear'd,
And stretching forward free and fair,
Sought the wild heaths of Uam-var.’

Hunting has been celebrated in popular songs from the earliest periods of European history. We meet with them in Scandinavian and Icelandic poetry, as well as in the languages of the South of Europe. In England we had no great stock of songs on the chase till the last century. They are now, however, pretty numerous, and are keenly relished by vast masses of people who never perhaps saw a hunt of any kind. These are sportsmen by sympathy. In the daily metropolitan supply of ballads from the Seven Dials, and other kindred localities, one of the staple commodities is made up of hunting and sporting songs. Many of these productions possess a good deal of lyrical merit; but, in general, they are below the literary standard of the great majority of angling songs. There is an obvious cause for this totally irrespective of the comparative poetical talent that may be brought to bear on the two sorts of rural amusements. Hunting is all active, stirring, wild excitement. The contemplative faculties are completely overlaid by the rush of ungovernable and reckless turbulence; and the description given of the chase, if literally dwelt upon in a song, affords few of the materials for feeling and sentiment. Hunting is, in this respect, essentially of the earth, earthy. It is more diversified in its phases than the

sport of angling ; but then the man sitting on or sauntering along the banks of a running and purling stream, is privileged to commune with nature around him, and to philosophize on anything he chooses, as well as on the mountains, or sky, or landscapes, that may present themselves to his senses. The hunter cannot poetically clothe his materials in the same manner. His pleasures vent themselves in short ejaculations—they are too impetuous to be retained and dwelt upon, and the ‘Tally O !’ or the ‘Hark forward !’ become his common poetical watch-words. It would be as much out of nature to represent the huntsman, when galloping impetuously after a fox, or an Indian sportsman with a couple of lions just at his elbow, contemplating and descanting on the beauties of external scenery, as it would have been to realize the great feat of the hunting razor, advertised some years ago, which promised to enable a man to shave himself with perfect ease and safety, when riding at full speed in a steeple-chase. The fact is that the rhyming sportsman and the rhyming angler are placed in very different circumstances ; they have antagonistic elements to deal with, and cannot, therefore, by possibility produce the same results.

And in conformity with these views of the subject, we have often noticed the great superiority of American and Indian hunting songs over those of our own country. The reason of this, too, is obvious. The foreign poetical warbler has more of the grand and sublime in nature about him ; his mind is familiar with loftier metaphors and figures, and he can throw more energy and vigour of thought into his lines than the songster who is confined to more civilized and cultivated regions. To track the ferocious tiger in an Indian jungle, or to hunt a herd of wild cattle in a boundless prairie, are exploits that have more of poetical sentiment about them than killing a fox in England or hunting a hare in a turnip field. Most of the writers who have given us accounts of the great fur establishments in the New World, mention the surprising effects the common hunting songs exercise over the adventurous trapper as he wends his way through the desert wilds of the country. They seem to be the stay and prop of his soul, and animate him to Herculean labours and enterprises.

At the commencement of this century, ‘The Meynellian Science ; or Fox-Hunting upon System,’ was published. This has been a standard book among sportsmen to the present hour. Colonel Cook’s ‘Observations on Fox-Hunting’ appeared in 1826, and displayed a greater knowledge of the subject in all its practical details. The well-known ‘Nimrod,’ (Mr. C. Apperley,) commenced his ‘Tours’ in 1824, and for many years exercised

great influence on the art of hunting and field sports of all kinds. Colonel Hawker's works have gained much celebrity in sporting circles. The establishment of the 'Sporting Magazine,' in 1792, laid the foundation for many able papers on field-sports; and its management, of late years, by Mr. Tuxford, has been marked by great judgment and ability. There have been many very superior papers on sporting topics published in its pages from the pens of Lord Lennox, Harry Hieover, R. B****, and other contributors. Scrope's 'Deer Stalking' is a modern and able work of its kind, and is highly characteristic of the intellectual and polished sportsman.

We must also cast an eye to a large class of works which have within the last fifty years been published both here and in America, namely, books of travels, containing long narratives and dissertations on sporting and hunting in distant and comparatively little known regions of the globe. It is a well-known fact that nearly two thirds of our newly-acquired territories of India were first visited by sporting tourists, who, full of excitement for marvellous feats of daring, struck into untrodden grounds and took the tiger and the elephant in the chase. Our possessions at the Cape of Good Hope have been equally under obligations to the same roving and adventurous spirit. Thirty years ago it was no uncommon thing for children to be seized in the very streets of Cape Town, at mid-day, and carried off to the jungle by the prowling animals of the forest; but now no such catastrophes are known within six or seven hundred miles of the same locality. This signal change is due, in a great measure, to enterprising sportsmen, who have penetrated into the heart of the country and beaten back the herds of ravenous and savage occupants of those fine and fertile lands. Even the Cape missionaries have had to act in the double character of divines and hunters, in order to keep their footing and gain the great object of their arduous labours and sacrifices. And the same thing may be remarked of American adventure. The famous expedition of Lewis and Clarke to the Rocky Mountains, some years ago, was undertaken at the urgent request of a party of amateur sportsmen of one of the States of New England, who had themselves penetrated in search of game to nearly the foot of these lofty elevations. Indeed some of the most lively and heart-stirring books of travels which have issued from the American press owe the greater part of their interest to the feats of hunting and sporting which they contain.

We cannot pass over the satirical portion of hunting literature. The sportsman's peculiar amusements are more varied, and afford a richer vein for humorous description than the angler's; and

within the last fifty years, there have been written in this country some first-rate works of a satirical kind on field-sports generally. The talent for drollery which has been embodied in some of our lighter sketches of this kind is astonishing; such, for example, as those series of papers which appeared a few years ago in 'The New Monthly Magazine,' on 'Cockney Sportsmen,' and those of a more recent date, in another popular periodical, under the title of 'Soapy Sponge's Sporting Tour.' These productions are true to life, and full to overflowing with the genuine spirit of refined caricature and ridicule. The French and Americans have attempted something in the same line; but they are both, as far our knowledge extends, at an immeasurable distance from the productions of our own island.

We have found in hunting literature many epitaphs on the memory of zealous followers of the chase. Most of those in the English language that have fallen in our way, are couched in such a spirit of unbecoming levity, that we refrain from dwelling on them. We shall insert one, however, of the least objectionable on this score, from our collection.

ON GEORGE DIXON,
(*A noted Fox-Hunter.*)

'Stop passenger! and thy attention fix on
That true-born honest fox-hunter, George Dixon;
Who, after eighty years unwearied chase,
Now rests his bones within this hallow'd place.
A gentle tribute of applause bestow,
And give him as you pass one tally-ho!
Early to cover, brisk he rode each morn,
In hopes the *brush* his temples might adorn;
The view is now no more, the chase is past,
And to an earth, poor George is run at last!'

We cannot omit a few observations on artistic representations of hunting, and wild-sports generally. This is an interesting topic, but too comprehensive to be fully treated of in this paper. There are drawings of hunting scenes found in the tombs of Lower and Upper Egypt, and in the Thebaid; and one of the most remarkable of these is the tomb of Rotei at Benihassan, which points out the custom of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, of entangling wild animals by drawing nets around them. A modern writer observes, that 'amidst all the neglect of perspective which characterizes Egyptian art, there is wonderful spirit and character in the drawings of the dogs, and the animals which they are attacking.*' There are no representations of hunting

* Kenrick's Egypt, vol. i. p. 202.

the hippopotamus in Lower Egypt, but they are very commonly met with in the tombs of the Thebaid, most beautifully executed.

In the catacombs of Rome, and other cities in Italy and France, there are still found upon the walls representations of the hunting of wild animals; and on the ornamental portions of churches in the south of Europe, many of these pictorial figures are distinctly visible even at the present hour. Some ecclesiastical embellishments on cathedrals have representations of stag-hunting, of the second and third centuries of our era. There are very elegant pieces of tapestry of the eleventh century, on which hunting figures are portrayed; and the general representations of Fauconry, of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, on walls and buildings of various kinds in Italy, are very common.*

On the revival of the arts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we find hunting scenes occupying a very conspicuous position. Many of the most distinguished Italian artists took up sporting topics with great spirit and effect. The Dutch and Flemish painters were likewise happy in their treatment of the same subjects. Paul Rubens has many pictures representing the chase. Among Wouvermans' productions we recognise 'The Hunter's Return,' and the 'Council of Sportsmen,' as signal efforts of artistic genius. The French and the English artists occupy a respectable position in the same field of pictorial enterprise.

Hunting and sporting subjects have been caricatured with great effect, both as a vehicle of conveying political and religious opinions, and as throwing ridicule on sportsmen themselves. Representations of this kind have recently been found among the remains of Egyptian art, some magnificent specimens of which have lately been engraved at Milan, and some copies have been imported into this country. Caricatures of hunting and hunters have been discovered also in the catacombs of Rome, of the date of the first, second, and third centuries. After the revival of the arts, the Dutch took the lead in these droll sketches. The earliest productions of this school we have met with, are some whimsical caricatures bearing the date of 1556, engraved at Amsterdam; they are full of genuine fun. There are a few French prints of this kind, well conceived, which date from the days of Louis XIII. and XIV., representing the political intrigues of some of the leading men and women of the day. We have likewise fallen in with a few caricatures of the first revolution, in which the Duke of Orleans, the Abbé Sieyes, and Mirabeau, are represented as hunting royalty and legitimacy, with a savage pack of hounds. These are very coarse specimens:

* Histoire de l'Art, Paris, 3 vols. folio.

of the art ; but in fair keeping with the bloody spirit which called them forth.

There are a few Italian and Spanish sketches of a humorous kind, on hunting topics, but they are not often to be met with in ordinary collections of paintings and engravings. The Italian productions we have seen are greatly superior to the Spanish.

The English were not early in the field of caricature generally ; but since they did set their hands to the work, they have made ample amends for their tardiness, both in the number and excellence of their productions. In this line they have hitherto excelled all nations in the deep refinement, and ease of their humour. There are a few sporting caricatures of the time of Charles I., Cromwell, and Charles II. ; but this kind of artistic talent was not fully developed till the latter end of the last and the commencement of the present century. The fertile imagination of Gillray took sporting topics under his especial care, to convey political and party feelings and opinions. His productions are very numerous and spirited. We have his 'Hounds Finding;' 'Hounds in Full Cry;' 'Finding the Hare;' 'The Death of the Corsican Fox;' and a vast number of other sketches, which produced no small interest in their day, and which display a genius admirably adapted to this line of artistic representation. George Cruikshank and Seymour, as well as other artists, have laboured successfully in the same field. Seymour's sketches are, however, principally confined to the humorous descriptions of sportsmen themselves ; but they are by far the best we have in the same line for wit and drollery.

The love of hunting and field-sports is a powerful and an almost indestructible impulse in the English character. We can see it displayed in every phase of society, from the regal drawing-room to the low tippling stews of Field-lane and the Mint. The great mass of the current literature of wild-sports is understood and relished by all at first sight. No previous education is requisite to feel its power and influence. The scholar of the ragged-school can enter into the subject with as fair a stock of knowledge and sentiment, as the intellectual and refined scholar of Eton or Harrow. Sing a hunting song to a company of cockneys, who can scarcely distinguish a fox from a cat, or tell which end of a musket to place to their shoulder, and you will recognise as hearty cheers and as ardent and genuine enthusiasm as can be found among the sporting dons at Melton Mowbray in the prime of the season. And the same thing is observable in rural life in England. At the sound of the huntsman's bugle, the ploughman leaves his plough, the carter his team, and the shepherd his flock, to mix—on terms of perfect equality—with the nobles of the land, in the exhilarating enjoyments of

the chase. Even in the days of Oppian, England was celebrated for its hunting skill and prowess. He tells us that the best hounds were bred here, the best horsemen found, and that the horses were the most enduring for the chase.

As an instance of the inherent desire for sporting excitement, and of the indefatigable means adopted to procure it, we shall cite the case of a sportsman, once well known in London, and whose memory is still cherished by some of the aged members of metropolitan hunting circles. Between forty and fifty years ago, there lived in this city a Mr. Osbaldeston, who was clerk to an attorney. He was the younger son of a gentleman of good family in the north of England; but having imprudently married one of his father's servants, he was turned out of doors, with no other fortune than a southern hound big with pup, and whose offspring, from that time, became a source of amusement to him. With half-a-dozen children, as many couples of hounds, and two hunters, did Mr. Osbaldeston keep himself, family, dogs, and horses, upon an income of *sixty pounds a year*. This, too, was effected in London, without running into debt, or ever wanting a good coat on his back. To explain this seeming impossibility, it should be remarked, that after the expiration of his office hours, he acted as an accountant for the butchers of Clare Market, who paid him in offal; the cleanest morsels of this he selected for himself and family; and with the rest, he fed his hounds, which were kept in the garret. His horses were lodged in his cellar, and fed on grains from a neighbouring brewhouse, and on damaged corn, with which he was supplied by a corn-chandler, whose books he kept. Once or twice in the season he hunted; and by giving a hare now and then to the farmers over whose grounds he sported, he secured their good will and protection; and several gentlemen, knowing the economy of his hunting establishment, connived at his sporting over their grounds.

And whence arises all this? What is it that makes a man, brought up in luxury and ease, voluntarily encounter hardships, fatigue, and danger, under the burning sun of Africa, or in the frozen regions of the north, when he might much easier spend his time in the soft and bewitching pleasures of St. James's, and the Palais Royal? Why does he leave all his books, and his refined tastes for the arts and sciences, and plunge himself headlong into the rough company of the hunting-stables and the dog-kennel? The reason is plain—the cause obvious. It is nature asserting her prerogative. There is an instinct in our constitution for stirring and active out-door amusements—a primary element in relation to uncultivated nature, and its untamed inhabitants—which nothing can extinguish. This instinct may be impaired for a time by the refinements and artificial habits of social life,

but it is always lying in the back ground, ready to exercise its functions whenever a sufficiently powerful stimulant is applied. Let the proper chord be struck, and the polished courtier leaves his drawing-room, the tailor his shop-board, and the scholars their teacher, and riot in the ravishing delights, in all their pristine simplicity and raciness.

We well remember, nearly forty years ago, after the late General Jackson returned from the celebrated siege of New Orleans, that, at a public entertainment given to him in some part of the American Union, he said, among other things (we quote from memory), 'England has used us ill from first to last; but after all, she has conferred upon us, as a race, some signal advantages. And among these, I mention the ardent and passionate desire for hunting and wild-sports which animates the vast bulk of our citizens in every section of the States. We have been taught—and we have been apt scholars, too—to use the rifle; not solely for the pleasure of taking the heads off squirrels in the forests, but for taking off the ranks the British officers who have invaded our shores. Had we not been such good marksmen in our wilds and prairies, we should not have taught our enemies such a severe and so salutary a lesson as we have recently done. I would conjure you, my friends, not to let your rifles rust. They are first-rate instruments for extending your power and consolidating your liberties.' The same sentiments were expressed some years ago in the House of Commons, by the late Mr. Windham. On some members sneering at fox-hunting squires, he told the House, that the country would not have had such a numerous corps of distinguished officers, fit for any act of necessity and daring, no matter to what part of the globe they might be called, had they not been previously trained to dash down a hill as steep as a house side, at full speed, in pursuit of the chase. And there is sound practical wisdom in these opinions. For let us look at the actual state of the world, and the great human family at this moment. Why, nineteenth-twentieths of it is a rank wilderness. It has to be cleared, not only of its noxious weeds, but of its savage occupants, before there can be a home for man or an altar reared on which to pay his homage to his creator. If ever, then, these savage wastes are to be reclaimed, and become the abodes of our descendants, where science, and peace, and religion, shall dwell in safety, it will not be by eradicating, but by guiding and controlling, the innate impulse of our nature for the sports of the forest and the field.

- ART. IX.—*Correspondence between the Bishop of London and the Churchwarden of St. Paul's, Wilton-place, relative to Popish Practices at the said Church.* With the Adjudication of his Lordship and Archdeacon Sinclair. London: Charles Westerton,
2. *Morning Advertiser.* May 1st and 2nd, 1854.
 3. *Daily News.* May 4th and 8th, 1854.
 4. *Examiner.* April 22nd, 1854.

It is curious, and yet saddening, to study the effects produced upon the human mind by a non-religious civilization. By a pathological law, intense inflammation borders upon and subsides into mortification; and by an analogous law of social pathology, the highest degree of civilization, unimbued with the element of spiritual religion, seems to indicate that condition in which the human mind, not only breeds all the monsters of superstition, but also by a coincident process subsides into the dead stagnation of unbelief. Superstitions, like the bees of the poetical fictions, while they sting society to madness, deposit their lives in the wound. Thus the great classic nations of antiquity were at the zenith of their civilization at the time when the sacrifices were the most solemn, (and yet when Cicero expressed his wonder that the ministers of religion did not burst into laughter when they passed one another in the streets,) and when Juvenal indulged that tacit derision on the whole religious system of his day, which has found a vocal echo in the admiration of every succeeding age. So the infidelity of France, which, towards the close of the last century, became instinct with such strange vitality and fecundity, followed close on the Augustan age of her national literature; and in our own lands the dire times of the Stuart dynasty succeeded to the era of Shakspeare, and even witnessed the glories of Milton and Bunyan, of Baxter and Howe, of Newton and Bacon. A high but partial civilization seems to supply the exact social conditions under which superstition becomes so intensified as to exhale its religious element, and to leave as the residuum only the dregs of absurdity and the dust and ashes of infidelity.

No small portion of British society are affording at this moment a painful illustration of this law. While, as we hope, a spirit of true religion is increasingly pervading the more thoughtful classes of our fellow-countrymen, the element of superstition—first stimulant and then stupefying—is permeating those sections of society which, in common parlance, would be designated the most civilized, and, through them, distilling down to that more populous

stratum which is only related to it by a spirit of servile and monkeyish imitation. The Oxford tracts showed no want of subtlety; but they effected a total monopoly of that quality among the churchmen on whom they operated. No moral beings can be imagined more starkly denuded of the intellectual endowments of the species than the high and dry tractarian clergy, and the still drier if not higher bones to which they prophesy. If we might imagine such an instrument as an intellectual air-pump, both these classes, clerical and laical, might well be conceived of as infant mice placed under the exhausted receiver for an ecclesiastical experiment. In this late invasion of the citadel of evangelical simplicity and truth, it is not perhaps the main body of the foe that does the greatest execution. We question if the chief mischief is not effected by the sharp-shooting scouts who lie off at a distance from the wings, and the meaner recruits who find admission into the beleaguered fortress in the disguise of pedlars,—men who traffic in trinkets, and bribe with base coin.

No one can accuse the Bishop of London of a direct betrayal of the Protestant religion, yet, who has done more than he to promote the Romanizing tendencies of the Church of England? Even a hireling shepherd may keep the fold in the absence of the wolf; but he has taught the sheep to stray, and encouraged his subordinates to do the same; and when those of the flock who were more scantily endowed with instinct have fallen over the precipice of popery, he has affected a gaze of astonishment at the catastrophe, though shrewd observers see, or think they see, in his face a stereotyped wink of connivance while laughing in his lawn sleeves, he chuckles to his peccant charge, 'Not so, my sons, not so.' His lordship has never been legally convicted of pecuniary malversation; but the disclosures of Sir Benjamin Hall, convince, if they do not convict; and men even slightly acquainted with business and finance must have felt some astonishment when they saw the Bishop of London returning his income to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners at a given amount before a stone was laid on the Paddington estate, which is now a city of palaces, and returning that income as smaller by five hundred pounds, when his own hand had signed, if our recollection serves us rightly, about two thousand leases.

Everybody will recollect the celebrated charge at St. Paul's which furnished us with a subject in these pages some years ago, in which his lordship laid down, with nautical nicety, the points of the compass which his clergy ought devoutly to face at the different parts of the service. Our readers will recollect his grave directions as to the surplice in the pulpit, the flowers on the altar, and the candles which he permitted, but which, with a characteristic regard for the main chance, he forbade to be wasted by

combustion. The turmoil which these regulations occasioned cannot have been forgotten, nor the recanting compromise in the matter of the surplice, by which he raised himself, at least in one respect, to the 'bad eminence' of Cranmer. His lordship's more recent acts are quite of a piece with such consistent precedents, and these we shall now proceed to detail.

The antics of the Reverend Mr. Bennett at the Church of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, will be fresh in the recollection of the reader.* However acceptable they might have been to the aristocratic attendants of the church, their unseemliness produced a similarly unseemly result on the ruder protestantism of the lower classes, and scenes of riot occurred which led to the removal of Mr. Bennett. It is ever thus with the abuses of corrupt corporations. Disregarding the voice of admonition, and rampant with the power with which they have broken down the fences of consistency and order, they pursue their career until 'their iniquity is found to be hateful,' and revolution does that which reform had failed to effect. Mr. Bennett was dislodged, and the favour of a dowager countess, highly qualified, of course, to regulate the appointments and the functions of the clergy, translated him without the tedium of a quarantine to the vicarage of Frome. Here he at once developed those tendencies which illustrate the maxim of Horace,

'Cælum non animum mutant, &c.'

The Protestant inhabitants of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, supposed that they had got rid of Popish observances by the dismissal of Mr. Bennett; but they were mistaken. The stock was prolific. 'Uno avulso non deficit alter.' The honourable and reverend Mr. Liddell, brother of the Earl of Ravensworth, succeeded to the ministry, and, unfortunately, to the practices of Mr. Bennett. Now this, like other churches, has its churchwardens; how far these functionaries have a *locus standi* under the New Testament constitution of a Christian church we will not now stay to inquire. Not finding any allusion to their functions in the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, or even in the prospective allusions of the Apocalypse, we are inclined to attribute their existence to a *clerical* error. However this may be, the superinduced function seems not to be without its advantages, as we find here a Mr. Charles Westerton as one of the churchwardens of St. Paul's, who, like Abdiel, 'faithful found among

* At the time when this gentleman's displays were in their full efflorescence, we heard of a Roman Catholic who assured his priest that if he would attend the service he would be much gratified, to which the priest calmly replied, 'No sir, I do not like mock turtle.'

the faithless' stands forth as a sound, sensible, and yet courteous Protestant, in the midst of his passive colleagues, his Romanizing pastors, and his conniving diocesan.

Mr. Westerton (a name not to be mentioned without an honest tribute of respect) commenced a determined opposition to the superstitious observances of the church with which he was officially connected by a temperate letter to the Bishop of London. After alluding to his lordship's dismissal of Mr. Bennett, he proceeds to show that the obnoxious practices of that gentleman had been continued by his successor. In doing so he was obviously precluded from all reference to the New Testament. He felt, as everybody knows, that the law of the Church of England is not the Bible, but the Prayer-book, and that its legislator is not Christ, but Cranmer. Confined within these conventional limits, he betakes himself to the only resource of the rubric. Of this formula our readers will need no explanation. They will know without our aid that it constitutes what may be called the bye-laws of the Prayer-book, the latter being a portion of an act of parliament designed for the universal regulation of religious worship in these realms. The decision of the Committee of the Privy Council in the case of Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter coincides with the common sense of every unprejudiced student in designating this book as an intentional compromise between papists and Protestants, adapting the superstitions of the one to the corruption of the other, while retaining enough of the 'incorruptible word' to preserve the seething mixture, swayed over by the magic sceptre of a monarch, from utter putrefaction.

Of this resource Mr. Westerton makes the best he can. He represents that all those parts of the service which should be read with a loud voice are mumbled by the priest with a manifest intention that they should not be heard, and many of them thus delivered by the priest and choristers with their faces to the altar and their backs to the congregation. So also whatever passages of the service are ordered by the rubric to be said, repeated, pronounced, &c., are chanted by the priest and the choir. The churchwarden next adverts to the communion-table, and thus contrasts the orders of the rubric with the practice of St. Paul's:—

20. 'The *table* at the communion time having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the *body of the church*, or in the *chancel*, where morning and evening prayers are appointed to be *said*.

20. 'No *table* is provided, but instead of it, an elaborately-carved *oaken altar*, precisely like those used in Roman Catholic cathedrals and chapels, and like them covered with rich velvet "*antependia*," or

And the priest standing at the north side of the *table* shall *say* the Lord's Prayer, *with* the collect following, the people kneeling.'

"altar"—cloths, of colours varying with the seasons, embroidered with monograms, fleurs de lis, and other devices in silver and gold.'

* * * * *

'At certain seasons veils of rich embroidered lace and bouquets of flowers, the choicest that can be procured, are crowded in profusion on and about it: every niche of the reredos on each side and above, is occupied with plants of the *Camellia Japonica*, and "fleurs immortelles," and evergreens deck the main body of the church itself.

'Vain and sad sight, indeed, my lord, when we reflect that these expensive floral displays have been hitherto paid for out of the offertory money, collected while the following or similar sentences were being read by the priest:—

'Give alms of thy goods, and never turn thy face from any poor man, and the face of the Lord shall not be turned from thee.'

In addition to these observances, Mr. Westerton notices a number of genuflexions, incurvations, and other histrionic acts, which, together with the elaborate music, compensate to those attendants who cannot afford to indulge in operas and pantomimes, or feed the taste of those who come fresh from the one performance to the other. Mr. Westerton further notices the solemn procession with which the Eucharistic elements are brought from the vestry into the church, placed upon a credence table unknown to the rubric, and handed thence to the officiating ministers with all manner of popish antics. He cites the acts of Elizabeth and Charles II. in condemnation of these practices, and calls upon the bishop with the most respectful earnestness to put a stop to these offensive exhibitions.

Pending an interval required by a matter of form, Mr. Westerton addressed an official letter to Mr. Liddell, setting forth the same complaints, to which the following reply was returned:—

'Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the communication which you forwarded to me on Saturday evening; and without passing any comment upon it, I must leave you to take such a course as you think proper.—Your's,

'ROBERT LIDDELL.'

Upon this, Mr. Westerton addressed a memorial to the Bishop of London. It is right to say that this memorial, though printed for the sake of obeying a mere formality, was not published when it was sent to the bishop. This, however, his lordship erroneously assumes in his reply, and his mistake is distinctly corrected in a subsequent letter from the churchwarden:—

'Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, to which I will pay due attention. In the meantime I think

it proper to tell you, that it was your duty, as churchwarden, to prefer your complaint to me in the first instance, instead of printing and publishing it first, and then calling my attention to it afterwards. By this improper and disrespectful course of proceeding, you have in effect taken the matter out of my hands, and appealed to another tribunal, which has no legal authority, without waiting for *my* decision, whom am (*sic*) the proper judge in such cases.—I am, Sir,

‘Mr. Charles Westerton.

C. J. LONDON.’

Having addressed a similar letter to the Archdeacon Sinclair, Mr. Westerton appealed afresh to the Bishop of London, complaining of his lordship’s delay, and entreating his lordship’s interposition. The bishop’s curt reply is as follows:—

‘Sir,—When a charge is brought against a clergyman, it is my custom to give him an opportunity of rebutting it, and not to decide upon it till I have both sides of the case before me, and have taken time to form my judgment.

‘I do not intend to act otherwise in the present instance.—I am, Sir, &c.,

‘Mr. Westerton.

C. J. LONDON.’

It is only necessary to give a few words of Mr. Westerton’s reply to the bishop’s apostolic note:—

‘But, my lord, assuming it possible to rebut facts which Mr. Liddell has not ventured to deny, why have they not been rebutted during the four weeks they have been before your lordship? The charges submitted to your lordship’s notice are not facts difficult of proof, but on the contrary, are all patent, committed in the full blaze of open day, in defiance of a mild remonstrance, and in the full face of a whole parish, impatient of a Romanizing process which they abhor, and indignant that their complaint, through their only legitimate organ, is treated if not with contumely, at least with unreasonable and unnecessary delay.

‘My lord, twenty-four hours would have put your lordship in possession of the evidence of a whole parish, and yet five weeks have been suffered to elapse.’

The next stage in this proceeding is the publication of a letter from Mr. Liddell himself, represented on the title-page as having been published under the sanction of the Bishop of London. On its appearance the churchwarden wrote to the bishop, inquiring if he had sanctioned the publication of that document, after having rebuked even the *printing* of the letter addressed by Mr. Westerton to himself. To this appeal the bishop returned the following reply:—

‘Mr. Liddell’s letter to me was printed with my consent. As you had thought proper to print your charges against him *before* you submitted them to me, I had no hesitation in sanctioning the printing of his answer *after* he had sent it to me. Both parties are now on the same footing, and I will proceed, as soon as I can, to do what is right;

but I have other duties to perform as well as this, and I must take my time. I shall not be driven to any precipitate course of proceeding.'

At length the bishop was compelled to a full reply to the memorial which had been presented to him, and perhaps a more Jesuitical document was never published. He first attempts to explain away the charge on the ground that the observances complained of were introduced by Mr. Bennett and not by Mr. Liddell; and thus excepts against the recentness of the complaint without reference to its subject matter, while the one is an accident, and the other is an essential,—if indeed any formulary or doctrine of the Church of England can be considered as essential, when all are tossed together in a storm of dissension, compared with which sectarianism itself assumes the appearance of uniformity. The bishop notices Mr. Westerton's complaints in their order, and mentions first the procession from the vestry, marshalled in Romish style, followed by a second act consisting 'in a solemn procession of the clergy, each bearing with pomp and ceremony one or more of the vessels used in the offices of the church.' The bishop's reply leads us to lament that Cambridge students who rise to be the tutors of noblemen's sons, and, through a dissertation on a Greek particle, to be bishops, should not have been taught the first elements of reasoning. The bishop says, 'with regard to the first matter objected to, it by no means follows, that a custom, in itself decent, is to be considered a peculiarly Romish custom because it is observed in the Church of Rome.' We do not know whether to regard this as an identical proposition, or what is called the *reductio ad absurdum*. If the practice is notoriously observed in the Church of England, it is evidently not a '*peculiarly* Romish custom.' Whether it is 'in itself decent, must be determined by a reference to the spirit of the Christian religion as indicated in the New Testament, to which the bishop makes not the slightest reference. Crucifixes might be placed in the pulpit and the desk; the Host might be elevated before a prostrate crowd, and the doctrine of the Bishop of London might still hold good, 'that a custom in itself decent is not to be considered a *peculiarly* Romish custom because it is observed in the church of Rome.' His lordship's indulgence evidently opens a wide door to every folly and fanaticism of popery.

With respect to the bowings, genuflexions, and gesticulations, his lordship first alledges Mr. Liddell's denial of the fact. This brings the matter to a very simple issue, either Mr. Liddell or Mr. Westerton is guilty of open and palpable falsehood, for the observances which form the matter of the accusation are continually witnessed by both of them. It is easy to see where the truth lies. The churchwarden denounces them before the public

who are present at every service ; Mr. Liddell denies them to the bishop, who is never present on any occasion. The public will have no difficulty in judging between the two ; but in this, as in several other instances in the course of this letter, his lordship, while he declares his disapprobation of the practices, states that he has not the power to suppress them, and refers the complainants to the consistorial court. This opens rather a new view of the subject. It suggests the question, What, after all, is the use of a Bench of Bishops ? It is a very expensive luxury. Is there any one compensatory end it answers ? To regard it collectively as a depository and safeguard of any particular set of principles or opinions would be absurd, as it contains among its members representatives of all the diversities of religious opinion from evangelical dissent to stolid popery. As little do individual bishops appear able to repress what they consider unauthorized doctrine and practice in their respective dioceses, but refer a complainant against popish practices to the Consistorial Court : What need then of the middle men, the bishops ? Why not retain the said court, enlarging its powers if that should be found necessary, and get rid altogether of the bishops, with all their greed and their grotesqueness, their pride and their foolery ?

Before proceeding to the next topic, we must not omit one characteristic injunction respecting genuflexions and gesticulations. 'The rule to be followed,' the bishop says, in this and similar cases, 'is not to use outward marks of reverence in an ostentatious or singular manner, so *as to awaken suspicion and call forth observation.*' Was ever Jesuitism more palpable or more disgusting ? He virtually says, 'Practise what observances you please, so that they escape observation, and do not lead others to suspect what you really are, and what you truly mean.' To suggest an example. Suppose some curate should take it into his head to bow and cross himself at the mention of the Virgin Mary, and should persuade his congregation to do the same. In such a case, there being nothing ostentatious or singular in the outward mark of reverence, and the practice being universal, awakening no suspicion or observation, the bishop would obviously sanction it ; for, after enunciating the law just mentioned, he adds—'I do not see how it is possible to lay down a stricter rule than this.' It is indeed indisputable that the Church of England, is at present so constituted that every variety of doctrine is taught from its pulpits, and the utmost absurdity of superstitious ceremony is practised within its walls ; insomuch that the substitution of 'dancing dogs' for 'dumb dogs,' would make the satire of John Milton applicable to the 'evil times' and 'evil tongues' on which we have fallen. Indeed since this article was commenced, a notable illustration of this fact has been mentioned by Mr.

Drummond in the House of Commons. The honourable member alluded to one bishop, who, after having placed the book of Common Prayer in the hands of a candidate for holy orders, declared that there was no such thing as absolution in the Christian church; while in the case of a relative of his own, another prelate, after going through the ceremony of ordaining him, affirmed the utter insignificance of his right of ordination, to which the young clergymen quaintly replied, 'That it was a pity he had not been previously informed of that fact, as that information would have saved him the trouble and expense of a journey.*' In short, the dioceses of Great Britain now constitute a kind of multiplied heptarchy: each is an *imperium in imperio*; and Doctor Blomfield may be regarded as the anarch of the ecclesiastical chaos.

The right reverend anarch next comes to the subject of intoning the service. He says, 'It is well known that I do not approve of this mode of performing divine service in parish churches. I expressed my dislike of it in my charge of 1842; and all I can say in its favour is, that I had rather hear the prayers *well* intoned than *badly* read. But whether I have authority to *forbid* it is a different question; and, if I had, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to enforce compliance with my prohibition. If a clergyman thinks fit to *read* in a single tone, I cannot prevent him from doing so.'

On the bishop's dictum that he had rather hear the prayers well intoned than badly read, the 'Examiner' observes, 'The Right Reverend prefers clever foolery to clumsy sense.' This may at first sight strike the reader as a legitimate animadversion; but in this instance, to use the words of the bishop in another part of his letter,—he is not so much in the wrong as he seems to be. His lordship is doubtless as well aware as we are, that there is not one clergyman in a hundred who knows how to read. The majority recite the service in such a style as can only impress an intelligent hearer with a notion (which we believe is

* This reminds us of the bitter lamentations once addressed to us by a young Cambridge man, immediately after he had been 'plucked,' for the third time, in his examination for 'orders.' 'What do you think,' said the disappointed candidate, 'what do you think the fellow asked me?' (meaning the bishop's chaplain). We intimated our difficulty in conjecturing what topic the reverend examiner might fix upon. 'Why,' said the candidate, 'he actually asked me what I proposed to teach as the way of salvation. There's a question,' he added, indignantly, 'to ask a fellow.' We inquired with some curiosity what was his answer. 'Answer!' said he, 'why what could I answer? I told him that I had "got up" Pearson on the Creed, and the other books he had mentioned at my last examination; but that I did not find in them any thing which enabled me to answer such a question as that! Now, pleaded the young man, 'I appeal to you, was not that thoroughly unfair?'

in many instances the correct one) that they do not understand the meaning of what they are reading. To the great majority intonation is a sort of city of refuge into which they fly and are safe. The monotony supplies the want of all intelligent distinction of meaning. A correspondent of the 'Times,' a few weeks ago, when commenting on the proposed improvements in the studies of Oxford and Cambridge, earnestly recommended that those students who were intended for the church, should be 'taught to read.' Indeed, when they do venture on the risk of emphasis, they often entirely alter the obvious meaning of Scripture. The instance given by Mr. Conybear, in his recent article in the 'Edinburgh Review,' on 'Church Parties,' does not deserve the designation of a caricature more from its grotesqueness than for its accuracy. He represents the clergyman as reading a passage, the false rendering of which will be understood by our typography, in the following manner:—'And] the prophet said unto his servants, Saddle me the ass, and they saddled "Hm!"' If no meaning at all is better than absurdity, and if there is no third alternative, we feel disposed to agree with the bishop, and to prefer the absurdity of intonation to the mangling of the noblest passages of English composition by a clergyman who can only by courtesy be said to read it.

The next items in the bishop's letter must be given in his own words.

'With respect to the Communion Table, which the Memorial designates "the High Altar," I have to observe that you use the term incorrectly. The "High Altar" is the principal altar in a church where there are more than one, which is not the case in any of our churches, except in a few instances, where a church is divided into two parts, and divine service is performed in each.

'The Communion Table in St. Paul's church cannot be termed an "Altar," except in a figurative sense of the word. It is not of stone, but wood; not fixed, but moveable. When I consecrated the church, the disputes on this article of church furniture had not risen to such a pitch as they have since attained; and the height of the Communion Table did not attract my notice. It is now a part of the goods of the parish; and, although the churchwardens, with my consent, and that of the vestry, might change it, or replace it by another, I do not believe that I have authority, not acting as a judge in my court, to direct them so to do. If any person think it to be the duty of the churchwardens to make such a change, they must proceed against them by a suit in the Consistorial Court.

'As to the Candlesticks on the Communion Table, I have stated my opinion in my charge of 1842, and I am not prepared to retract that opinion. I had rather not see them in Parish Churches; but I am not prepared to order their removal when they have been placed there for several years.

‘The Wooden Cross which is fixed upon the Communion Table I consider to be objectionable; but when, soon after Mr. Liddell’s appointment to St. Paul’s, I expressed a strong wish for its removal, I was assured by Mr. Sotherton, then one of the Churchwardens, that such removal would wound the feelings of a great number of the Congregation, and I therefore allowed the matter to remain in suspense. As this Cross (which is not large and massive as you describe it, but small and slight) was on the Table when the Church was consecrated (though not seen by me, a large offertory dish being in front of it), I am not satisfied that I have authority to direct its removal without consent of the Churchwardens and Parishioners, except by a formal decree of the Consistorial Court; I certainly wish it to be removed, and should be glad if the Parishioners would agree to its removal without such authoritative sanction.’

It is amusing to see what nice distinctions can be made by men who do not possess in the very slightest degree the faculty of comprehensive reasoning. The churchwarden is rebuked for his term ‘the high altar,’ on the ground that that term designated the principal altar in a church where there are more than one; but let us suppose that a legitimate ‘high altar’ is removed from a church where there are a dozen and placed in St. Paul’s, Knightsbridge, must it then lose its designation as a high altar? The question is whether this is a communion table or a popish altar, and this is a matter which appeals to common observation. The bishop’s remarks are therefore simply puerile, except that they betray the sly connivance that belongs to a maturer age and a more settled purpose.

But the bishop further alleges that the communion table in St. Paul’s church, as being of wood and not being of stone, and not fixed but moveable, cannot be termed an altar, except in a ‘figurative sense of the word.’ What the bishop can mean by ‘a figurative sense’ in such a case, it is hard to conjecture. Men see what they have been accustomed to consider as an altar, and they call it by its proper name; to predicate a ‘figurative sense’ in denoting a distinction between two material objects is ridiculous. The bishop might as well talk of a hen’s egg being designated as a musket or a printing press in a ‘figurative sense.’ We might pursue a similar examination through almost every sentence of the bishop’s letter; but we are repelled by the prospective task of exposing in every sentence his hopeless incapacity of reasoning. It will be sufficient to cite his own words, and to leave them to the reflection of the reader. His reason for not ordering the removal of the high altar, is that ‘it is now a part of the goods of the parish!’ and so of the candlesticks placed upon it, the circumstance of their having remained there for several years, overrides all the bishop’s pretended objections to

this popish display. So, again, of the crucifix. The bishop considers it objectionable, but allowed of its being retained because he had been informed that the removal of it would wound the feelings of a great number of the congregation. Will the reader believe that such ineffable stuff as this was written by an adult and sane person? If such sufferings would be occasioned by the removal of a wooden cross, what panics, convulsions, and mortal agonies would result from the withdrawal of the 'I. H. S.' from the pulpit cloth!

The bishop maunders on through the disgusting detail of flowers, evergreens, lace veils, embroidered velvets, and all the sickening frippery of fashionable churches, in a pompous style, which suggests the idea of a Lord Chancellor pronouncing judgment on the articles in a milliner's shop, item by item.

In conclusion, the right reverend prelate, like the powers of Olympus deciding the battle between the frogs and the mice, closes with the following words:—'I have now touched, I believe, upon all the allegations of your memorial, and I have to observe in conclusion, that if the practices complained of "are offensive to the parishioners of the district of St. Paul, and bring scandal on the whole Church," it is somewhat strange that the parishioners should have so quietly acquiesced in them for so long a time, and that I should only now be called upon by one of the churchwardens to interfere. The best proof that they are not generally offensive to the parishioners is to be found in the crowded congregations who attend the services at St. Paul's.'

We cannot but believe that all conscientious members of the Church of England will read this paragraph with a blush of shame. A prelate, bound by the ties of solemn oaths, and by the obligations of enormous emolument, to maintain the doctrine and discipline of a reformed church, ignores the whole subject matter of a temperate complaint, and takes refuge like an Old Bailey barrister in a notice of the *time* at which that complaint was made, and further justifies the practices complained of because, in theatrical language, they draw a full house. The bishop's final letter to the protesting churchwarden, Mr. Westerton, appeared in the 'Times' of the 17th of May, and in this he enters into a statistical statement as to the lettings of the pews at St. Paul's, in which he shows clearly enough that the large proportion of the sittings are taken by the inhabitants of the district. But the bishop knows perfectly well that not one-tenth of the inhabitants could find accommodation in the church of St. Paul, and he craftily ignores the probability that the remaining nine-tenths may be repelled from attendance by their dislike of that 'mock-turtle' of semi-popish observance, which,

though occurring under the very eye of the Bishop of London, does not in the very slightest degree offend his sensibilities.

A characteristic incident immediately followed on the publication of the correspondence between the Bishop of London and Mr. Westerton. The latter gentleman was proposed afresh as churchwarden to the largest meeting of parishioners which ever assembled in this district on a similar occasion. Every effort was made to prevent his election, but so great was the excitement occasioned by these recent events, that he was returned by an immense majority. A notification of the election was borne about the neighbouring streets by a functionary, whom Mr. Dickens humorously designates as an 'animated sandwich.' This individual was unmercifully pelted with stones and rotten eggs by the chorister boys (perhaps we ought to give them the more sacred designation of acolytes), who were supplied with their missiles by one of the curates. The reverend gentleman was brought before the sitting magistrate at the Police-court of Westminster, and fully convicted of the offence; though, through what we must regard as the mistaken leniency of the complainants he was not sent to the tread-mill, but, after a severe reprimand from the magistrate, and his expression of contrition for his offence, he was sent back to his incense and genuflexions with a fine of two pounds to the poor man, who, through his agency, had been injured and bespattered.

The reader has now had a specimen of the church of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and of the administration of the Bishop of London. It is all of a piece. Insolence and foolery on the one part, and on the other grasping avarice, connivance, and dishonour. The disclosures made by the report of the Ecclesiastical Commission, condensed in the speeches of Sir Benjamin Hall, especially with reference to the Paddington estate, have made the bishopric of London a stench in the nostrils of every honourable man. The destruction of the system is only a question of time; and the events to the consideration of which we have devoted these pages, must hasten the consummation. It remains to be seen how long a too tolerant people will permit those rights for which their forefathers bled and burned to be slyly filched from them, by hands venial enough to recant and embezzle, and hearts not bold enough to defend the truth they have sworn to protect and maintain.

Review of the Month.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE RELIGIOUS LIBERATION SOCIETY was held at Radley's Hotel on the 3rd, when an animating report of past proceedings was presented. We are glad to find that the prospects of the society are so encouraging. Having known something of the early difficulties of the 'Anti-State Church Association,' we are gratified to note that the changes recently made in the title and machinery of the society have realized the most sanguine anticipations of its friends. Our own views on the change of title were freely expressed at the time, and we have therefore less hesitation in recording our gratification at this result. Several individuals, we are informed, previously unconnected with the society, have given in their adhesion, and the annual subscriptions received during six months have approached to nearly the whole receipts of former years. This is as it should be; and those who have borne the burden and heat of the day may well exult at so gratifying an issue. There is still ample room for improvement, and we trust that the public will growingly respond to the energetic measures of the committee. With such sentiments, we heartily concur in the hope expressed in the second resolution of the council, and shall be glad to report on future occasions that that hope has been thoroughly realized.

The report alludes in terms of natural exultation to the Census of Religious Worship recently issued, and announces that the society is about to publish an examination of it in the form of a companion volume to 'The Test of Experience,'—one of the most conclusive and able publications which the society has issued. We cannot follow the report in the details which it furnishes of the parliamentary labors of the society. Our high estimate of the value of the services of Dr. Foster, as chairman of the parliamentary sub-committee, has been already recorded, and we are glad to learn that a communication was addressed in February last to the 'Dissenting Deputies,' 'explaining at length the intended operations of the sub-committee, and suggesting that the union of the two bodies, or, should that be impracticable, their co-operation for certain specific purposes, would be likely to secure harmonious and influential action in all legislative matters affecting the rights of conscience and the principles of religious equality.' How it has happened that no reply has been received to this communication we know not. We trust it will be speedily forthcoming, and that its terms will leave no doubt of the zealous co-operation of the deputies. We are also glad to learn from the report that upwards of three hundred petitions with more than 20,000 signatures had been presented to parliament, praying for the admission of dissenters to the University of Oxford. The following resolution respecting the labors of the parliamentary sub-committee, was adopted with marked cordiality, and does simple justice to one of the most effective branches of the society's operations:—

‘That the council cordially approves of the step taken by the Executive Committee in the formation of a parliamentary sub-committee, having Dr. Foster as its chairman; that it has pleasure in already recognising the beneficial results following the appointment of such body, and anticipates that the increased attention given by the society to the ecclesiastical business of parliament will prove highly advantageous to the nonconforming community, and tend to advance the society’s ultimate object.’

The meeting of the Council was unanimous and cordial. The men who assembled were, for the most part, tried laborers, and they came together, therefore, with all the advantages of many years’ experience. There was no symptom of weariness or of decaying interest. Instructed by the past, they were obviously prepared to adapt their agency to the requirements of the day. They assembled to act rather than to speak. Their position was that of intelligent and earnest men who were constrained by a deep sense of religious obligation. For several years the society has had to encounter mistrust and indifference. This state of things, however, is giving way to confidence and zeal, and we trust the time is not distant when ‘The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control’ will be amongst the most popular organizations of the country.

At the council dinner we are glad to learn that Dr. Harris, President of New College, ‘expressed his decided approval of the society’s proceedings, and his hope that he should be able to do more on its behalf than had hitherto been possible.’ The public meeting of the society was amongst the most effective of the month. The style of speaking was decidedly superior. We refrain, designedly, from specification. Where all was so good it would be invidious to select. As dissenters, we are proud to point churchmen to the meeting as proof of the intelligence, right-heartedness, strong religious conviction, and scriptural charity, with which we can discuss so grave and exciting a theme.

THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY REFORM BILL has made slow progress through committee; but the claim preferred by dissenters for the admission of all classes without distinction of creed, is thought by many to be virtually won. During the short interval from the first reading of the bill to Mr. Heywood’s motion to refer it to a select committee, the presentation of nearly four hundred petitions, from 26,000 persons, backed by a continuous strain of private communication to individual members, produced a conspicuous impression upon the House; insomuch that the stauncher friends of the government were glad to compound for their adhesion then by their promise to side with the dissenters when the question really came to the vote. It is now generally said, among those who are most competent to form a judgment, that Mr. Heywood’s clauses (for matriculation and graduation) will be carried to the Lords by a great majority. We cannot, however, counsel our friends to abstain in any degree from pressing the matter upon their representatives. By the forms of the House the dissenters’ clauses will not be discussed until all the others are disposed of, and the government measure is consequently safe. They have only won

their present position by the unexpected exhibition of their latent energy. They are at present supported in the House against a hostile party and a reluctant cabinet, by an uncordial majority and Mr. Mann's report. For the next six weeks they must bear their part in the efforts making both in the Metropolis and the provinces, to force upon the legislature the conviction that the dissenting element cannot be ignored. Thanks to the opportune church-rate movement they need be at no loss for a medium to make themselves felt.

Meanwhile, the bill has been entertained in committee on the principle, that as the dissenters may hope to have the benefit of it, it should be rendered as perfect as possible for their use. Mr. Horsman failed, unfortunately, to alter the names on the committee, and the consequent probability that the wants of the University will receive any material aid from the College resources remains as small as it has been shown. Mr. Heywood's proposal, that Congregation should debate in English, will probably succeed when the Cambridge Bill is under consideration; but the House thought, perhaps, that the locality of a non-natural sense should be indulged with an unknown tongue. The two most important changes, however, have been effected by the Oxford party. Mr. Walpole carried the principle of 'sectional' election, and Mr. Heathcote, by introducing 'all residents' into Congregation, deprived it of something of its aristocratic character, and made it more completely representative of the University at large. If for no other reason, at least for this, the change is an advantage, that it will preclude hereafter such remarkable assertions as Mr. Gladstone's—that Oxford has never yet had *an opportunity* (by reason of its imperfect constitution) of considering the admission of dissenters. Of Mr. Walpole's amendment, we are not ashamed to speak less confidently. On the one hand, it has a direct tendency to create cliques, while on the other it removes to the second degree the influence of the 'heads' on the composition of the other elements of the Congregation, and may thus emancipate the University more gradually at first, but more surely than by the plan originally designed. We are also glad to note that some of the minor objections on which we remarked last month, are omitted in the reprint of the bill.

We may notice, *apropos* to this subject, the second reading of Mr. Bell's London Medical Graduates' Bill. By conferring, as this bill proposes to do, upon the medical graduates of London University, the same rights to practice in medicine as are enjoyed by the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, one badge of inequality between dissenters and churchmen will be removed, while all existing institutions are left uninterfered with. We hope Lord Palmerston, who seems not inclined to do too much for the London University, will not allow this much needed measure to be strangled by the foreign excrescences which are gathering about it.

THE NEW BUDGET OF THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER has been occasioned by the declaration of war with Russia. It was introduced on the 8th, and led to a party opposition on the ground that it was a second financial statement, as if that fact demonstrated the short-sightedness or imperfection of the former scheme. This opposi-

tion, however, was manifestly unfounded, inasmuch as in introducing his first budget the Chancellor of the Exchequer distinctly declared that in the event of the anticipated declaration of war, he should feel it necessary to move for an increase of supplies. In addition to the amount asked from the House of Commons on the 6th of March, he required at the hands of the nation £6,850,000 for the early expenses of the war. This the government propose to raise, first, by continuing the double income-tax until the close of the war; secondly, by an augmentation of the duty on spirits to 1s. per gallon in Scotland and 8d. per gallon in Ireland; thirdly, by a classification and readjustment of the sugar duties, which involves no present increase of duty, but adds to the duties that would be otherwise payable after the 15th of July from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per cwt. These augmentations will bring an increase of revenue of £4,400,000, leaving still £2,450,000 to complete the additional charge; this Mr. Gladstone proposed to raise by increasing the duty on malt from 2s. 9d. to 4s., from which arrangement he anticipated a net increase of £2,450,000;—such is the first expense in which we are mulcted by the unprincipled designs of the Emperor of Russia. The main provisions of the government have already been sanctioned. An opposition to the increased duty on malt was led by Mr. Caley on behalf of the agricultural interest, but a majority of 108 in the House of Commons affirmed the propositions of government. Deeply as we feel the unhappy necessity for the interruption of that period of peace which has so long blessed the continent of Europe, and naturally as our thoughts revert to the sacrifice of human life, and the social horrors which it involves, we cannot help tracing for one moment the incidence of this tax, especially in the metropolis. The power exercised by the monopoly of the brewing interest in London is well known, and we have been informed that the alteration in the malt duty will affect one house in this item to the amount of £70,000 a-year. But it will be obvious that here the great brewers will have the advantage, and that the sufferers will be the brewers of small capital. Already the large houses have issued a notice of a considerable rise in the price of porter, but as we have no smaller coin than a farthing, they have in many instances raised their prices to just double that amount; the effect being that the humble consumers of porter will pay five millions additional, one half of which will go to the Exchequer, and the other half to the trade.

THE SCOTCH EDUCATION BILL WAS REJECTED on the second reading by a majority of nine, the numbers being 184 for, and 193 against it. This result we regard with unmingled satisfaction, being opposed, like the honorable member for Rochdale, 'to all schemes of what is called national education.' The measure of the Lord Advocate has some attractive features, and we are not surprised therefore at many liberal members who are in general opposed to government interference in such matters giving it their support. The monopoly of the kirk is manifestly founded on doctrines which are now antiquated, and the friends of freedom may well rejoice in a change which breaks up this monopoly, and proffers to all classes of the community a proportionate share in the benefactions of the state. Such is the first and

hasty impression which the measure is adapted to make. But further reflection discloses features of a very objectionable character, which would suffice to ensure our rejection of the bill, even if we did not take a preliminary objection to its very nature. Parochial schools, supported by a compulsory rate, have existed for centuries in Scotland. Their management and effects have been greatly lauded. Not only have Scotchmen boasted of them, but English advocates of national education have been accustomed to speak of them as conclusive evidence of the good influence of the system. Yet now it appears, on the admission of our opponents, and on the official returns of the census, that a very small fraction of the day-scholars of Scotland are in the parochial schools, and that an immense preponderance of such scholars are in schools supported by the voluntary system. Here, then, to use the words of the 'Leeds Mercury,' 'is a case of failure in one of the best systems of national education that can be devised; and a case of success in the voluntary system rising up in disadvantageous competition with the legal system, yet completely overtopping it, and educating the great bulk of the people, both rich and poor.' Such are the undoubted facts of the case, yet our national educationalists throw contempt on what has proved of such signal efficiency, and take to their confidence what has so signally failed. An infatuation so singular, yet so tenaciously clung to, has rarely been exhibited even amongst senators. 'We maintain, with a confidence the most absolute, because justified by innumerable facts, that the voluntary system is *far more powerful, as well as infinitely more likely to adapt itself to the changing circumstances of a community*, than the governmental.'

¶ In our notice of this subject last month, we stated in brief our objections to the measure, and need not therefore repeat them. It will be more pertinent to note that, in this case, several of our friends have acted in conformity with the views we ventured to express last month. Desirous of supporting the present government, they are yet more strongly attached to their principles as voluntary educationalists. We rejoice in their firmness. We honor their consistency. It is a singular coincidence, that the number of gentlemen to whom we refer, Messrs. Barnes, Bell, Crossley, Hadfield, Heyworth, Miall, Pellatt, Peto, and Pilkington, is precisely that of the majority. They constituted, of course, eighteen on the division, and we are not surprised at the vexation expressed by some members of the government. 'The Dissenters have done it,' we are credibly informed, was the remark of Lord John Russell, on leaving the House. In the minority, we find the names of our friends, Messrs. Cheetham, Hindley, Kershaw, and Milligan. We regret the fact, but should evince little respect for our principles, if we did not readily cede to them, what we claim for ourselves. We trust that further reflection may lead to an alteration in their views. Should it do so, we shall of course deem them more consistent, but shall not be more assured of their integrity than we are at present. If there is one thing of which we are more certain than another, it is that a few years will witness an entire revolution in the views of public men on this subject. The facts which are in the course of being elicited, supply a triumphant vindication of voluntaryism as the best educator of the people.

THE QUESTION OF CHURCH-RATES WAS AGAIN SUBMITTED TO THE HOUSE on the 23rd, by Sir William Clay, in the form of a motion for leave to bring in a bill for their entire abolition. The honorable member referred to the various efforts which had been made by successive governments, and by independent members, to effect a settlement of this vexed question, and affirmed that the decision of the House of Lords on the Braintree case had at length placed it beyond question, that no church-rate was valid unless 'assented to by the actual majority of the rate-payers in the vestry.' Sir William made considerable use of the Census Report on religion recently given to the public, triumphantly showing that the voluntary principle had achieved vastly more during the last fifty years, even in the Established Church, than had been effected by legislation. 'He did not think, in the abolition of these rates, that any substitution need be established, inasmuch as, he believed, they could be entirely abolished without any injury whatever to the Church, and he was perfectly convinced that there was not the most remote chance of the Church suffering the slightest inconvenience from such rates being severed from it.' Combining the sums contributed from private resources towards the erection of churches with those given by dissenters, he showed that £22,423,571 had been raised by the voluntary system in the present century, whilst the public funds had furnished only £1,663,429, being in the proportion of $92\frac{1}{2}$ and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Mr. Peto seconded the motion, and proved by a variety of figures that in several parts of the kingdom the provision made by dissenters for the religious instruction of the community, greatly exceeded that supplied by the church. The honorable member for Norwich also showed that the country was rapidly settling the question by refusing in vestry to grant a rate. On the part of dissenters, he disclaimed hostility to the Church, obviously distinguishing between the *religious* and the *political* element of the Establishment. Whatever opposition may be evinced towards the Establishment, we should heartily rejoice in the prosperity of an episcopal branch of the Church of Christ, readily ceding to its members the right which we claim, to embody in their worship whatever forms they preferred. It will be in the recollection of many of our readers, that the amendment to the motion of Mr. R. Phillimore, which Sir William Clay submitted on the 26th of May, 1853, was lost by a majority of 48. This amendment was not so simple as his proposition of this year, as it proposed to substitute for church-rates, pew rents and the increased value of church property. We were not sanguine therefore of a favorable result, least of all were we prepared for the triumphant issue of the debate.

At this late period of the month we cannot notice the discussion at length. We must, however, refer to the speech of Lord Stanley, who explicitly admitted that many of the most conservative boroughs in the kingdom had refused to levy a rate. 'He did not think,' remarked his lordship, 'that parliamentary legislation was of great importance, for if parliament left church-rates alone, it would be found that in four or five years the question would settle itself.' Lord Stanley distinctly alleged that it was not a question 'of money but of principle,' and admitted that Sir W. Clay had 'exercised a wise

discretion in not stating the funds out of which the substitute for church-rates was to be taken.' 'The time,' he said, 'had come when the rate should be abandoned altogether. He did not say that the adoption of the voluntary system was free from risk and difficulty, but he believed parliament had no option left. The country had practically decided the question, and it was the duty and the best wisdom of the House to acquiesce in that decision.'

Lord Stanley's speech evidently produced a strong impression on the House, and stands in honorable contrast not only to the speech of Mr. Drummond, which was conceived in the worst spirit of Lord Eldon's school, but also—and we regret the fact—to that of Lord John Russell's, who, whilst admitting the unsatisfactory state of the law, the *scandalous* scenes to which it gives rise, and the certainty of a substitute being found if the rate were abolished, yet opposed the motion on the ground that its success would be regarded as a 'symptom that parliament was not disposed to give that support to the Established Church which it has hitherto accorded.'

On a division, the motion of Sir William Clay was carried by a majority of 67, the numbers being 129 for, and 62 against it. Several members of the government voted for the measure, and others paired off in its favour. Lord Palmerston, however, from whom some persons anticipated better things, is found in the minority, associated with Lord John Russell and Sir Charles Wood on the one hand, and with Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Walpole on the other. We trust that Sir William Clay will not suffer himself to be cajoled by any vague promise of ministerial support in the event of his consenting to hand over the measure to another session. We do not, of course, expect his majority on a second reading to equal that of the 23rd; but his case is so clear and strong, the division amongst the friends of the impost is so marked, and the absence of honorable members from the House is so *significant*, that we strongly counsel his proceeding steadily in his course. Let his measure be rejected if the majority think proper, but let there be no hesitancy on his part or on that of his supporters. The more thoroughly the subject is sifted, the more certain and speedy is our triumph. The *leader* of the 'Times' of the 24th is full of meaning. Referring to the division of the previous evening, that journal says—'A division took place in the House of Commons last night, which we can only regard as preliminary to a final settlement of the question of church-rates. When leave to bring in a bill for the entire abolition of that impost is carried by a majority of more than two to one, it is evidently vain to persist in the defence of what was never very easy to be defended. . . . The churches must be kept up, and will be kept up. Scores of churches are kept up in this metropolis without the aid of church-rates. . . . There is a talk of compensation or substitution, and if any can be found well and good; but it is idle to wait for a substitute that will work perfectly well, *when the real foundation of the evil is that the Church is no longer the communion of the whole nation, or even of a decided majority.*'

IN OUR APRIL NUMBER WE REPORTED THAT MR. CHAMBERS had carried his motion respecting Conventual and Monastic Institutions, by a majority of 67. Our readers are doubtless aware of the opposition

which the hon. member for Hertford has since encountered. The minority has availed itself of every possible expedient to prevent the formation of the committee, and a strong feeling has been expressed by various sections of the Roman Catholic body against the inquiry. We say nothing now of the intemperance which has characterized some of these proceedings. Irish oratory is always inflammable, and never more so than when the interests of the Catholic church are supposed to be threatened. We regard with more serious alarm the course adopted by the minority in the House, and fear that the government will have future reason to regret the countenance it has afforded. It has long been evident that the forms of the House would enable the minority to overrule the decision of the majority, and Mr. Chambers, therefore, took a wise course on the 18th, in abandoning for the present his measure. To use his own words, 'It was literally and physically impossible to proceed with it.' We regret this result, though not unprepared for it. Future times will show the pernicious tendency of the precedent. Lord John may live to feel it, and should he do so, we shall scarcely find it in our hearts to pity him. That the language employed by some of Mr. Chambers' supporters has been more than questionable we freely admit; but the acrimonious and bitter opposition he has encountered only serves to confirm our worst suspicions. There must be something rotten in the state of Denmark when a bare proposal for inquiry gives rise to such an outcry.

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DISCUSSIONS WHICH HAS EVER OCCURRED IN PARLIAMENT took place in the House of Lords on the 11th, on occasion of the Earl of Winchelsea moving the following resolution:—'That the religious wants of the great body of the labouring classes employed in our manufacturing districts (from the extensive deficiency of church accommodation, of resident clergy to administer to their spiritual necessities, and of schools to afford them a sound Scriptural education) demand the earliest attention of Parliament.' In submitting this resolution Lord Winchelsea spoke with much earnestness. Many of his views were, of course, in our judgment, unsound. He ignored much of what is doing by dissenters, and affirmed that it was the first duty of the legislature 'to give to the people of the country every means of religious instruction by supplying them both with clergymen to administer to their Spiritual wants, and with schools to afford them a sound education.' In sweeping terms he affirmed that the people had grown up in 'perfect infidelity and absolute heathenism,' and warned the House of the national judgments which impended over the country. He was followed by the Premier, of whose speech it is not certainly too much to say, that such an one was never before delivered from the ministerial benches of the Upper House. Lord Aberdeen did full justice to the 'zeal and sincerity' of the Earl of Winchelsea, yet distinctly affirmed that parliament could not be induced to meet the deficiency of church accommodation in the way proposed. 'At least,' said his lordship, 'I should be very unwilling to propose to parliament any such grant. . . . I think that during the latter period of the first half of this century we have done so much to provide means for extending church accommodation as to show much more may yet be

done without coming to the government for assistance for such a purpose. After giving the number of new churches erected during the successive decades of the present century, his lordship continued: 'Now we find that the greatest increase, that which took place within the last twenty years, has been effected without government aid, solely by the energy and zeal of the members of the Church; and even the building of this large number of churches does not represent the whole of the good effected, for church accommodation was increased to a far greater extent by the restoration, enlargement, and improvement of the churches which took place during the same period,—the list I have read being only a record of the churches built. Now, the fact of these churches being built by the private and local exertions of individuals, contrasts strongly with what was done at the time government aid was afforded towards the building of churches. The churches built by the commissioners under those circumstances were, generally speaking, *most improvidently built*. They were built at the national expense, and the funds were most injudiciously appropriated for the purpose. During the first thirty years of the century 500 churches were built, at a cost of £3,000,000 sterling, £1,152,000 being provided out of the public-fund, and the remainder from private benefactions. During the following twenty years there were no public grants for any fresh undertakings, and yet, within that period, £5,500,000 was spent, and 2029 churches were built, so that, during the few years since the cessation of public grants, the efficiency of the remedy for the evil complained of by the noble earl has increased immeasurably, and I must say that a spirit does exist at this moment, with the view of supplying the wants of the labouring classes in respect to religious instruction to a degree, that never, in my memory, has existed before. That spirit is still on the increase, and I have no doubt that by the exertions which will be made we shall meet the evil which exists far more effectually than by government grants.'

Earl Nelson followed the Premier, affirming that 'as a friend of the Church of England, he should be one of the first to protest against asking the state for aid' The Bishop of Oxford also 'was convinced that such a resolution would point the minds of men to the wrong quarter to which to look for relief,' and 'that in the present state of the population of this country the Church of England could not, either with propriety or advantage, seek for grants from the public funds towards the strengthening, the enlargement, and the development, of the Church.' The Bishop of St. David's alleged that the resolution 'placed the question upon a totally false and delusive footing,' and that the Earl of Winchelsea, in supporting it, 'had committed an enormous anachronism extending over an interval of 300 years.' The resolution was ultimately withdrawn, but the country will not readily forget the brief discussion to which it gave rise. Such language, proceeding from such quarters, was never heard before. It has been fashionable in both Houses, but particularly amongst their lordships, to denounce the voluntary system as the idlest dream of enthusiasts. No language has been too derisive, no epithets too contemptuous, to be used respecting it. But the light of truth has

at length penetrated into these dark parts of the land. Stubborn facts have disproved the theories of interested partisans, and the highest officers of the state—civil and ecclesiastical—are now compelled to acknowledge its greater efficiency as a means of supplying the religious wants of the community. The progress thus made may well encourage future labours. Comparing the language of the present with that of ten years since, we need not despair of realizing the emancipation of the Church from State patronage and control.

THE SUBJECT OF THE NEWSPAPER STAMP was again submitted to the House on the 16th, by Mr. Milner Gibson. The present position of the country induced the honorable member to modify his course. Instead of proposing the repeal of the present duty, he wisely moved:—‘That it is the opinion of this House that the laws in reference to the periodical press and newspaper stamp are ill-defined and unequally enforced, and it appears to this House that the subject demands the early consideration of parliament.’ Mr. Gibson’s speech was moderate, clear, and unanswerable. He was followed by the Attorney-General, who admitted that the law was unequally enforced, and required revision. Mr. Crossley zealously supported the resolution, observing that ‘he was one of those who had voted against the late scheme of the government relative to education, and he should always continue to vote against such educational system, from the conviction that it was radically wrong. His notion in these matters was, “Hands off,” and let the people educate themselves. He was quite certain that they would do much better without any interference of the House than with it.’ The speech of the evening was Mr. Bright’s, which was full of illustrations that told powerfully on the House. It was one of Mr. Bright’s happiest efforts, and contributed largely to the result. ‘As a matter of finance,’ said the honorable member for Manchester, ‘he believed the revenue would not suffer from the repeal of this duty, while upon the higher grounds of morality and education the time had come when this duty ought to be abolished as a stamp duty and changed to a postage duty. The House would set free hundreds of newspapers in a single year throughout the country, and they would do more to promote those objects which they professed in speeches and blue-books to care for than they could do by any machinery that human ingenuity could contrive, or that the power of the executive government could enforce.’ The feeling of the House was so evidently with the resolution that Lord Palmerston, on the part of government, proposed a compromise. This, however, was declined by Mr. Gibson, and on an assurance that no accusation of injustice or impartiality was designed against the Board of Inland Revenue, the resolution was passed without a dissentient voice. After such a vote, we may hope that some change in the law is inevitable. It may be a question of time, but at no distant day we confidently look for the abolition of an impost, which operates so injuriously on the political education of the people.

THE VARIOUS RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES OF ENGLAND have celebrated their anniversary this season, in circumstances well calculated to test the extent of their hold on the public mind, and their real practical

value. By the recent publication of the results of the last census, in relation to public worship and to education, former vague surmises, fears, and presumptions have been reduced to something like actual knowledge; and the possession of this approximate certainly imparted a manly and serious tone to the services throughout.

A state of war, in which the greater part of the civilized world is likely to be involved, added peculiar solemnity, rather than gloom, to the several speeches: while the gathering pressure on the commerce of the country presented grave questions of 'ways and means,' and elicited the cheering fact, that with scarcely an exception, the treasuries of the Societies are in a healthy condition.

First in the long and crowded series of meetings, we noticed the Baptist Foreign, Home, and Irish Missions. The meeting at Finsbury Chapel, in connexion with the last-named mission, was of the most interesting character, and the hopes excited by the report were neither few nor timi. The Foreign Mission held its meeting in Exeter Hall, under the presidency of Mr. Peto, M.P., and much encouragement was derived from the account rendered of the pecuniary and spiritual prospects of the Society. The spirit of the chairman's opening speech seems to have pervaded the meeting, and indeed its grave earnestness and catholicity appear to have been imitated at meetings of all denominations.

The British and Foreign Bible Society retains the lead it so well deserves amongst the various institutions of the Christian church. 'The total receipts from the ordinary sources of income have amounted to £125,665 18s. 10d., being £16,505 8s. 2d. more than in the preceding year, and £8225 9s. 7d. more than in any previous year. To the above items must be added the sum of £66,507 7s. 9d. subscribed to the Jubilee Fund, and also £30,485 19s. 3d. to the Chinese New Testament Fund, making a grand total of £222,659 5s. 10d. The total issues of the Society now amount to 27,938,631 copies.' The Religious Tract Society, also, has to rejoice in an increased income, and an issue, during the year, of upwards of 27,000,000 of its varied publications.

The twenty-fourth annual assembly of the Congregational Union took place on Tuesday, May 9th, at New Broad-street Chapel, under the presidency of Dr. Browne, of Cheltenham. All the meetings were of a deeply interesting nature, and many momentous questions received grave consideration. We felt special pleasure in the hearty reception given to Mr. Grant, as he appeared to render an account of his labours and their success in teaching the working classes. The spirit of the assembly towards the plan of catholic labour which he suggested was most cordial. The 'Home Missionary Society' reported that the expenditure was in an excess by about a thousand pounds. The Colonial Society is rising in esteem, proportioned to its growing importance, and the expenditure is but slightly above the income.

The sixtieth annual meeting of the London Missionary Society was all that could be desired, and the report of the directors in a high degree satisfactory, expressing gratitude to God, 'who has signalized

this year of the Society's history, by opening to our astonished and delighted vision prospects of missionary triumph, such as our fathers never ventured, within our times, to anticipate, such as our children will realize with holy and ecstatic joy.'—Our space will only allow us to express general satisfaction with the meeting and reports of several other most valuable societies, such as the Sunday and Ragged School Unions, the British and Foreign School Society, the Irish Evangelical Society, the Alliances, Evangelical and Protestant, and the Voluntary School Association; all of which give proof that the faith and zeal of religious England are not impaired, but on the contrary, are revived and braced for struggle in the domain of ignorance and sin.

THE DEATH OF JAMES MONTGOMERY has inflicted upon society a loss which it seldom has to mourn : that of a Christian poet. He died at Sheffield, on Sunday the 30th of April, in the 83rd year of his age. A public funeral, attended by all the clergy and dissenting ministers in the neighbourhood, by the corporation of Sheffield, and by the most respectable men of all parties, marked the universal sense entertained of his worth. Mr. Montgomery was the son of a Moravian minister, and his early life was passed in humble circumstances. He was educated at the Moravian school at Fulneck, near Leeds, and his father and mother went out as missionaries to the then enslaved population of the West-Indies. Mr. Montgomery originally contemplated the career of a Christian minister, but a passion for poetry early seized him ; and although his earliest efforts were not characterized by remarkable promise, he subsequently became one of the most deservedly esteemed of Christian minstrels. His first poetical efforts were mortifyingly unsuccessful, and, having been recommended to address himself to prose composition, he composed an Oriental story, which met with as little success. In the stirring times of the French revolution, he devoted himself to newspaper literature in connexion with the 'Sheffield Register,' and afterwards undertook the editorship of the 'Sheffield Iris.' His advocacy of liberal principles would not in later times have exposed him to danger, or even to the censure of moderate parties ; yet he was twice punished by fine and imprisonment. Indeed, his moderation, while it failed to conciliate the tory party, alienated from him the support of the more ardent reformers. Amidst the excitement of domestic politics, Mr. Montgomery did not ally himself heartily with the reformers, and even deprecated the extension of the suffrage, and the shortening of the duration of parliaments, until the great body of the people should have prepared themselves for the change by social and educational reform. He devoted himself with singular energy to local objects, and was an active party in all those movements which have changed the town of Sheffield from the comparative insignificance of its position when he first knew it to the high place it now holds among the manufacturing towns of Great Britain. Within three days of his death, he presided as chairman at the Board of the Sheffield Infirmary. Mr. Montgomery was in all respects a great and a good man. As a poet it would be impossible to delineate his character in so cursory a notice as this. Whatever may be thought of the proportion apparently borne in his productions, by imaginative vigour

to the labour of the file, they constitute a most wholesome contribution to our national literature, and demand from the 'Eclectic Review' a brief but cordial expression of esteem, irrespectively of the fact that the departed poet was a frequent contributor to our pages.

THE OATHS BILL WAS THROWN OUT ON THE 25TH by a majority of four. The division had been anticipated with much excitement for many days. Four hundred and ninety-eight members were present, of whom two hundred and fifty-one voted against, and two hundred and forty-seven in favour of the bill. This result was mainly owing to the simplicity of the measure, which was designed to enact that 'without any religious disability whatever' all persons chosen by the electors of the country should be eligible to a seat in the house, 'by taking an oath framed in conformity with the principles of religious liberty.' Such a proposition was met with hostility, not only by the opponents of Jewish emancipation, but also by many Protestant members whom recent proceedings have rendered specially sensitive. We are glad to find that, *with few exceptions*, our friends voted in support of the bill. That any of them should have done otherwise is matter of regret and surprise.

Protestantism is worth little if it requires for its support such safeguards as Sir F. Thesiger and his supporters allege. 'Were they afraid,' asked Mr. Miall, 'to trust their protestantism and their Christianity to the deep convictions of the people of this land, or were they not? If they were not afraid, then what did they want with these political restrictions in the shape of oaths? and if they were afraid, and afraid with justice, then what good would these oaths do?'

The debate will not be without its advantages. It will teach the government a useful lesson, if it open their eyes to the necessity of evincing more respect than they have recently shown to the protestant feeling of the community.

NO MEMBER OF THE PEACE SOCIETY IS MORE HEARTILY OPPOSED to war than ourselves. Though unable to adopt their abstract principle, we join the most zealous of them in reprobating the spirit and evils of war. There are, however, occasions wherein, according to our best judgment, it is right to take up arms, and the contest in which we are now engaged is one of these. The alternative is terrible, but we cannot eschew it without incurring evils of still greater magnitude. Such is our solemn conviction, and though we regret the necessity, we see no method of avoiding it. During the last month some of the fearful consequences of the strife have been seen. We shall not, however, enter into details; our purpose will be answered by noting the general tendency of events. Before doing so, however, we must allude to another of those mendacious *Manifestoes* for which the court of St. Petersburg has attained unenviable notoriety. This State document, bearing date April 11th, makes assertions which are glaringly opposed to the facts of the case. All Europe is by this time qualified to judge of the statement made by the Czar, that he does not seek to make conquests, nor to exercise any supremacy in Turkey which existing treaties do not cede to him. The most revolting feature of the manifesto, however, is the affectation of religious zeal,—

the appeal which it makes to the worst passions of an ignorant and besotted fanaticism. History records many foul deeds perpetrated under the semblance of religion, but no one of its voluminous pages contains a worse specimen of ambitious policy clothed in the habiliments of religion than the following extract from the Russian manifesto:—

‘Ready to confound the audacity of the enemy, shall she swerve from the sacred purpose that has been assigned to her by Divine Providence? No! Russia has not forgotten God! It is not for worldly interests that she has taken up arms. She combats for the Christian faith, for the defence of her co-religionists oppressed by implacable enemies.

‘Let all Christendom know, then, that the thought of the Sovereign of Russia is also the thought that animates and inspires all the great family of the Russian people—this orthodox people, faithful to God and to His only Son, Jesus Christ our Redeemer.

‘It is for the faith and for Christendom that we combat!

“God with us—who against us?”’

Powerful fleets are now commanding the Black and the Baltic seas in the interest of Turkey. The Russian ports in those seas are in the course of being blockaded. The forts with which she had begirded the Circassian coast are dismantled. Odessa has been bombarded with singular and most honorable humanity; and Sir Charles Napier has captured a powerful fort at the entrance to Hango Sound, by which safe anchorage is obtained off the north point of the Gulf of Finland, and great facilities secured for his future operations. A third squadron, we learn, is about to proceed to the White Sea; and, in the meantime, large masses of English and French soldiery have arrived at Constantinople, and are now on their march towards the Danube. The Turkish general, Omar Pacha, holds his ground in the face of a superior enemy, having received positive orders not to hazard a general engagement until strengthened by the arrival of his auxiliaries. His position is confessedly one of great difficulty, and though his military talents are of the highest order, we shall not be surprised to hear of his incurring some serious disaster before they join him. We hope it may not be so. We have strong confidence in his doing all which human sagacity can accomplish to prevent it; but should the worst happen, our faith in his generalship will be as undoubting as is our confidence in his integrity.

In the meantime, attention is anxiously directed to the German powers, and to the episode which has been created by the Greek insurrection. This evidently been fomented by the government of King Otho, who, as the tool of the Czar, is seeking to make a diversion in his favour. He will bitterly repent his folly when the powers of western Europe inflict the chastisement he richly merits. The cabinet of Berlin continues to pursue a vacillating and discreditable policy. The people are with the western powers, but the king is with Russia. The former would join us heartily, but the latter, though not daring openly to side with the Czar, is obviously concerned to serve

his interests. 'Subserviency to Russia,' says the 'Times,' 'has prevailed over every other consideration in the councils of the King of Prussia. He has successively sacrificed to this baneful influence his oldest and ablest servants, and has even included in the number of those whom his policy has detached from his government the Prince of Prussia, his own brother, and the heir apparent to the crown.' The treaty now formed with Austria contains some provisions which, if honestly followed out, would assure us of the ultimate adhesion of Prussia. But what has already occurred prevents our placing much reliance on this.

The proceedings of Austria are more hopeful. Her rulers appear to be at length aroused to a sense of the danger which threatens her from the ambition of the Czar, and we shall be glad to find that their measures are wisely and honestly taken. The difficulties which surround them are obviously great, and tax their powers to the utmost. From these difficulties there is only one way of escape, but we are not without apprehension that the men who preside over the affairs of Austria are unequal to the task which devolves upon them. Whichever way they look, serious danger stares them in the face. Past misdeeds have their day of retribution, and the House of Hapsburg can scarcely hope to escape. Italy, Hungary, and Poland, are looking up with hope, and no friend of constitutionalism but must pray that they may derive some benefit from the perplexities of their inexorable and ruthless oppressor.

EDITORIAL POSTSCRIPT.

MANY of our readers are probably aware that a change is contemplated in the editorship of our journal. This step has resulted from the pressure of other engagements, which compels one of the present editors to relinquish the post which he has occupied since 1836; and his associate, between whom and himself the most cordial co-operation has uniformly existed, retires with him. Arrangements have been made for the future conduct of the 'Eclectic' which cannot fail to be satisfactory to the friends of pure literature, scriptural voluntarism, and evangelical Christianity. This arrangement, however, will not take effect until January, 1855. We are not at liberty at present to name the individual on whom the editorship will then devolve. We should gladly do so, and are assured that all our readers would heartily concur in the propriety of the selection. In the interim, we shall continue to discharge the duties of the editorship as heretofore, in doing which additional stimulus will be derived from a consideration of the high talents and well-merited reputation of the gentleman to whom the journal will then be transferred.

The proprietorship of the work continues unchanged, and no expenditure will be spared which may be needed to maintain and greatly to extend its usefulness.

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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW.

APRIL, 1854.



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